A

HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Including a Survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions

BY

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With an Introduction by

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VOL. I

FROM A.D. 1297–8 to A.D. 1!

With one hundred and seven half-



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PREFACE

It is now eighty-one years since the late Mr. Justice Kinloch Forbes of the Bombay Civil Service published in London the first systematic work bearing on the history of Gujarat under the title of *Ras Mala,* or *Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India.* As the writer of a Memoir on his career in a later edition of this work well expressed it, 'Forbes has done for the Rajputs of Gujarat, what Tod did for Rajasthan and Grant Duff for the Marathas, while in some ways he excels either'. Since his time, however, the materials for the history of this province, which the Emperor Aurangzeb once described as 'the beauty and ornament of India', have received considerable additions in many directions. The annals of early and medieval Gujarat have been reconstructed on the basis of coins, copperplates and inscriptions over and above the literary works and bardic accounts which were so effectively utilised by Forbes in his own inimitable manner. Moreover, Forbes devoted his attention primarily to the Hindu or Rajput side of the history of Gujarat, and to their social institutions, manners and customs. The long Muslim period of Gujarat history, extending over four centuries and a half, was only incidentally treated by him, and it is in this particular direction that the last fifty years have seen a great increase in the sources of our information, not only from editions or translations of formal histories written in Persian and Arabic, but also as will be seen from the Bibliography, from the contributions made by students of epigraphy, numismatics and archæology. For the British period of Gujarat history likewise, there exists a vast and valuable mass of untapped historical material in the official documents located in the Government Records Office at

Bombay which awaits patient study and research by competent historical investigators.

This great increase in the materials for the history of Gujarat, and the fact that no historical work of a sufficiently comprehensive or critical character for the post-Rajput period was available for the perusal of the educated public, or for consultation by officials stationed in various capacities in the districts of Gujarat, led me over twenty years ago, to attempt to fill up this hiatus for at least the four centuries and a half during which the province was under Muslim sway. I found also that my own students at Gujarat College knew much more about what took place at Delhi, Agra and other distant centres in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries than they did about the history and the monuments of their own province during the same period. I was also impressed by the fact that no adequate knowledge of the unique architectural remains to be found in the capital city and other towns of Gujarat was available to the intelligentia of the province, who had neither the leisure nor the facility for acquiring the information contained in the volumes of the Bombay District Gazetteers or in the valuable series of works published by the Archæological Survey of India. I decided, therefore, to combine with the purely historical matter, a study of all the important monuments of the province, with the exposition of which the names of Fergusson, Burgess and Cousens have been intimately and honourably associated.

The work thus undertaken has grown in course of time to a bulk which I had not anticipated, and it has occupied, during the past two decades, whatever leisure I could spare from other duties. The present volume brings the historical narrative down to the year 1573 when Gujarat became a province of the Mughal Empire. The subsequent history till

the end of Aurangzeb's reign, or perhaps a little later, will be treated in the second volume, the manuscript of which is nearly ready. The illustrations in this volume, comprising over one hundred half-tone plates, relate mostly to the period of the independent Gujarat Saltanat when the rulers as also their great nobles vied with each other in adorning their capital city and its neighbourhood with magnificent monuments.

I may add that the term Gujarat has been used in this book in the wider sense, and the work comprises the general history of both continental and peninsular Gujarat, which latter is better known under the name of Saurashtra or Kathiawar. It must not be forgotten that the fortunes of the peninsula have from the earliest times been closely associated with those of the continental districts, and that the power that held sway on the mainland has generally always exercised suzerainty over the group of Hindu Princes, many of them of ancient lineage, who held sway in Kathiawar. The most important capital city of the peninsula has for over a thousand years been Junagadh, and here resided, from the 15th century onward, the Fauzdars or Governors who administered Kathiawar on behalf first of the Gujarat Sultans and later of the Mughal Subahdars or Viceroys at Ahmadabad. In the disruption and subsequent collapse of Mughal authority in Gujarat during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Mughal representatives stationed at Junagadh made themselves gradually independent, and managed to retain their power over the fertile and picturesque lands of Sorath against the inroads of the Marathas. From the last Imperial Babi governor of Kathiawar is descended the comparatively modern line of the Nawabs of Junagadh.

For complying with my request to write an Introduction to this volume, I am indebted to Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E.,

who was, till a few months ago, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, which has come to hold, during the years that he has been at its head, the unique position of an Imperial institution. There are few, if any, who have made so close a study of the period of the Gujarat Saltanat as Sir Denison has done, and by his discovery when at Calcutta of the autograph manuscript of Hajji-ad-Dabir's *Arabic History,* and by his careful editing of the same, he has put all students of the history of the province under a great obligation. As an original work with which to compare the information given by Firishta and by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* the value of the 'Arabic History' can hardly be exaggerated.

Though Ahmadabad was for many centuries one of the greatest Muslim capitals in all India, and though its regal and viceregal courts were known for their patronage of learning and of men of letters, utilitarian interests have in recent years become so dominant in the city, that I have for years ploughed more or less a lonely furrow in my self-imposed task, and have found few with whom I could discuss the subject of my labours or to whom I could turn for criticism. But among those who have helped or encouraged me in this work I should like specially to mention the names of two persons belonging to two very different spheres of life and activity. One of them was the late Dr. George P. Taylor, M.A., D.D., who laboured in the missionary field in Gujarat for forty years, and who was an authority on Muslim coins, being President of the Numismatic Society of India. His lamented death in 1921 deprived me early of the help and advice of a ripe scholar and discerning critic who had made a close study of Gujarat history. Another esteemed friend, in a more exalted sphere, who is happily with us, is

H. H. Sir Taley Muhammad Khan, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab of Palanpur and A.D.C. to His Majesty the King-Emperor, whose love for historical studies has led him to take a very special interest in this work. The Jalori rulers of Palanpur are the heads of the oldest Muslim ruling dynasty in Gujarat, which dates its rise from the end of the 14th century, and is also one of the most ancient Muslim States in all India. I take this opportunity of offering my thanks to one who is not only a successful and popular ruler over his subjects, but withal a great gentleman.

This work begins with the Muslim conquest of Gujarat at the very end of the 13th century, and I trust that its perusal will convince those who are under the belief that their interest in the history of the province ends with the downfall of Hindu rule and the death of Karna Vaghela, the last independent Rajput ruler of Gujarat, that a great deal of what is of interest today in the way of institutions, monuments and economic life has been handed down from those four long centuries when the Muslims were the ruling power in the province, and that a study of this period is necessary for a proper understanding of the present. In order, however, to present a synthetic whole, I have supplied an introductory chapter giving a very rapid survey of the history of early and medieval Gujarat. The task of compressing within the scope of some sixty pages even a sketch of the history of fifteen centuries was not a easy one. But I have tried to compensate for the inevitable omission of many details in connection with several of the powers that have held sway in Gujarat, by some originality in the treatment and in the selection of topics for discussion. This introductory chapter has further been provided with over a dozen plates illustrating some of the most important monuments of this early

period, especially those bequeathed to posterity by the rulers of the Chaulukya and Vaghela dynasties whose names are still dear to the Hindu population of Gujarat.

My thanks are due to the University of Bombay for a grant made some years ago towards the publication of this book. They are also due to my friend Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar, M.A. (Panjab), Lecturer in Persian at the Gujarat College, Ahmadabad, and an able oriental scholar, for his help in the translation of inscriptions and of passages from the *Arabic History* of Hajji-ad-Dabir, and in various other directions.

AHMADABAD, M. S. COMMISSARIAT
4th January, 1938

INTRODUCTION

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

I have for many years past been in correspondence with Professor Commissariat (whom I have unfortunately never met) and I was naturally much gratified when he invited me to contribute an Introduction to the present work, for, like himself, I have devoted many years to the study of the history of that country and of the Portuguese in India.

A number of factors contribute to the paramount importance of the history of Gujarat during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For this period also witnessed some of the most thrilling and romantic episodes in Indian history, notably the rise of the Delhi Moghuls, and the first arrival of the Portuguese in India. Fortunately for the historian, the whole period is fully documented by a number of contemporary historians writing from the viewpoint of either the Moghuls, the Gujaratis or the Portuguese. Help is also to be derived from the various chronicles in Arabic dealing with the Hejaz, the Yemen and Aden, and with the conquest of Egypt and the resultant control of the Red Sea by the Ottoman Turks. Most of these works had long been known to historians but some we know only by quotation. There had, however, remained hidden, in the form of the author's autograph, a totally unknown history of Gujarat written in Arabic by one who had long been in the service of the Muzafavvi dynasty. I refer to the work entitled *Zafar-al-Walih bi Muzaffar wa alih* by Hajji-al-Dabir. It was my chance discovery of this precious manuscript in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasa which revealed the existence of this

work which had cost the author many years of laborious research and which he had not lived to complete. I felt that my first duty was to print the whole text as it stood so that it might be accessible to scholars and not again be lost sight of. Being in Arabic and dealing with Indian History, this book, when published, did not at first receive the attention it deserved. Arabic scholars were not interested in the subject matter, while among the students of Indian History there were hardly any able to read Arabic: and thus it escaped the attention of reviewers. The first scholar to make use of this History was Sir Wolseley Haig who made copious use of it both in the Cambridge History of India and in various articles contributed by him to the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Next came Professor Commissariat who, in the articles he published while collecting materials for his present history, made many allusions to the Arabic History of Gujarat. Quite recently many Indian students of history have discovered the importance of this work and have begun to make use of it either by learning Arabic or by getting their Arabic knowing friends to help them. I hope the day is not far distant when someone will produce a translation of the whole work (with the exception of the passages which Hajji-al-Dabir himself translated from certain well-known Persian histories, notably from the Akbar Nama).

So much by way of explanation of the circumstances in which I came into touch with the author of the present work. I have not seen Professor Commissariat's own preface and thus I am unable to say how long he has been engaged in his researches, but one thing is certain, namely that he has consulted every possible source and authority whether in Persian, Arabic, Portuguese or English, and that the result of his labours is a definitive history of Gujarat which must

supersede all others and is long likely to remain the final word on this interesting period. I am proud to have my name associated with this important work, and equally proud to think that my own publications have been of assistance to the author.

LONDON,
14th September, 1937

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CONTENTS

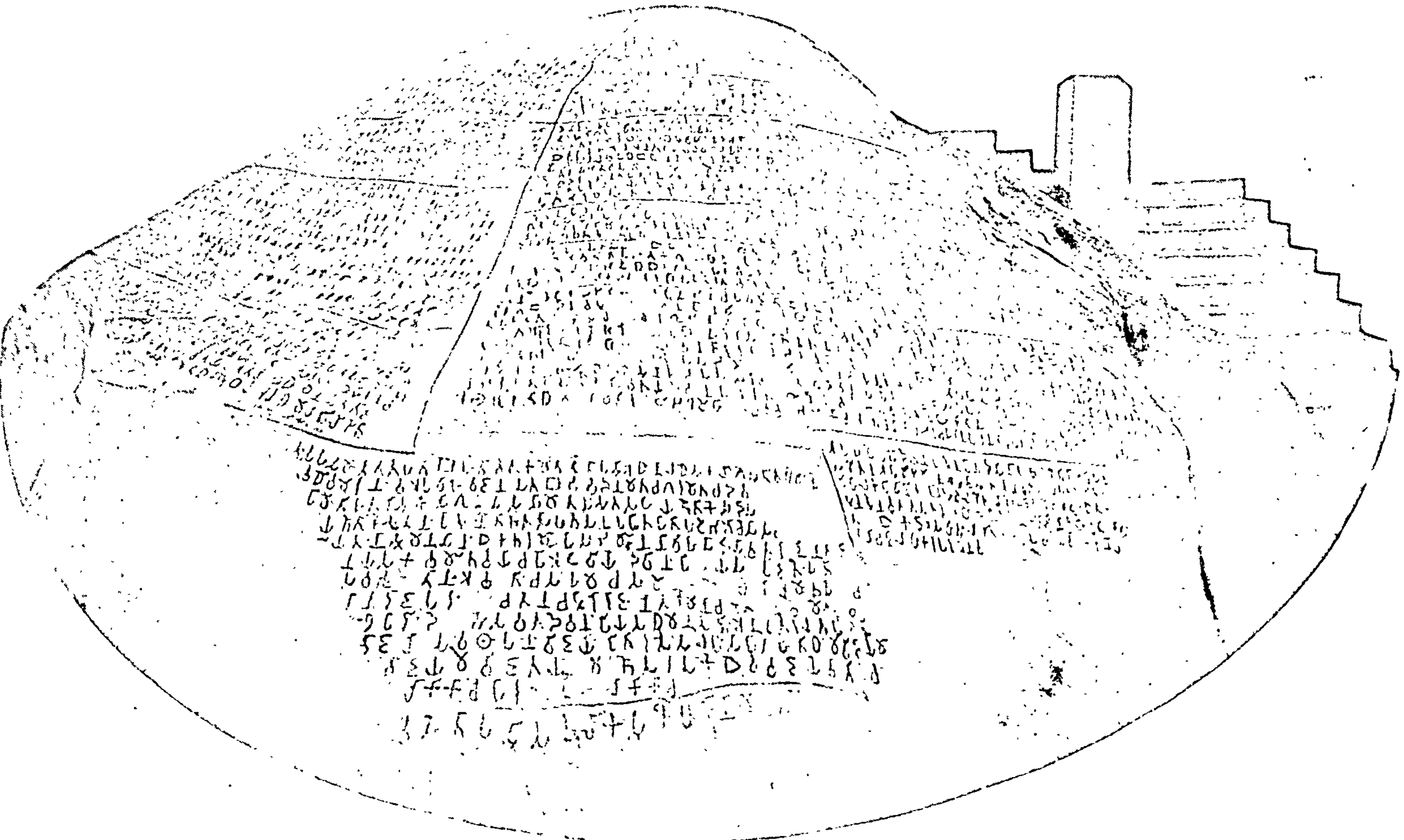
LIST OF PLATES

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To face page

To face page

MAPS



The Edict-Rock of Asoka at the foot of Mount Girnar, near Junagadh, *c.* 256 B. C. (p. xxvi)

A SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Remarks on the ancient and mediaeval periods

The history of continental and peninsular Gujarat in ancient times and during the Middle Ages, which it is proposed to survey in outline in this introductory chapter, extends over the very long period of fifteen centuries, from the remote days of Chandragupta Maurya in the last quarter of the fourth century before the Christian era to the Muslim conquest of the province at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. But, for nearly a thousand years of this period, when Gujarat was under the sway, first of the Mauryas and the Kshatrapas, and later of the Guptas, the Valabhis and the Chavadas, the paucity of the materials available has made it impossible for scholars to present any detailed narrative of the historical records of these famous dynasties. A very respectable mass of valuable information, however, based on the study of coins, copperplates and inscriptions, has been brought together by the labours of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Dr. Bühler, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, and other eminent scholars of the nineteenth century, and published in the first part of the volume of the Bombay Gazetteer which bears on the general history of Gujarat—one of the most scholarly productions of our time. It is only when we approach the middle of the tenth century, and take up the story of the illustrious rulers of the Chaulukya and Vaghela dynasties, that we find literary sources coming to our help, and, in spite of the mists of bardic legend and romance, we find enough substratum of solid historical material to enable us to peruse in greater detail and with considerably enhanced interest the records of those Hindu princes of Gujarat whose names are still remembered and fondly cherished in many a hamlet in the province.

Mediaeval architecture in Gujarat

These two mediaeval dynasties to which we have just referred are also remarkable for their architectural achievements, and the monumental heritage which they have handed down to posterity, though most of it is sadly damaged and destroyed owing to the fury of the Muslim conquerors, will receive our

special attention in the pages that follow. A survey of the style of these monuments, generally designated the 'Jaina' or 'Western India' style, is valuable for another reason also, for it exercised a profound influence on the style of the later Muslim monuments at Ahmadabad, Champaner and other places, giving rise to the beautiful Indo-Saracenic style of Gujarat architecture which will be found abundantly illustrated in many of the chapters in this work. As an eminent historian of Indian architecture says, 'The Chaulukyans conquered their conquerors, and forced them to adopt forms and ornaments which were superior to any the invaders knew or could have introduced.'[1]

I. The Maurya Sway in Gujarat

Reference to the Mauryas in Rudradaman's inscription

The last quarter of the fourth century B.C. saw the establishment of the Maurya Empire as the paramount power in Northern India. The rule of the Emperor Chandragupta and of his grandson Asoka in Saurashtra is established on epigraphic evidence, and shows that the vast dominions of the Mauryas extended right up to the Arabian Sea. The famous Edict-Rock of Asoka, at the foot of Mount Girnar near Junagadh, contains, besides the main inscription by that Emperor in the third century B.C., a later epigraph of the Western Kshatrapa Rudradaman I, dated A.D. 150, which tells us that the Vaishya Pushyagupta, the brother-in-law of the Mauryan King Chandragupta, constructed the embankment of a reservoir known as the Sudarsana lake near Girinagar (Junagadh). It is further stated in the same incised document that, in the time of Asoka, the Yavanraja Tushaspa adorned this lake with conduits or vaulted channels in order to allow the water to escape, and that this work was carried out 'in a manner worthy of a king.' Though the relations of Pushyagupta and Tushaspa with the Mauryan rulers are not explicitly stated in the epigraph, it is difficult to imagine what could have moved these persons to look to

1. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 230.

the water-supply of a distant town like Girinagar if it had not been confided to their care, or why the names of both should be connected with those of powerful kings if they had not stood in official relation to the latter. The language of Rudradaman's inscription suggests that Chandragupta's sway extended over Kathiawar and that Pushyagupta was only a local governor subordinate to the Emperor. The edicts of Asoka found at Girnar and Sopara,[1] and the well-established fact that all the Rock-Edicts of this ruler, hitherto traced, have been located on the confines of his vast empire, also leave hardly any doubt that continental Gujarat, Kathiawar and North Konkan were in his possession. The fact that an inland ruler holds the coast further implies his supremacy over the intervening country through which the military and trade-routes to the seaboard pass. Asoka was undoubtedly sovereign over Malwa, and the route from Mandasor to Dohad has always secured a close connection between Malwa and Gujarat.

Was Yavanraja Tushaspa a Persian?

The Maurya Empire descended to Asoka the Great about 273 B.C., and his reign saw, as recorded in Rudradaman's inscription, the Yavanraja Tushaspa adorning the Sudarsana reservoir at Girinagar with conduits. The use of the term *raja* in connection with Tushaspa's name would seem to show that he was a dignitary of high rank and noble family. It is doubtful whether it was that of a Greek, for the term *Yavana* signifies other foreigners also; and it is possible that it was Iranian, 'from the close likeness in its formation to Kershasp, a name still current among Bombay Parsis.'[2] Scholars conversant with the Mauryan period are not unfamiliar with the many parallelisms that have been noticed between the architecture, the manners and customs of the Mauryan court and those of Ancient Persia, and it would, therefore, not be at all surprising if Tushaspa was found to be a Persian of high birth serving at the court of the great Buddhist Emperor of India.

1. Sopara, which was once a great commercial mart on the Western coast, is now a village situated about 35 miles to the north of Bombay and three miles distant from Bassein. At this site was found, on a broken piece of rock, a fragment of the rock-edict of Asoka.

2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 14.

But Asoka's rule over Saurashtra is attested by a far greater memorial than the inscription of the Western Satrap, viz., his own celebrated record on the Rock at Girnar, in which he caused to be incised for all time his fourteen memorable Edicts which bear a striking resemblance to the rock-cut inscriptions of Darius the Great at Behistun and other places in Persia. These Edicts were published by Asoka on rocks at seven different places in the remote frontier provinces of his vast Empire in or about 256 B.C., and contain an exposition of his principles of government and his ethical system. Each edict is devoted to a special subject, and the great monarch employs his power over a vast Empire to propagate and to enforce the law of *dharma* which he had learned from his Buddhist instructors. The main guiding principles underlying this law are thus concisely formulated in the Second Minor Rock-Edict:

Asoka's Girnar Rock-Edict

> 'Thus saith His Majesty: Father and mother must be obeyed; respect for living creatures must be enforced; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety. Similarly, the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations. This is the ancient standard of piety—this leads to length of days and according to this men must act.'[1]

The inscription rock of Asoka at the foot of Mount Girnar is without exception the most interesting antiquity in Kathiawar. It stands nearly a mile to the west of the city of Junagadh and at the entrance of the gorge which leads into the valley that surrounds the sacred Girnar. The credit of bringing it to the knowledge of the civilised world belongs to Col. James Tod who first noticed it on his visit to Girnar in December, 1822, and who gives an interesting account of his discovery in his *Travels in Western India*. This famous rock would probably have remained concealed for a still longer period in the pathless forest, 'covered with its tangled veil of impervious babool', but for the fact that a charitably disposed horse-merchant named Sundarji had con-

Col. J. Tod discovers the Edict-rock at Girnar in 1822

1. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 178.

structed a road from the city of Junagadh to the foot of Girnar through the deep jungle in order to facilitate the journey of the pilgrims to the sacred mountain, thereby exposing the great boulder to view. Tod's account of the same is worth quoting, particularly as this veteran historian, with all his versatile scholarship, was baffled by the language and the script of the ancient record carved on the rock, and hopelessly bewildered as to the authorship and date of this unique discovery. We shall reproduce only a part of his narrative published in 1839:

> 'Leaving the bridge let me describe what to the antiquary will appear the noblest monument of Saurashtra, a monument speaking in an unknown tongue of other times, and calling to the Frank *Vidyavan,* or *savant,* to remove the spell of ignorance in which it has been enveloped for ages. * * *
>
> 'The memorial in question, and evidently of some great conqueror, is a huge hemispherical mass of dark granite, which, like a wart upon the body, has protruded through the crust of mother earth, without fissure or inequality, and which, by the aid of the 'iron pen', has been converted into a book. The measurement of its area is nearly 90 feet; its surface is divided into compartments or parallelograms within which are inscriptions in the usual antique character. Two of these *cartouches* I had copied, by my old Guru, with the most scrupulous fidelity, and a portion of a third, where the character varied. The affinity of the former to the inscriptions on the triumphal pillar at Delhi, on the 'column of victory' in the centre of the lake at Mewar, and in various of the most ancient cave-temples in India, is apparent. Each letter is about two inches long, most symmetrically formed, and in perfect preservation. * * * I may well call it a book; for the rock is covered with these characters, so uniform in execution that we may safely pronounce all those of the most ancient class to be the work of one man.'[1]

The inscription-rock, described so carefully by Col. Tod a hundred and fifteen years ago, is a huge, rounded, and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface

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1. J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, 1839, p. 369 *ff*.

of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base, and the Asokan inscription covers considerably over a hundred square feet of its uneven surface. It occupies the greater portion of the north-east face of the rock, and is divided down the centre by a vertical line. On the left side of this line are the first five edicts or tablets, divided from one another by horizontal lines; on the right are the next seven similarly divided; the thirteenth has been placed below the fifth and twelfth, and is unfortunately damaged; and the fourteenth is placed to the right of the thirteenth. Besides the Edicts of the great Emperor Asoka, the boulder contains a long inscription of the Kshatrapa ruler Rudradaman on its top, and on the west face an epigraph of Skandagupta's reign. The Fourteen Edicts were probably in almost perfect condition when Tod saw them in 1822, but unfortunately the merchant Sundarji's workmen, in making the causeway at the place where the road meets the Sonarekha river, seem to have broken a large piece from the boulder, carrying away part of the fifth and a large portion of the thirteenth rock-edict. Even after the value of its inscription had been discovered, the great rock continued to be exposed to damage in the half century subsequent to Tod's visit, for Dr. James Burgess found, when he first visited it in 1869, that a house had been built beside it and was occupied by a 'lazy, sanctimonious and naked devotee', whose firewood lay against the sides of the stone. Since then, however, this historical monument has been taken good care of by the Junagadh State, and a roofed structure has been raised over the stone, which, though it strikes the eye as an ugly appendage, has probably helped to protect the rock from the sun and the rain, and to preserve it from wanton damage by man, situated as it is in a prominent situation on the pilgrim route to Mount Girnar.[1]

The rock exposed to damage

The interesting story of the decipherment of the Asokan inscriptions in general and of the Girnar Rock-Edict in particular, and the identification of the script and language in which they are written, need not detain us long. The

1. Report by Dr. J. Burgess on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kutch.

first transcript of the complete record at Girnar was obtained by Dr. John Wilson of Bombay, who forwarded it early in 1837 to James Prinsep at Calcutta. To this great scholar goes the credit of having discovered the key to the Asokan inscriptions which are now known to be written in a form of the Brahmi script in one of the varieties of the Prakrit language. The inscriptions of Asoka have been the subject of very learned study and criticism by a number of eminent European scholars during the course of the 19th century. But, though his versions are now obsolete, the great work done by Prinsep in conveying to us the purport of 'documents' in a new character and an unknown tongue, which had baffled the most eminent scholars, deserves to be recorded, and we must offer our tribute of acknowledgment and admiration for what he has accomplished 'with unequalled labour, incomparable ingenuity and unrivalled success.'[1]

J. Prinsep deciphers the Asokan inscriptions

II. The Post-Mauryan Period in Gujarat: Sungas or Indo-Greeks?

Asoka Maurya died in 232 B.C., and the break-up of his empire which began after his death was completed in 185 B.C. when the general Pushyamitra Sunga, having slain the last Maurya ruler Brihadratha, ascended the throne at Pataliputra. There is, however, no evidence to show whether, after Asoka's death, the connection of the Mauryas or the Sungas with Gujarat was retained at the end of the third and the whole of the second century B.C. According to the theory first started by Prinsep and developed by Lassen and others, the Maurya sway in Gujarat was followed by Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Grecian supremacy, and on the following grounds. In the first place, by a conjectural reading of a passage by Strabo, the name of the kingdom Saraostos, conquered by Menander, has been taken to be an equivalent of Saurashtra; secondly, a large number of Indo-Grecian coins

Hypothesis of Indo-Greek rule in Gujarat

1. Dr. J. Wilson in *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, XII, 251.

have been found in Kathiawar; and lastly, the assertion of the author of the *Periplus* that Greek coins of Menander and Apollodotus passed current in Barygaza or Broach. In the opinion of Dr. Bühler, however, all these arguments are open to weighty objections. As regards the first point, the Greeks *invariably* call the country of the Saurashtras as Syrastrene. Moreover, the discovery of Greek coins in Kathiawar, and their being in current use with the merchants of Broach, may both be explained by the assumption that those coins were imported by the Gujarat merchants, and used as currency for their transactions with foreign traders who used coins of a similar type and according to a similar monetary standard.

Dr. Buhler's hypothesis of the rule of the Sungas

Dr. Bühler, having rejected the hypothesis of Indo-Grecian rule in Gujarat, is inclined to favour the theory of the continued dependence of this province on the great Central Indian dynasties. Referring to the Buddhist and Jain traditions that a grandson of Asoka resided in Ujjain, and to Kalidas's much later reference to the rule of the Sungas over Western and Central India, he adds, 'If Kalidas is right in asserting that the first Sungas held Malwa, *it* becomes highly probable that their immediate predecessors, the later Mauryas, also governed the country, and as the whole history of India teaches the lesson that every strong power which possessed Malwa was also mistress of the western coast, it may be concluded that both the later Mauryas and the first Sungas ruled Gujarat and Kathiavad.' The acceptance of Dr. Bühler's hypothesis, however, would involve the modification of the generally accepted opinion among historians that the feeble Sunga dynasty, which ruled for about a hundred and twelve years (185–73 B.C.), held sway over a comparatively narrow area at Magadha and in the provinces lying in the Gangetic plain.

It is difficult to say how long the rule, whether of the Indo-Greek kingdoms or of the Sungas, lasted in Gujarat. But the history of the former does not go beyond the end of the first century B.C., while the last of the Sungas, Devabhuti, was slain about 73 B.C. In fact, a large part of the first century before and after the commencement of the Christian era is a period of impenetrable darkness with regard to the

history of Gujarat, and it is not till nearly the end of the first century A.D. that we feel on fairly solid ground when we find Gujarat a part of the vast dominions of 'the King, the Kshaharata, Nahapana the Kshatrapa.'

III. The Sakas in India and the Rule of the Western Satraps in Gujarat (*c.* B.C. 70–A.D. 395)

Before we proceed to review the sway of the Kshatrapa rulers of the Saka tribe in Western India, it is necessary to say a few words about the foreign nationality to which they belonged. Among the invaders of ancient India, the Sakas undoubtedly hold a very prominent place. By their origin, they were Scythians living at one time in the regions beyond the Jaxartes (*Syr Darya*), who, being expelled from their homes by the irruption of the Yueh-chi from the north of China about 150 B.C., came to settle in the province known after them as Sakastan (Sistan) and ultimately made their way to India by the north-western passes.[1] Their long contact with the Persian Empire, of which they formed a satrapy under Darius when in their original homes beyond Bactria, had led them no doubt to make considerable progress in civilisation. It is probable, therefore, that they were by no means a barbarous tribe when they entered India. While settling down, they seem to have been confronted by the revived Persian power in these parts, especially of the Parthian monarch Mithradates I (174–136 B.C.), who had extended his Empire up to the east bank of the Indus river. In token of subordination to their Persian sovereign, the Saka leaders, who established principalities at Taxila in the Panjab, Mathura on the Jumna, and other centres, assumed the title of Satraps, under which, or its Sanskritised form Kshatrapas,

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1. 'Sigistan, the old Achaemenian satrapy of Drangiana, was called Sakastan, after the Sakas, coming from the countries to the north of Bactria, had settled down in that province in early Arsacidan times. This province, preserving its name still in modern times as Sistan, became the very centre of the Saka Empire, and from there they conquered the whole of the Indus country, the Panjab, and the parts of India adjoining it in the S. E. as far as Saurashtra, Malwa, and Rajputana' (E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 38).

all the rulers of the Saka-Pahalava dynasties came to be known in India.

The Saka Era begins in A.D. 78

Though, like many other foreign tribes that entered India, the Saka nationality was ultimately absorbed and assimilated in the Hindu population, its name is still associated with the later of the two most celebrated eras that are current in India today, and of which the initial date is A.D. 78. Known generally as the Saka, this era has been designated in the South, where it is still common, as the Salivahana (Satavahana), and its use by the celebrated astronomer Varaha-Mihira in the sixth century A.D. brought it into practice over almost the whole of India.[1] The powerful rulers generally described as the 'Western Kshatrapas' comprise two distinct dynasties, and these should not be mixed up as has often been done. They are, first, the Kshaharata Satraps the first of whom was Bhumaka, with their capitals at Broach and at Nasik in the Western Ghats; and, secondly, the line of the Satrap Chashtana originally settled at Ujjain in Malwa.

The sway of Nahapana the Kshaharata

The most famous of the Kshaharata rulers was the Satrap Nahapana whose name indicates Persian origin and for whose reign very widely different dates have been assigned. He held sway over a large area extending from South Rajputana to the Nasik and Poona districts, including the peninsula of Saurashtra, and he assumed on his coins the titles of *Raja* and *Maha-Kshatrapa*. To numismatists in particular, his name will ever remain connected with one of the most startling finds of our times, viz., the great Jogaltembhi (Nasik) hoard of coins. Thirty years ago, scarcely half a dozen of Nahapana's coins were known to scholars, but in 1907 nearly 13,000 silver coins, all in the highest state of preservation, were brought to light to the delight of all who are interested in the ancient coinage of India. The value of the discovery was given a happy expression to by the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes when he wrote:

1. The Saka era probably marks the establishment of the Kushan Empire by Kanishka in A.D. 78. The era appears to have been so called in consequence of its long use by the Saka princes of Western India (the Kshatrapas)—*Cambridge History of India*, I, 585, 703.

"The treasure veiled for nearly 1,800 years has at last become articulate, and bears its message across the gulf of dead centuries to those who rule the Deccan today, and who are themselves foreigners like Nahapana, the Kshaharata.'[1] The arrow and thunderbolt on Nahapana's coins connect him with the Parthians and with the Northern Satraps of Taxila and Mathura. About this same period the Andhra or Satavahana princes of the South had established an Imperial State in India. These rulers posed as the champions of Brahmanical Hinduism 'against the creeds of casteless foreigners'—Sakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas—who had not only made themselves lords over a large portion of Aryan land but who probably showed scant respect for the rites and precepts of the orthodox Hindu faith. It was probably against a descendant of Nahapana that the Satavahana king, Gautamiputra Sri Satkarni (Vilivayakura II), made war, as stated in an important inscription of this dynasty, and succeeded in 'completely extirpating' the dynasty of Nahapana.[2]

Nahapana's line overthrown by the Andhras, A.D. 124

We turn now to the other and much longer line of the Western Satraps starting with Chashtana, whose capital was at Ujjain in Malwa, and who became the founder, some time about A.D. 100, of a long dynasty of rulers who reigned in Gujarat and Kathiawar, besides other parts of Western India, for well nigh three hundred years, till their power was overthrown by the Imperial Guptas at the end of the fourth century A.D. Chashtana's coins appear to be adaptations of Nahapana's. On the reverse, instead of the arrow and the thunderbolt, they have symbols of the sun and the moon similar in style to those on the coins of the Parthian King Phraates II. Though we know nothing of the connection between Nahapana and Chashtana, and though the latter is nowhere called a Kshaharata, it is clear that in course of time he held a great part of the territory over which Nahapana previously had sway. That in his early coins he is simply called a Kshatrapa, and in his later ones a Mahakshatrapa, leads to the inference that his power was originally small.

The Western Satrap Chashtana

1. Journal, B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, 224.
2. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 210.

His coins in silver and copper, inscribed with legends in Greek, Brahmi and Kharoshthi characters, have been found in Gujarat.

Rudradaman I, the grandson of Chashtana, has generally been regarded as the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He gave his daughter in marriage to Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumayi, the son and successor of Gautamiputra of the Satavahana dynasty who had extirpated the Kshaharatas. But the matrimonial connection did not prevent the Great Satrap from waging war on his son-in-law and recovering from him most of the territory which Pulumayi's father had won from Nahapana's successor. Rudradaman's famous inscription on the western face of the Edict-Rock at Girnar, near Junagadh, gives us more information about his rule over these parts than is available about any other Kshatrapa sovereign. This incised record has already been mentioned in connection with the reference made in its preamble to the first construction of the Sudarsana lake by the orders of the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta, and to the conduits subsequently provided to the same under the orders of Asoka.

The Satrap Rudradaman I, A.D. 143-158

The chief object of the inscription, however, is to record the fact that, during Rudradaman's reign, Suvisakha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahalava or Parthian, who was the governor of Anarta and Surashtra (Northern and Southern Kathiawar), restored the embankment of the Sudarsana lake. We learn from it that at the end of the year 72 (Saka), during the reign of this Satrap, a terrific cyclone burst over Girinagar, which destroyed the temples and other edifices on Mount Urjayat (the modern Girnar), and swelled the mountain torrents—the Palisini and Suvarnasakita—which drain the narrow valley formed by the Datar and other neighbouring hills, to an incredible height. The onset of their waters, made more formidable by the uprooted trees which they carried along, destroyed the embankment of the Sudarsana tank. The water of the lake escaped through a rent 125 ells in length and breadth and 75 ells deep, and its area, which formerly was a pleasant sheet of water, looked like an ugly desert, covered with the debris of fallen masonry, detached

Details of his inscription at Girnar, A.D. 150

rocks, trees, bushes and creepers. The destruction of this tank, from which the inhabitants of Girinagar seem to have drawn their water-supply, must have been a serious misfortune. For it moved Rudradaman not only to order the restoration of the embankment of the Sudarsana, but to defray out of his own exchequer the cost of the work. According to the inscription, he levied neither taxes nor raised 'benevolences' for the purpose, and he also refrained from imposing forced labour on the citizens. He undertook it alone and unaided as a work which would secure to him a rich store of spiritual merit. The incapacity of the officials and engineers, however, well nigh frustrated the benevolent intentions of the king. The size of the gap frightened them and they despaired of ever filling it up. At last, when the people, losing all hope, began to lament bitterly, Suvisakha stepped in and by his energy and superior skill succeeded in repairing the embankment and in restoring the tank to its former condition. Besides this information, the inscription gives highly important details regarding the extent of the dominions and the warlike exploits of Rudradaman. It appears from these that the Great Satrap ruled not only over Malwa, Continental Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, but his empire included Sind, Maru or Marvad in the north, Anupa or the district on the upper Narbada in the east, and Aparanta or the Konkan in the south. The name of the Pahalava governor, who repaired the embankment, which is given above as Suvisakha, may be, as Dr. Bhau Daji suggests, a Sanskritised form of the Persian Siavaksha.[1]

We shall not enter into the long list of the Western Kshatrapas who succeeded Rudradaman. Suffice it to say that from their capital at Ujjain they continued their sway over Saurashtra, Malwa, Cutch, Sind and the Konkan. They evidently acknowledged the suzerainty of the Persian Empire throughout the period of their rule, first of the Parthian rulers of the Arsacidan dynasty, and later of the Sasanian Emperors after A.D. 226. Several of the princes of the latter dynasty bore the title of 'Sakanshah', to indicate their position as viceroys or overlords of all the Saka lands, before they ascended the

1. G. Buhler, *Sketch of the Early History of Gujarat*; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 35.

throne of Persia.[1] It is evident that the Kshatrapas, though at first foreigners, in time yielded to the assimilative power of Hinduism, assumed Hindu names, and became professedly at least converts to some form of the Hindu religion. After an unusually lengthy sway of nearly three centuries, the year A.D. 395 saw the Saka rule in Gujarat subverted by the mighty power of the Guptas.

IV. Gujarat under the Gupta Empire (A.D. 395–470)

In the first quarter of the fourth century of the Christian era, the Guptas had succeeded in establishing themselves as the paramount power in Northern India, with their capital at the ancient city of Pataliputra. Towards the end of the same century, Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, the son of the mighty Samudragupta ('the Indian Napoleon'), came to the Imperial throne. Following the footsteps of his father, he devoted himself to the expansion of the Gupta Empire, and among the greatest of his military exploits was the conquest of Western India and the overthrow of the Kshatrapas about A.D. 395. The powerful sway of the Guptas in Western India lasted for about three quarters of a century, as attested by a large number of their coins found in various parts of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch—all being modifications of the preceding Kshatrapa type of coinage. Apart from these coins, no other evidence remains of their rule in these parts except the Girnar inscription of Skandagupta, fifth of the Imperial line, which is dated A.D. 456.

Conquest of Gujarat by Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, c. 395 A.D.

The historical details of Skandagupta's long inscription, which is incised on Asoka's Edict-Rock, and is one of the most interesting epigraphic records of ancient times in Kathiawar, may be given here. It states that, after establishing his power, and conquering his foes, Skandagupta appointed governors in all provinces. For Saurashtra he selected as his governor a person named Parnadatta, and to the latter's son, Chakrapalita, he gave a share in the adminis-

Skandagupta's inscription on the Edict-Rock at Girnar, A.D. 456

1. E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 51 ; Fardunjee D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*.

tration, placing him in charge of the city of Junagadh. During the governorship of Parnadatta,[1] the dam of the Sudarsana lake, which had been strongly rebuilt in the time of the Kshatrapa Rudradaman (A.D. 150), again gave way on the sixth of the dark half of Bhadrapada of the year 136 (of the Gupta era, i.e., A.D. 456), and the streams Palasini, Sikata and Vilasini burst through the dam and flowed unchecked. Repairs were begun on the first of the bright Grishma of the year 137 (A.D. 457) and finished in two months. The new dam is stated to have been 100 cubits long, 68 cubits broad, and 7 men or about 48 feet high. The inscription also records the building of a temple of Vishnu in the neighbourhood by Chakrapalita, which was probably on the site of the modern Damodar's Mandir in the Bhavnath pass.[2]

The eruption of the Huns and fall of the Gupta Empire

With the death of Skandagupta about A.D. 480 we mark the complete downfall of the Guptas in Western India. The power which assailed the Gupta Empire at its zenith, and brought about its disruption at the end of the fifth century, is now proved to have been that of the Epthalites or White Huns—the *Hunas* of Sanskrit literature and inscriptions. From the passes of the north-west, these barbarians poured over the fair plains of Northern India under their great leader Toramana, and established there a tyranny which ended only with the overthrow of his son Mihiragula, styled 'the Attila of India.' The *Hunas* were the last of the foreign invaders of ancient India, and for five centuries more we hear of no further invasions from the north-west until the Muslims appear on the scene.

The advent of the Gurjars and other tribes

But even more important, for the purposes of our narrative, than the Huns, were the associated tribes of foreign barbarians—the Gurjars, Ahirs, Jats, etc.[3]—that accompanied them into India. According to recent researches, there is little doubt that the famous Rajput clans of Mediaeval India—the Parmars,

1. Prof. Jarle Charpentier, in a paper on 'Two Indian Names' in the J. R. A. S. for October, 1928, comes to the conclusion that Parnadatta could not be a Hindu name, and he suggests that it is an Indianization of an Iranian name Farnadata (Pharnadatis).

2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 69-70 and *n*. Remains of this dam were discovered in 1890 by Khan Bahadur Ardeshir Jamshedji, Special Diwan of Junagadh.

3. The original home of the Gurjars was in Gurjistan in Persia, the modern Georgia. They were thus of Iranian origin. As for the Abhiras, it is

the Chauhans, the Parihars and the Chaulukyas—were developed out of the foreign *Huna* and Gurjar hordes that poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

V. The Valabhis (c. A.D. 490–770)

The Valabhi dynasty succeeded the Guptas in Kathiawar. In the plains to the east of the peninsula is situated the town of Vala, some twenty miles north-west of Bhavnagar, and excavations near its site have exposed to view the ruins of the ancient city of Valabhi. The founder of the Valabhi dynasty was the Senapati Bhatarka of the Maitraka or Mihir clan, but the circumstances under which he came to power have been the subject of much controversy. Some assert that he was a general of the Guptas, who, on the decline of the Imperial house owing to the Hun invasion, carved out for himself a separate principality in Western India. The arguments alleged in support of this view are that the Valabhis adopted both the Gupta era and the Gupta currency. But this does not necessarily imply a connection with the Imperial Gupta rulers. A foreign tribe just settling down would not unnaturally adopt both the era and the currency of a paramount power which had but recently been displaced. Under these circumstances, the assertion that the Senapati Bhatarka owed allegiance to the Guptas must be regarded with considerable doubt. Others, with perhaps greater reason, believe that he belonged to the foreign Gurjar tribe.

Gujjara-ratta, or the land of the Gurjars

If then the Valabhi sovereigns, who ruled Gujarat from the sixth to nearly the end of the eighth century, were Gurjars; if we find a Gurjar dynasty holding the Broach district, with its capital at Nandipuri or Nandod, from about A.D. 585 to A.D. 734; if the Chavada and Chaulukya dynasties who held sway in North Gujarat from the eighth to the thirteenth century, with their capital at Anhilvad Patan, were Gurjars; and if, still further north, a powerful Gurjar kingdom was established in South Rajputana with its capital

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interesting to note that, according to the Paikuli inscription, they were already in India by the end of the 3rd century A.D. (E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 126).

at Bhinmal or Shrimal, it becomes clear how that part of Western India, whose history we are reviewing, came gradually to be known first under the Prakrit name of Gujjara-ratta, *i.e.*, the land of the Gujjaras (Gurjars), and subsequently as Gujarat.[1]

The Valabhi dynasty interesting for various reasons

The discovery of the lost site of Valabhi and of the ruins of that city near the modern Vala; the fact that the Ranas of Udaipur or Mewar, the heads of the Sisodia clan of the Rajputs, trace their descent from the rulers of Valabhi; and, in later times, the wealth of Valabhi copperplates discovered in various parts of Kathiawar, all combine to make this one of the best known of the Gujarat dynasties. It has been possible to construct a very complete genealogical table[2] of its rulers on the basis of these copperplates, the era used by the Valabhis being the same as that of the Guptas, the initial date of both being A.D. 319–20. With the exception of this genealogy, however, covering a period of about 250 years from the beginning of the sixth to the third quarter of the eighth century, but little is known of Valabhi and its princes. As the writer in the Bombay Gazetteer states, 'the origin of the city and of its rulers, the extent of their sway, and the cause and date of their overthrow are all uncertain. The unfitness of the site, the want of reservoirs or other stone remains, the uncertainty when its rulers gained an independent position, the fact that only one of them claimed the title of *Chakravarti,* are hardly consistent with any far-reaching authority.'[3]

Relations with Shri Harsha of Kanauj

There is reason to believe that the Valabhi princes were at first feudatories of the triumphant Huns, and later of the Kanauj Empire. A Navsari copperplate of Dadda, the Gurjar king of Broach, says that Dhruvasena II Baladitya, ruler of Valabhi, was defeated in A.D. 635 by Shri Harshavardhana, lord paramount of India, compelled to marry Harsha's daughter, and to accept the position of a feudatory

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 2-5.
2. The family tree of the Maitrakas of Valabhi shows, besides some other names, seven Siladityas, four Dharasenas, and three Dhruvasenas.
3. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 97.

prince. But during the disasters that overtook the Kanauj Empire on the death of Harsha in A.D. 648, the Valabhis threw off their allegiance, and Dharasena IV inaugurated the permanent separation of his kingdom from the Northern Empire.

Chinese travellers on Valabhi

The city of Valabhi appears to have been visited in the middle of the seventh century (*c.* 640 A.D.) by the famous Chinese traveller and missionary Hiuen Tsang (Yuang Chwang), who describes it as a very wealthy and populous town, about five miles in circumference. There were in the country several hundred monasteries with about 6,000 monks. Most of them studied the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatya school. There were also several hundred temples of Devas and of sectaries of many kinds. Valabhi was, moreover, a great centre of learning, to which students from all parts of India flocked to hear lectures on Buddhist philosophy. I-tsing, a junior contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, tells us that in his time Nalanda in South Bihar (where he studied for ten years, 675–85) and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China.[1]

The connection of Valabhi and Mewad with the Sasanians

One other point about this dynasty requires to be noted, viz., the ancient tradition referred to by Col. James Tod in his *Annals of Rajasthan*, on the basis of the information contained in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, to the effect that the Sisodia race, which traces its descent from the Valabhis, 'is of the seed of Nushizad, the son of Nushirwan the Just of Persia, or of Mahabanu, the daughter of Yazdegird, the last Sasanian ruler of Ancient Persia.'[2] In commenting upon this tradition, the Bombay Gazetteer says:

> 'No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirwan. At the same time, marriage between the Valabhi chief and Mahabanu, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, the last Sasanian, is not impossible. And the remaining suggestion that the

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1. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 314; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 79.
2. J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Ed. by Crooke, I, 279.

link may be Naushirvan's son Naushizad,[1] who fled from his father in A.D. 570, receives support in the statement of Procopius that Naushizad found shelter at Belapatam in Khujistan, perhaps Belapatam in Gurjistan. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kathiavad and Mewad coins. These fire symbols, though in the main Indo-Skythian, betray from about the sixth century, a more direct Sasanian influence. The use of similar coins, coupled with their common sun-worship, seems sufficient to explain how the Agnikulas and other Kathiavad and Mewad Rajputs came to believe in some family connection between their chiefs and the fire-worshipping kings of Persia.'[2]

Date of the fall of the Valabhi kingdom

No definite information is available about the date or the circumstances under which the Valabhi kingdom came to an end. The view now commonly accepted by scholars is that the capital city was destroyed, some time about 770, by an Arab invasion from the city of Mansura in Sind. Numismatic evidence, based on the so-called 'Gadhaiya' coins—an unpretentious body of a very debased type of coinage found in Kathiawar—also appears to support this conclusion. We shall reproduce below, *in extenso,* some very helpful remarks on this subject made by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, at one time President of the Numismatic Society of India, in a paper contributed by him, at the author's request, to the *Gujarat College Magazine* in January 1919, two years before his death:

"It is well-known that the Kings of the Valabhi Dynasty held sway over Gujarat and Kathiawar during the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era (cir. A.D. 495–770). A copperplate inscription shows that a Siladitya, the 6th monarch of that name, was ruling at Valabhi, the modern Vala, some twenty-two miles west of Bhavnagar, as late as A.D. 766. The overthrow of this Valabhi, the seat of the kingdom, took place probably but a few years later, say

1. For details of Nushizad's revolt against his father Nushirwan the Just, and his defeat by one of the generals of the latter, see G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, 452-3.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 102.

about A.D. 770; but who the destroyers of the city may have been is a question round which has gathered no little controversy. That they were designated Mlecchas, 'barbarians,' is certain, but all else seems open to debate. Parthians, Scythians, White Huns, Kathis, Sasanians, Iranians, all have at one time or another, and with more or less show of reason, been identified with these Mlecchas. But the view that at present most commends itself to the historians of Gujarat is that it was the Arab lord of Mansura, the capital of Sind, who, equipping a naval expedition, appeared off Valabhi, and in a surprise-attack by night killed its king, and sacked the city. It would seem that the barbarians ravaged ruthlessly, for, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, Al Biruni (A.D. 970–1039) could write, 'Men say that still in our time such traces are left in that country as are found in places wasted by an unexpected attack.'

"Now, do the coins of Gujarat supply us any information that may bear upon the vexed question as to who were these barbarian conquerors? It is generally admitted that the Valabhi princes adopted not only the era but also the currency of the preceding Gupta rulers (cir. A.D. 320–520). The great majority of the silver and copper coins that have been found in large number in Vala and the neighbouring Sihor, while smaller, lighter, and of inferior workmanship, are still of the Gupta type. But the coins next met with in Gujarat are the widely distributed Gadhaiyas, or 'Ass-money', which coins in ever more and more degenerate issues continued to be current till the close of the 13th century. Now if we are to obtain from any coins light on the question, Who supplanted the kings of Valabhi? it must come from just these Gadhaiyas. So let us proceed to examine them carefully. They are still fairly common, being often found as treasure-trove. On one occasion some fifty copper specimens were left with me for identification. Here then is a handful, picked up at random. But, how unfortunate! these dumpy little coins have absolutely nothing to show but a thick unwieldy mace in a field of dots, this on the Obverse, and on the Reverse a veritable medley of 'dots and lines.' These silver and copper lumps simply have no legend on them—truly most unlikely coins to be of service to the historian of Gujarat.

"Evidently these unpromising Gadhaiyas are but degenerate forms of earlier and better executed coins, bearing on the obverse a man's bust, with head to the right in profile. Can we procure these earlier coins? Yes, if only we take time and trouble to search for them—they certainly are not common. But if we will search, we shall sooner or later have our reward, and a very interesting one it is. We shall be able to arrange our gathered Gadhaiya coins in a descending series such that each is finer in workmanship and richer in design than all below it, while the series leads off at the top with a beautiful clear-cut coin, thinner but broader than all the others. Of this series Prinsep writes,[1]

> 'None but a professed student of coins could possibly have discovered in the Gadhaiya coins the profile of a face after the Persian model on one side, and the actual Sasanian fire-altar on the other. Yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the lines and dots will prove. The distortion of the face has been produced from undue relief being given by the die-cutter to the forehead and cheeks. And this has by degrees, apparently, deceived the engraver himself, who at last contents himself with a deeply projecting oblong button, encircled by dots.'

"But you will ask, 'How does all this bear upon the history of Gujarat?' In no uncertain way: for from these coins we may clearly draw the deduction that the Conqueror of Valabhi came from a country in which the current coins were definitely Sasanian in type. My own first impression was that here we have a strong argument in favour of the conjectured Sasanian invasion of Kathiawar. But the Sasanian power never revived after the crushing defeat of Yazdijard by the Muslims on the battle-field of Nihavand in A.D. 642. How then could Sasanian troops have overrun the province of Gujarat and brought it under subjection, so late as A.D. 770?

"This difficulty being insurmountable—provided always that the date A.D. 770 is approximately correct, as from the copperplate grant it seems to be—I next turned to the hypothesis of Arab invaders having come from Sind, and set about enquiring what coins were current in the 8th century in that country. The Gadhaiyas, then known as Tatariya, or perhaps Tahiriya, dirhams were, Al Idrisi states,

1. Thomas's Prinsep: *Indian Antiquities,* I, 341, 342.

in use at Mansura, the capital of Sind, in the 12th century; and Sir Alexander Cunningham, after mentioning that the same dirhams circulated in Western Rajputana and Gujarat, adds[1]

> 'We learn incidentally that they were also current in Sind, as in A.H. 107, or A.D. 725, the public treasury contained no less than eighteen millions of Tatariya dirhams.'

"Here then we have lit upon just the evidence required. Some fifty years before the overthrow of Valabhi, the Sind whence the barbarian invaders are conjectured to have come had, and had in profuse abundance, coins of the very type that subsequent to that overthrow became widely current throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar. Thus the hitherto somewhat slender hypothesis that the Conqueror of Valabhi hailed from Sind receives from these unpretentious Gadhaiya coins strong confirmation; and if from Sind we may safely conclude that, as that province was then subject to the Abbasid Khalifas, the army of invasion was in the main composed of Arab soldiery."

VI. The Advent of the Parsis: Ancient Contact between Persia and India

Date of the advent of the Parsis, c. A.D. 716

Though the available information on the history of Gujarat in the eighth century of the Christian era is fragmentary, and the period is shrouded in great obscurity, we must mention one episode, of considerable significance for the future, which has generally been ascribed to the first quarter of that century. This is the advent into India of the first batches of the early Parsis, who left their ancestral fatherland of Iran, after the fall of the great Sasanian Empire, in order to escape religious persecution by the Arab conquerors, and landed on the hospitable shores of Gujarat, where their descendants have been settled for the last twelve hundred years. The traditional date for the landing of these Iranian 'Pilgrim Fathers', at some spot near the present hamlet of Sanjan, has been given as Shravan Shud 9,

1. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, 313.

Samvat 772 (A.D. 716).[1] Though this date has been challenged by competent historical scholars, it appears best, until more light is available on the subject, to accept it as a working hypothesis. It must also be borne in mind that the exodus from Persia was spread over several generations, and that later batches of Zoroastrian fugitives from that country continued to arrive at the coast-towns of Gujarat in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Contact of over a millennium between Ancient Persia and India

Students of early Indian history are aware of the fact that this was by no means the first contact of the forefathers of the Parsis—the ancient Persians—with the Indian peninsula. On the contrary, the relations—political, cultural and commercial—between these two great branches of the Aryan race could be traced for more than a thousand years before the period we are considering. We do not know whether the Persian conqueror Cyrus the Great, the first historical Emperor of Western Asia, had extended his sway into any part of India. But the famous inscriptions of Darius the Great (521–485 B.C.), at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustom, leave no doubt that this Emperor had annexed the Indus valley to his dominions. The conquered Indian territories were formed into a separate satrapy of his Empire—the twentieth—which was considered to be the richest and most populous of all. It included, besides the present North-West Frontier Province, the whole of Sind, and perhaps a considerable portion of the Panjab. We also learn from Herodotus that the archers from India supplied a valuable contingent to the vast hordes from Asia which were led by Xerxes, the successor of Darius, in his expedition against the free city-states of Hellas.[2]

Persian influences at the Maurya Court

When about a century and a half later (334 B.C.), Alexander the Great, after his conquests over the Persian Empire, entered north-western India to attack the farthest eastern province of that Empire, we find that the Indus still remained the boundary of that province, though the

1. Bahmanji B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, 1. The same authority from which the Hindu date is derived, gives also the Yezdegardi year 85 as the equivalent of Samvat 772.
2. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., 37-8.

cis-Indus lands had fallen under the control of small Indian princes such as Porus and others. After the tide of the Macedonian invasion had receded from India, we see the rise of the first historic Empire in India under Chandragupta Maurya which reached its culminating point in the long reign of his grandson Asoka. The Persian influences at the Mauryan court formed the subject of very intensive study and exposition about two decades ago on the part of Dr. Spooner and other scholars, and deserve to be mentioned in connection with the subject that we are discussing, for they were thought to be so pronounced as to lead this scholar to characterise the Mauryan epoch as the 'Zoroastrian Period of Indian History'.[1]

Relations of the Parthian monarchy with India

Alexander's successor in his Eastern conquests was Seleucos Nicator, who, though styled King of Syria, was in reality the lord of all Western and Central Asia, so that the eastern provinces of his realm extended to the borders of India. With the collapse of the Seleucidan Empire under the rule of his grandson Antiochos Theos about 260 B.C., we find independent Greek kingdoms established in Bactria and on the north-western frontier of India, and the same period saw the revival of Persian power in the home provinces under the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidæ (*c.* 256 B.C.). The rulers of this house gradually revived the aggressive policy of the Achæmenids, and under the vigorous rule of Mithradates I (171 to 138 B.C.) and Mithradates II, the Great (123 to 88 B.C.), the Persian power was again extended to the Indus, and even to the east of that river as far as the Jhelum. This close contact between the Parthian monarchy and the Indian borderland is proved by the long line of princes of Parthian origin (Maues, Vonones, Azes, Gondophernes, etc.) who held power in the Panjab and adjoining parts during this period, no doubt as feudatories of the Great King who held his court at Ctesiphon.[2] It is not improbable that the two powerful dynasties of the Western Satraps, associated with the names of Nahapana and Chashtana, which held sway over

1. Vide Dr. D. B. Spooner's articles in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January and July, 1915; also Prof. James Hope Moulton's lectures entitled *The Teaching of Zarathushtra*, Bombay, 1916.
2. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 220-30.

vast tracts of India from the end of the first century of the Christian era onwards, had strong affinities with the Parthians (*Pahlavas*), though in course of time they yielded to the assimilative power of Hinduism.

Sasanian contact with the West and the East

After a sway extending over nearly five centuries (256 B.C. to 226 A.D.), the powerful Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidæ was supplanted by the third and last of the historical dynasties of Ancient Persia, and Ardashir (Artakhsir), the son of Papak, established the great Sasanian house on the throne of Ctesiphon (A.D. 226). Students of the history of the later Roman Empire are familiar with the fact that the names of several great rulers of this dynasty—the two Shahpurs, Narses, Bahram (Ghur) V, Khusru Anushirvan and Khusru Parviz—are honourably associated with the almost perpetual warfare between these two great Empires of antiquity. But, as regards what took place in the Eastern lands of the Persian Empire, and especially about the contact of the Sasanians with India, the Greek and Latin historians are silent. So also, no information on the subject is available in Indian literature, and no inscriptions bearing on the relations of India with the New Persian Empire have been brought to light in this country.

Renewed Persian influence in India in the third century A.D.

Though the third century A.D. is a period of great confusion and darkness in Indian history, the renewal of Persian influence in India is proved by numismatic evidence. It is possible also that there may be some connection between the disappearance of the two great paramount dynasties of the Kushans in Northern India and the Satavahanas in the Deccan almost at the moment (A.D. 226) when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sasanian. 'It is impossible,' says Mr. Vincent Smith, 'to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected and that the Persianising of the Kushan coinage[1] of Northern India should be explained by the occur-

1. Kanishka, the founder of the Kushan Empire, was followed by Huvishka and Vasudev I. Mr. V. A. Smith says, 'Coins bearing the name of Vasudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia, and manifestly

rence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence.'[1]

The importance of the Paikuli Inscription

And here some recently discovered Persian inscriptional sources of information, as also Persian numismatics, come to our help, for it must be carefully borne in mind that no true interpretation of early Indian history, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, is possible without a thorough grasp of the history of the great Persian Empire on the other side of the Hindu Kush and the expansion of that power into India. Some valuable information about the relations of Persia with eastern lands at this period is given by Professor Ernst Herzfeld in his work on the great inscription discovered by him at Paikuli in Kurdistan on the high road leading from Media to Ctesiphon.[2] It is a bilingual epigraph, in Pahalavi and Pazand, dated between the years A.D. 293 and 296 in the early Sasanian period. The inscription was engraved by the order of the Emperor Narses, and it includes the names of a large number of provinces and subject states, including some in India, whose rulers came to pay him homage on his accession.

Significance of the titles Kushanshah and Sakanshah

There is also another feature of the Sasanian administrative system which is important in the present discussion. We find several princes of the blood-royal in Persia being appointed Imperial vicegerents under the titles of Gurganshah, Sakanshah, Kushanshah, Kermanshah, etc., indicative of the regions and the tribes over which their authority extended.[3]

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imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Shahpur) I, the Sasanian monarch who ruled Persia from A. D. 238 to 269' (*Early History of India*, 272). See also F. D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, 79-80, 287.

1. V. A, Smith, *Early History of India*, 273.

2. E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, Berlin, 1924, p. 172.

3. We learn from Sasanian coins that the title of Kushanshah, or 'King of the Kushans', was held by Firoz, son of Ardashir I, and also, before their accession, by Hormazd II, Shapur II and Bahram IV (Fardunjee D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, XI, 53, 82, 89, 92, 95, 286, 291, 295). Similarly, the title of Sakanshah, or 'King of the Sakas', was held by Bahram II, Bahram III, Hormazd III, and others, when they were princes (*Ibid.*, 3, 85, 87, 100). All these rulers, after their accession to the Imperial throne, assumed on their coins the higher titles of *Shahinshah* (King of Kings) and *Malkan Malka Airan va-Aniran* (Emperors of Iran and non-Iran).

See also E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 50-51.

and possessed a wealth, unexplainable without this extension to the east.'[1]

As regards the contact of the later Sasanian rulers with India, we may mention the tradition, recorded by the Arab historians Tabari and Masudi, about the alleged adventures of Bahram (Gur) V (A.D. 420–438) in India, and the enlargement of his dominions in that direction by the help of an Indian king who is said to have ceded to him Mekran and Sind, and to have given him his daughter in marriage. The name of this ruler is mentioned as Vasudeva of the dynasty of the Maharajadhiraj of Magadha and Kanauj.[2] We also learn from the coinage of Khusru Parviz (A.D. 590–628) that gold and silver coins of this Emperor were struck at Multan in the years 21 and 37 respectively of his reign, depicting on the obverse the bust of Khusru II and on the reverse that of the solar deity Aditya. It is well known that sun-worship was at this period in vogue in Multan where a temple was built in honour of Surya or Aditya. Formal history, however, makes no precise reference about any invasion of India by Khusru II in the years A.D. 610 and 626, which would be the dates for the issue of these coins. Although the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing coins of the Sasanian type into India, some more direct influence of this house appears to be indicated by the fact that coins of Sasanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nagari and Pahlavi have been found in the north-west of India. Professor Rapson is of opinion that they were almost certainly struck by some Sasanian dynasty or dynasties ruling over Sind and Multan (which latter town is included by the earliest Arab geographers in the kingdom of Sind), as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sasanian Pahlavi.[3]

Contact of the later Sasanians with India

The Sasanian dynasty of Ancient Persia ruled in great splendour and prosperity for nearly 425 years (A.D. 226–651), and collapsed in the middle of the seventh century A.D.,

1. E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 43.
2. *See* the original authorities quoted in Fardunjee D. J. Paruck's *Sasanian Coins*, 98 and Notes.
3. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 30, 109; Fardunjee D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, 270-271.

when a long period of internal weakness caused by civil strife was followed by the Arab invasion under the Khalif Omar which proved fatal to one of the most highly developed civilisations of antiquity in the east. At no period in its history has Islam shown such a succession of great military conquests as it did in the very first century after its rise, when the fiery zeal of a new-born faith, combined with the lure for the spoils of more civilised and economically advanced countries, led the rude and warlike Beduin desert tribes of the Arabian peninsula to an irresistible advance into three continents, involving successful war against both the mighty Empires of Persia and Rome. The Persian Emperor Yezdegard III was destined to be the last ruler of the House of Sasan, and the Persians were defeated in two successive battles at Kadasia (A.D. 636) and Nahavand (A.D. 641) which laid the Empire of the ancient Parsis prostrate before the Saracen invaders.

Rise of Islam and the fall of the Sasanian Empire

From this time onward we find large bodies of the conquered population, who would not submit to the religion imposed upon them by their half-civilised conquerors, abandoning their hearths and homes and migrating either to the sea-coast or to the inaccessible highlands in and about Khorasan. We have some evidence to the effect that a body of Persians thus settled in Kohistan left their natural strongholds at some date in the later half of the seventh century and migrated to the old town of Hormazd on the mainland of the Persian Gulf. After a stay of about a couple of decades at this port, they were compelled, in consequence of renewed persecution, to set sail with their women and children for the coast of India, and at last arrived on the south coast of Kathiawar at the island of Div. After a sojourn of 19 years there, they sailed for the coast of Gujarat where they landed near the site of the later colony of Sanjan.

Exodus of large bodies of Persians from their native land

The only source of information we have for these remote events is to be found in a poetic composition in Persian, entitled *Kisseh-i-Sanjan,* written by a Parsi priest of Navsari, named Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana, in the year 1599, i.e., nearly

eight hundred years after the traditional period of the arrival of the Parsis in India. Bahman's narrative is interesting, but of absolutely no help with regard to the very rough chronology that it supplies. It is possible, however, to glean a modicum of fairly reliable historical information from his work. He tells us that the Hindu Raja, who held sway over the coast where the fugitive Persians from Div landed, was named Jadi Rana.[1] Whether this name represents a local Hindu prince, or an overlord with his capital at some distant centre, is not known, though the title of *Rai Rayan* given him in the poem suggests the latter possibility. The request tendered to the Raja by the priests and leaders of the Parsi immigrants to allow them to land in his territory was granted, and they were given a suitable site near by for making their settlement. Here the newcomers set up their dwellings, and they gave to their colony the name of Sanjan after a town bearing the same name in Persia.

The *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* on the advent of the Parsis in India

Some five years later (*c.* A.D. 721), the Parsis decided to set up a home for their sacred fire (*Atash Bahram*, i.e., the Fire of Bahram) at Sanjan, and, having secured from the Raja a large area of detached land for the purpose, it was cleared of the trees and forest, and the sacred fire was consecrated by the holy Dasturs and other priests with all due rites and ceremonies on the lines handed down from ancient times. This sacred fire came to be described by the Parsis in India under the honorific designation of *Iranshah* (the King of Iran), as being the symbol of their ancient religion and empire.[2] Many centuries later, about 1492, after the battle of Sanjan and the break-up of the ancient Parsi colony there in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada,[3] this sacred fire was carried for safety to the neighbouring hill of Bahrot (Bharat) and the forests of Bansda. We next find it removed to the town of Navsari, after which it was transferred to Bulsar, and later, in 1742, to its present home at Udvada,

The *Iranshah* of the Parsis installed at Sanjan

1. This may be a corrupt form for 'Yadav Rana,' or for 'Jayadev Rana,' or some such name.
2. The *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, translated in S. H. Hodivalla's *Studies in Parsi History*, 99-106.
3. *Infra*, pp. 181-2.

which has thus become the Mecca or the Benares of the Parsis for the last two centuries. After a long stay in Sanjan, extending over some generations, many of the Parsis are said to have migrated to the towns of Navsari, Surat, Broach, Cambay, and other centres in Gujarat.[1]

Before we pass on from this subject, one interesting reference made in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* deserves to be noted. It is to the effect that, when the early Iranian refugees arrived on the Gujarat coast, and asked the Hindu ruler for permission to land, one of their Dasturs expounded to the Rana the principles of their faith and their social customs, and concluded his argument with the following solemn words: 'Do not be afraid of us, for no harm will come through us to this country; we shall be the friends of India (*ma Hindustanra yar bashim*); we shall destroy your enemies.'[2] Who will deny that, for roughly twelve centuries, the Parsis have regarded India as their motherland, and have fulfilled the almost prophetic words of the ancient Dastur? For, they have remained 'the friends of India' from one generation to another, from the date at the end of the fifteenth century when under their leader Ardashir they fought and died near Sanjan on behalf of their Hindu Raja against the large army of Sultan Mahmud Begada, down to modern times when the Parsis gave the lead to all India in matters of social reform and national progress. In the impulse given by them to female education and to the consequent refinement of home life, in their abandonment of retrograde social customs and practices, in the extent and catholicity of their public benefactions, and in their assimilation of all that was best in western culture, the example set by the Parsis in the last one hundred years has been of the utmost value to India and to the sister-communities. In this respect, the Parsis have repaid manifold the debt of gratitude which their remote ancestors

'We shall be the friends of India'

1. We learn from two roughly carved inscriptions in Pahalavi in the Kanheri caves in Salsette Island, near Bombay, that two small parties of Zoroastrians, whose names are given, visited these caves in the years 368 and 390 of the Yezdegardi Era, *i.e.*, in A.D. 999 and 1021 respectively (B. B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, 2).

2. S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, 103.

of the eighth century owed to the Hindu prince who gave them refuge in those old mediaeval days.

Mr. H. Beveridge on the Parsis in India

Mr. Henry Beveridge of the Civil Service, the well-known editor and translator of Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama,* and an impartial observer, in an article entitled *India's Debt to Persia,* refers as follows to the same subject:

> 'But if Persian Muhammadans were influential in India, the followers of the old Persian faith were also powerful agents in civilising the country. The Persian settlers in Gujarat—the forefathers of the modern Parsis—did the same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the life blood of the Indian nation. When we think of what the Parsis have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think that there is good in religious persecutions, and that like Kingsley's 'Wild North-Easter' they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world.'[1]

VII. The Chavadas (*c.* A.D. 746–942)

Foundation of Anhilvad Patan, A.D. 746

It is highly probable that the Chavadas, who held restricted sway over a portion of North Gujarat for nearly two centuries on the fall of the Valabhis, belonged to the Gurjar tribe and were once vassals of the Kings of Valabhi. They formed originally a small principality, and their first capital was at Panchasar,[2] a name still preserved in a village situated near the lesser *Ran* of Cutch in the extreme south of the Radhanpur State. The most important contribution made by the Chavadas to history was the foundation, about A.D. 746, of Anhilvad Patan, the last and most celebrated of the Hindu capitals of

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1. *Spiegel Memorial Volume,* containing Papers on Iranian subjects written in honour of the late Dr. Frederic Spiegel, Ed. by J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1908, p. 21.

2. The village of Panchasar lies eleven miles north-east of Jhinjhuvada in a dry, flat, treeless plain. There is now nothing left above ground to commemorate its traditional fame as one of the oldest towns in this part of Gujarat.

Gujarat. The traditional story of the foundation of Anhilvad runs as follows. Jae Shikhar, the Chavada ruler of Panchasar, was oppressed by the arms of the Raja Bhuvad of Kalyanakataka.[1] Finding the battle lost, he sent for Surpal, his wife's brother, and requested him to preserve his race by conveying to some place of safety the queen Rupsundri. After this, Jae Shikhar was killed in a final attack against the invader. In the heart of the forest the queen gave birth to a son, and the child received the name of Wan Raj, or the Forest King. In course of time, the brave young prince grew up to manhood, and succeeded in recovering his father's heritage from the usurping power. He then carried out, in A.D. 746, his long-meditated design of building a new city for his capital, which was named Anhilvad, after one of the faithful followers in his wanderings. Wan Raj also built at Anhilvad the Jain temple of Panchasura-Parasnath, so called because the image of the Tirthankar was brought over from the old capital at Panchasar. This ancient temple still remains at Patan, though the original structure is difficult to be distinguished from later additions.

The last of the Chavadas

Several generations after the time of Wan Raj, Samant Singh comes to the throne of Anhilvad as the last ruler of the Chavada dynasty. Being without a son, he adopted as his heir his nephew Mulraj of the Solanki dynasty of Kalyana. The nephew deposed and slew his uncle, and placed himself on the throne as the first of the illustrious Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. To ensure for himself a peaceful reign, Mulraj put to death the members of his mother's family, the remaining scions of the Chavada dynasty.

The chronology of the Chavada or Chapotkata dynasty, which ruled over North Gujarat from about the middle of the eighth to the middle of the tenth century, is related by different writers with many variations and contradictions, and the whole period awaits further historical investigation.

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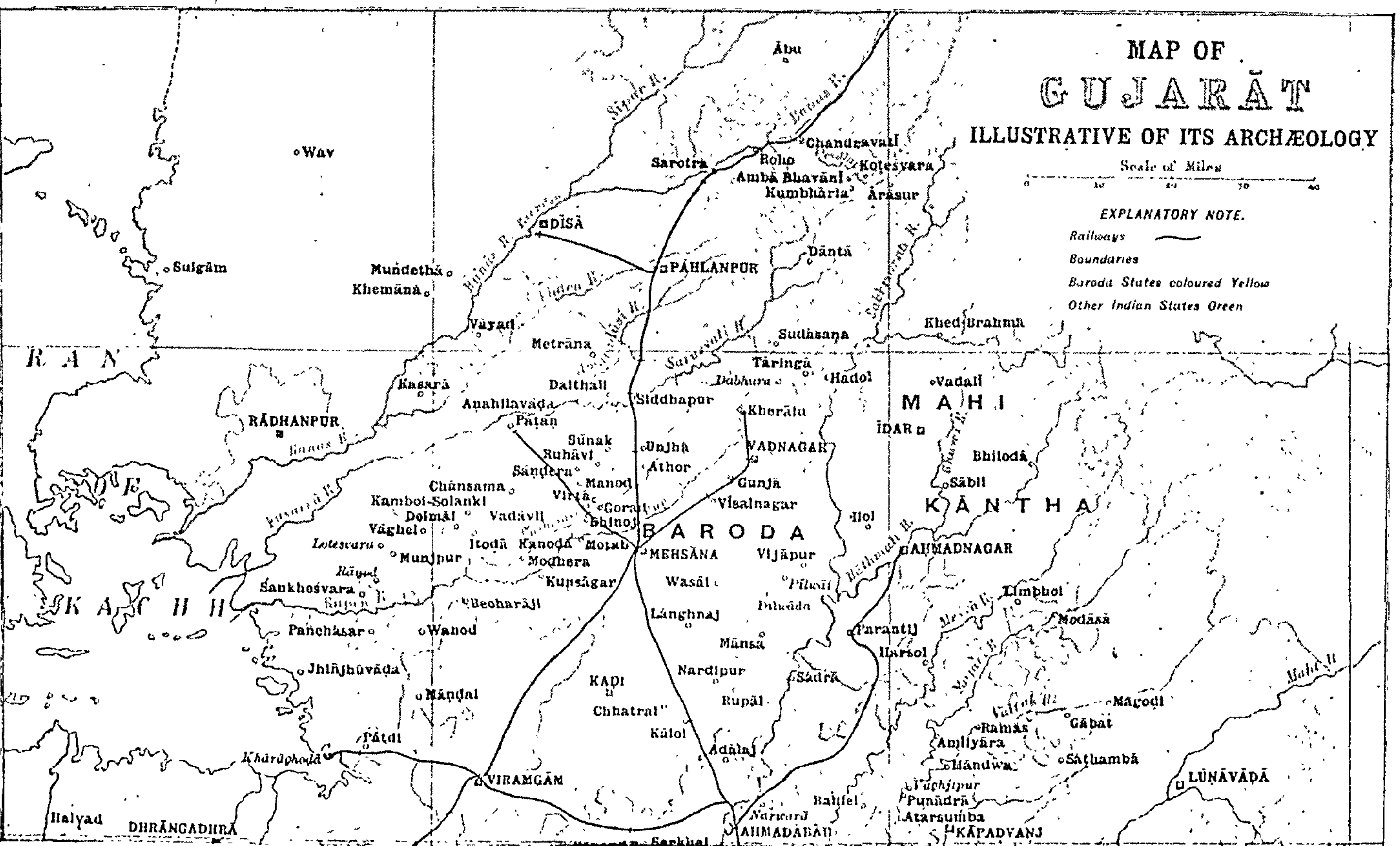
1. This town has been sometimes identified with the great capital city of Kanauj, but there are many objections to this conclusion.

VIII. The Chaulukyas or Solankis (A.D. 942–1242)

Historical sources for the Solanki period

With the establishment of the illustrious line of the rulers of the Chaulukya dynasty, we reach the most glorious period in the history of pre-Muslim Gujarat, and at the same time the materials for writing the history of the province become far more abundant. Hitherto, coins, copperplates and a few inscriptions have served as our chief sources of information, but after the accession of Mulraj, literary sources, from almost contemporary writers, are available to the historical investigator. Among these, perhaps the foremost is the work known as the *Dvyashraya,* written by the celebrated Jain monk Hemachandra, who died about 1174 at the end of the reign of Kumarpal, and whose work was continued by another Jain monk and completed in A.D. 1256. The *Dvyashraya* is so called because its author had a double object in its composition, viz., to teach the construction of the Sanskrit language and to narrate the history of the dynasty of Mulraj. Another literary source, viz., the *Prabandha Chintamani,* dates a little later, and was completed at Vardhamanapura (Wadhwan) in A.D. 1305 by its author, the Acharya Merutung, who was a monk at the Jain convent in that town. Of the writer of a third work, the *Ratna Mala,* whose name was Krishnaji the Brahman, little is known except that he wrote subsequent to the death of Bhimdev II. The information gathered from these literary sources for the Solanki period, has been illustrated and improved upon by monumental inscriptions and copperplate grants, as also by bardic and oral tradition. In this last mentioned category, the poems of the Barot Chand, the picturesque bard of the Chohans, deserve to be specially mentioned, as he is the prince of the bardic chroniclers of mediaeval Gujarat. For the history of the Vaghela dynasty that succeeded the Chaulukyas, the chief contemporary authority is the *Kirtikaumudi,* or 'Moonlight of Glory', a Sanskrit poem composed by Someshwar, the court poet of the dynasty, who is also the author of another work called the *Vastupalacharita.*

Judging by his wars and the extent of his conquests, Mulraj deserves to take rank as one of the greatest of the



Map of North Gujarat illustrative of its Ancient Towns and its Archæology
(From Burgess and Cousens's *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*)

Solankis. It was under him that the kingdom of Anhilvad assumed those limits which, on the whole, it retained from the tenth to the thirteenth century. One of his earliest wars was with Graharipu, the Chaudasama ruler of Saurashtra, whose capital was at Vamansthali, the modern Vanthali, nine miles from Junagadh. He next overran Cutch after defeating its famous king Lakha. Crossing the Svabhravati (Sabarmati), the boundary of his kingdom, Mulraj carried his victorious arms into Lata or South Gujarat, and his supremacy was acknowledged by the princes of Abu and of Marwar. Nemesis is said to have pursued Mulraj towards the end of his long reign of fifty-five years, and the merciless slaughter of the Chavada family did not go unavenged. Installing his son Chamund on the throne, Mulraj devoted himself to religion and charity. Full of remorse for his past actions, he is said to have resorted from one place of pilgrimage to another in search of the means of expiation. His thoughts turned at last to Shristhala, now Siddhpur, a place of unusual sanctity on the banks of the river Sarasvati, where 'by the aid of the Brahmans' his wishes were attained. In this holy spot, Mulraj passed the remaining days of his life, and invited many Brahmans from different parts of India to come and settle there, and grants of villages were made to them. Shristhala was given to the Audichyas and Sthambhatirtha or Cambay to the Sri Gaudas. At Shristhala, Mulraj commenced the building of the famous Rudra Mala (*Rudramahalaya*, the palace of Rudra or Mahakal), one of the grandest architectural monuments of early Gujarat, the battered remains of which are to be seen to this day.

Mulraj (942-996)

We shall pass over the confused records, covering a period of 25 years, of the reigns of Chamund and Durlabh, the successors of Mulraj, and turn at once to Bhimdev I (A.D. 1022-1064). The most memorable event of Bhim's time, viz., the sack of Somnath, is passed over in sullen silence by the Hindu chroniclers—a silence which finds a parallel in the complete absence of any reference to the name or the invasion of Alexander the Great either in Sanskrit or in Buddhist books. Yet the Muslim historians place it beyond doubt that it was

Bhim Dev I (1022-64)

in Bhimdev's reign that the Sun of the Rajputs began to decline before the Muslim Crescent, and the Turkish conqueror Mahmud of Ghazni descended with his hordes upon the plains of Gujarat on his tenth and last expedition into India. We turn, therefore, to the oft-told tale of the fall of Somnath, and to the part which Anhilvad played in the resistance offered to the fierce iconoclast from Ghazni. With thirty thousand cavalry and the flower of the youth of Turkistan, Mahmud left Ghazni in 1025, passed through Multan, and, crossing the desert plains of Rajputana, appeared before the gates of Patan Anhilpur. But the Sultan did not enter the city. It was against the gods and not the kings of the Hindus that he now made war, and, leaving behind him the city of Wanraj, he advanced his banners rapidly towards Delvada in the extreme south of Kathiawar.

Mahmud of Ghazni invades Somnath

The celebrated temple of Somnath was situated on the southern coast of Kathiawar near the small port of Veraval. In spite of the traditions of its remote antiquity, it is probable that this shrine was not established before the time of the Valabhis, and its immense wealth was due to the lavish religious grants made to it by the rulers of this and the Solanki dynasties. According to the Muhammadan chroniclers, the temple was endowed with 10,000 villages. Every day a thousand Brahmans attended to perform the worship. 350 persons sang and danced at the gates on a fixed allowance. Holy water was brought daily from the Ganga, twelve hundred miles distant, to wash the idol. Three hundred persons were employed in shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. The glory of the original temple of Somnath can now only be imagined, since the ruins of a later temple of the twelfth century is all that meets the eye of the visitor to the ancient shrine of Prabhas Patan.

The great temple described

In front of the fort of Somnath, the military forces that protected the temple offered battle to Mahmud of Ghazni. The chivalry of the Rajputs could not withstand the furious onslaught of the invaders and Somnath was doomed (Jan. 7, 1026). Finding that all was lost, the guardian priests of the temple left the ramparts, crowded into the adytum of

the temple, and in vain sought for safety at the symbol of Mahadev himself. This supreme desperate appeal of the Hindus to the greatest of their country's gods finds a historical parallel in that tragedy enacted ten centuries before, when in A.D. 70 the priests of Jerusalem flocked into the temple of Solomon, and into the very Holy of Holies, and in vain prayed to Jehovah for deliverance from the swords of the Emperor Titus and his infuriated Romans. Nor was the tragedy less affecting than the scene enacted in 1453 when in the sacred precincts of St. Sophia the trembling citizens of Constantinople sought safety from the impending approach of Sultan Muhammad II and his triumphant Janissaries.

The victorious Sultan of Ghazni entered the shrine of Somnath, and penetrating into the most sacred recesses, stood before the symbol of Someshwar—a stone lingam rising nine feet above the floor of the temple. By Mahmud's order the image was broken into fragments, and part of it was carried away to Ghazni to be placed at the entrance to the Jami Masjid. The Brahmans had offered an enormous ransom if the Sultan would desist from this violation. The answer they received was characteristic of the man. The conqueror wished to go down to posterity not as the 'idol-seller' but as the 'idol-breaker.' The work of spoliation continued, and an immense treasure, valued at ten million pounds sterling, and including the sandalwood gates of the temple, was carried off to Ghazni. We know how Lord Ellenborough, eight centuries later, instructed the head of the army of retribution sent to Afghanistan, to bring back these gates to India. The General brought away, however, under a false apprehension of their origin, the gates of the tomb of Sultan Mahmud at Ghazni, which now lie in a neglected corner of the fort of Agra.

Mahmud despoils the temple

The site of the original temple of Somnath at Prabhas Patan, so ruthlessly despoiled and destroyed by the fierce, though cultured, iconoclast from Ghazni, has been the subject of discussion. In the opinion of some it stood at the spot, adjoining the sea, where the ruins of the later temple built in the time of Kumarpal are now to be seen. But Dr. M. Nazim, in his excellent monograph on the life of

The site of the original temple of Somnath

Mahmud of Ghazni, quotes the authority of Al-Biruni to the effect that the temple of Somnath was situated three miles to the west of the mouth of the river Sarasvati, and he locates its site about 200 yards away from the temple of Bhidia, where he found the remains of large blocks of stone partly buried in the sand and partly washed by the sea at high-tide.[1] All writers are, however, agreed that the present ruins are those of the temple restored by Kumarpal, dating from 1169, and that they cannot be identified with the original temple, destroyed in 1026, which was built of brick with fifty-six pillars of teak-wood, and the floor of which was also made of planks of teak with the interstices filled with lead. The ancient temple is also stated to have been thirteen storeys high, with its top surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold which glittered in the sun and were visible from a long distance.[2] In all these respects, the original temple was very different from the one whose ruins are to be seen to-day. In the opinion of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, the first dynasty to erect stone buildings in Gujarat was that of the Chaulukyas, the temples and buildings before them being of wood and brick.

Bhimdev I rebuilds the temple

We gather from an inscription at Prabhas Patan that, after the tide of the Muslim invasion had rolled back, Bhimdev I rebuilt the temple at Somnath.[3] More than half a century later, in the early years of the reign of the great Siddhraj (1094–1143), his mother Miyanaldevi is said to have prepared to go in great state on a pilgrimage to Deopatan. But she returned sadly from the frontier town of Bahulod[4] on hearing of the woes of the pilgrims who were unable to pay the heavy tax imposed at that place on all who had to pass it on their way to the shrine of Somnath. We are told that Siddhraj, thereupon, remitted the tax and the Queen Mother completed the pilgrimage.[5] The shrine built by Bhimdev I must thus have been in perfect condition at this period, since no reference

1. M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge), 1931, p. 213.
2. M. Nazim, op. cit., 212.
3. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 167 *n*.
4. Bahulod is evidently the large modern village of Bholada on the Gujarat-Kathiawar frontier, about 22 miles south-west of Dholka.
5. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 172.

to any repairs by Siddhraj, though he was a great builder, has been traced. But the name of Kumarpal Solanki is connected with the last and most elaborate restoration of the temple of Somnath in 1169, and the dilapidated ruins at present to be seen are generally identified with his name.[1] We shall refer more in detail to the available information about the construction and history of this temple in our review of Kumarpal's reign.

From this account of Mahmud's invasion we return once more to Bhimdev I. His great contemporary in the adjoining Parmar kingdom of Malwa was Bhoj Raja, whose fame as warrior, author, and patron of letters is second to none in mediæval Indian history. It is not, however, as friends but as rivals and enemies that we find the Gujarat and the Malwa rulers meeting each other in history.

To the student of architecture and the fine arts, the reign of Bhimdev I has a significance of no small importance. Kinloch Forbes observes,

Vimalsha builds the Jain temple at Mount Abu

> 'Mahmood of Ghuznee had hardly accomplished his disastrous homeward retreat, leaving behind him Unhilwara despoiled and Somnath a heap of ruins, when the sound of the hammer and the chisel was heard upon Arasoor[2] and Aboo, and stately fanes began to arise at Koombhareea and Delwara, in which an elaboration almost incredible, and a finish worthy the hand of a Cellini, seemed to express the founder's steadfast refusal to believe in mlechh invaders, or inconoclastic destroyers, as other than the horrid phantoms of a disturbing dream.'[3]

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1. M. Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazna*, 213 *n*.
2. The hills of Arasur lie at the south-western termination of the Aravalli range, and are approached from Danta in the extreme north of the Mahi Kantha Agency. The Sarasvati river has its source in these hills, and the temple of Amba Bhavani, the most important centre of pilgrimage on their summit, lays claim to the most remote antiquity. Near Ambaji is a village founded by Kumbha Rana of Chitor, and called after his name Kumbharia. Beside it, are some handsome temples of white marble, belonging to the Jain faith, constructed by Vimalsha. (Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 398, 405).
3. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 251-52.

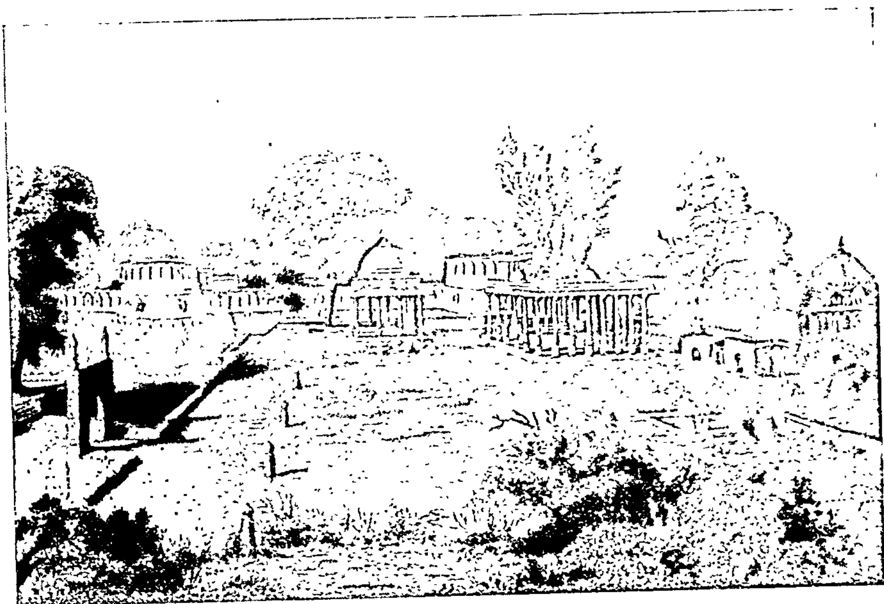
It was Bhimdev I who sent out Vimalsha as his general to assert his supremacy over the rulers of Abu reigning at their capital city of Chandravati, and it was as *dandapati* or governor of Abu that Vimalsha erected (in 1032) one of the most superb of the marble shrines that adorn the Delwara (Devalwada) on that sacred hill, and which was dedicated to Rishabhnath or Adinath, the first of the Tirthankars. Tradition says that the ground on which Vimalsha's temple now stands was formerly occupied by shrines of the orthodox Hindu divinities Shiva and Vishnu, but that this devout Jain offered to cover with silver coins as much ground as was required for his temple in return for the permission to erect it. This munificent offer was accepted.

Another famous monument of Bhimdev's reign is the *Rani's Wav* or step-well at Anhilpur, constructed under the auspices of Udayamati, the queen of Bhimdev and mother of Karna Raja. The remains of the well may still be seen to the north-west of the present town of Patan, and from these it may be judged that the Rani Wav, when intact, must have been second to none in Gujarat. The date of its construction may be placed about 1032, as the style of the architecture that still survives corresponds to that of the Jain temple of Vimalsha on Mount Abu which was erected in that year.

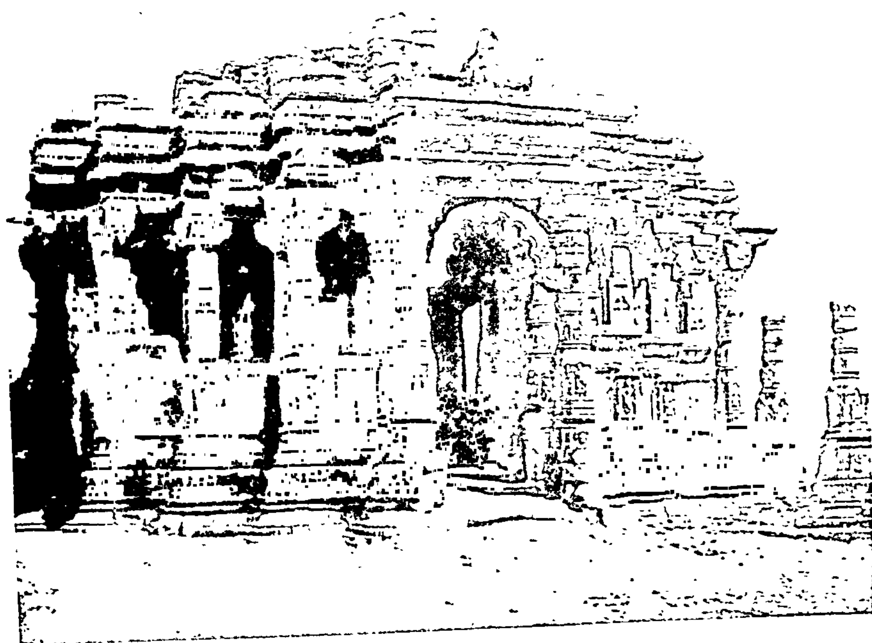
Perhaps the most outstanding memorial of the brilliant sway of the Chaulukya dynasty in North Gujarat is to be found in the ruins of the great temple of the Sun which stands on a knoll at the village of Modhera, eighteen miles to the south of Patan Anhilvad, on the left bank of the Pushmavati river. The place seems to have been at one time of considerable note, though the present village is little more than a collection of huts. The great temple, dedicated to Surya or Aditya, the sun-god,[1] is beautifully situated near the river, and even in its ruin and decay it presents an imposing sight. No finer or more interesting

The Temple of the Sun at Modhera

1. Temples to Surya or the Sun were at one time spread over many parts of India. Besides the famous shrine of Martand (the Sun-God) in Kashmir, temples of Aditya are mentioned at Multan, Kanauj, and Mandasor. Remains of sun-temples have also been found at Kanthkot in Cutch and at Bhimnath in Kathiawar. Sun-worship was prevalent in various parts of India previous to the twelfth century, but it seems to have become merged in the Vishnu cult.



The Citadel of Patan Anhilvad, the medieval capital of Gujarat (p. liv)
(From J. Tod's *Travels in Western India*)



Mandap in front of the Temple of the Sun at Modhera, North Gujarat (p. lxii)
(From Burgess and Cousens's *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*)

Hindu monument than this is to be found in North Gujarat. The age of the temple has been placed, on archæological grounds, about the eleventh century. A comparison between its style and that of the Jain temple at Mount Abu, built by Vimalsha in 1032, makes it evident that the two temples belong to very nearly the same period.

The Sun-temple described

The ruins of the temple at Modhera appear to have been almost unnoticed by European scholars, except by Col. Monier Williams in 1809 and probably by Captain Grindlay some fifteen years later. They are not mentioned by the indefatigable James Tod in his *Travels in Western India,* and no adequate information about their unique beauty and value was available until they were thoroughly explored and surveyed by Dr. J. Burgess and Mr. H. Cousens of the Archæological Survey of India at the end of the last century. No detailed account of the architecture of the temple is possible in this place, but it may be pointed out that the exterior of its walls has been profusely covered with sculptures, prominent among these being figures of Surya, or the Sun-God, with his seven horses carved under his feet.[1] In front of the temple proper, and separated from it by a narrow passage, stands the beautiful and richly decorated *sabha-mandap,* which forms perhaps the most elegant feature of this great monument. The rows of pillars inside this mandap are connected by ornamental *toranas,* or arches, resembling those in the temples at Mount Abu. In front of the east entrance to the *sabha-mandap* stand two huge columns, twenty-four feet high, which is all that now remains of a magnificent *Kirtisthambha,* or Triumphal Arch, similar in style to those yet to be seen at Vadnagar, Siddhpur and Kapadvanj. Adjoining the great temple is an oblong tank, called the *Surya-kunda,* 176 feet by 120 feet, where a broad stone stair leads down to the water. Small shrines have been placed on projecting bays in the tank below the ground level.[2]

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1. The Muslim conquerors are said not only to have defaced the figure-sculptures of the temple, but to have placed bags of gunpowder in the underground shrine, thus blowing it up with the upper cell and destroying the *Shikhar* or Tower of the temple.

2. Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat,* 71-81.

Modhera, sometimes also called Mundera, is said to have been the original settlement of the Modh Brahmans, who are found largely in the Ahmadabad and Kaira districts. It may be mentioned that the great Jain Acharya Hemachandra, the author of the *Dvyashraya,* was of Shrimodh parentage. We learn from the accounts given by Arab historians of the invasion of Gujarat by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni that, during the expedition against Somnath at the end of A.D. 1025, the Sultan became master of Patan on the flight of the Solanki ruler Bhimdev I to Kanthkot in Cutch, and that at Mundher, or Modhera, the Rajputs made an effort to check his progress southwards with a force of 20,000 soldiers, but they were defeated and scattered. The Sultan then continued his march to Delvada (near Una) and to Somnath.[1]

References to Modhera in early history

Bhimdev I was succeeded by his youngest son Karna (1064–1094).[2] In his reign serious attention was paid to the subjugation of the wild tribes of the Bhils and the Kolis, whose great power is attested by the fact that Dhand, a Koli Chief, had founded Dhandhuka which was long held by his descendants. Karna Raja defeated the Bhil chieftain Asha who lived at Ashapalli (Ashaval), near the later city of Ahmadabad. In commemoration of his success he constructed a reservoir called *Karna Sagar*, and founded a new city called Karnavati, which he made his residence. It is interesting to inquire into the situation both of the reservoir and of the new city of Karna.

Karna Raja (1064-94)

The location of Karnavati is a matter of uncertainty. The probability is that Karna's city stood on or near the site which is at present occupied by Ahmadabad. The mention of Ashaval points in that direction, and the frequent reference to Ahmadabad under the names of 'Rajnagar' and 'Srinagar' leads to the supposition that a Hindu city once existed on the spot which Sultan Ahmad selected as his capital. Much

Location of Karnavati and the Karnasagar

1. M. Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazna,* 116.
2. According to the *Dvyashraya* of Hemachandra, he married Miyanal Devi, daughter of Jayakeshin of Chandrapura—probably the Kadamba king of Goa who was reigning in A.D. 1052.

less difficult is the task of ascertaining the proper site of the magnificent reservoir, the *Karna Sagar*. Not many miles to the south of Anhilvad, near the village of Modhera, is a village still called Kunsagar, where are to be seen the remains of a huge tank which local tradition assigns to Karna Raja. It is said that the reservoir survived for centuries as a great irrigation lake, and was extant till the year 1814, when a heavy fall of rain caused the river Rupen to break through the great embankment, and the Karna Sagar ceased to exist.

Siddhraj (1094-1143)

Karna Solanki was succeeded by his only son, the illustrious Siddhraj (1094–1143), who was destined to raise to its culminating point the glory of Anhilvad, and whose name is to this day familiar in every hamlet in Gujarat. Local tradition relates that Siddhraj was born at Palanpur. He was yet a child when his father died, and during his minority the regal power was held by his mother Miyanal Devi, assisted by three ministers. It is interesting to note that the regency of the queen saw the construction of the two reservoirs which are named after her—the Miyanal Sur or Mansur at Viramgam, and the Miyanal Talav or Malav at Dholka.

The expansion of the Gujarat kingdom

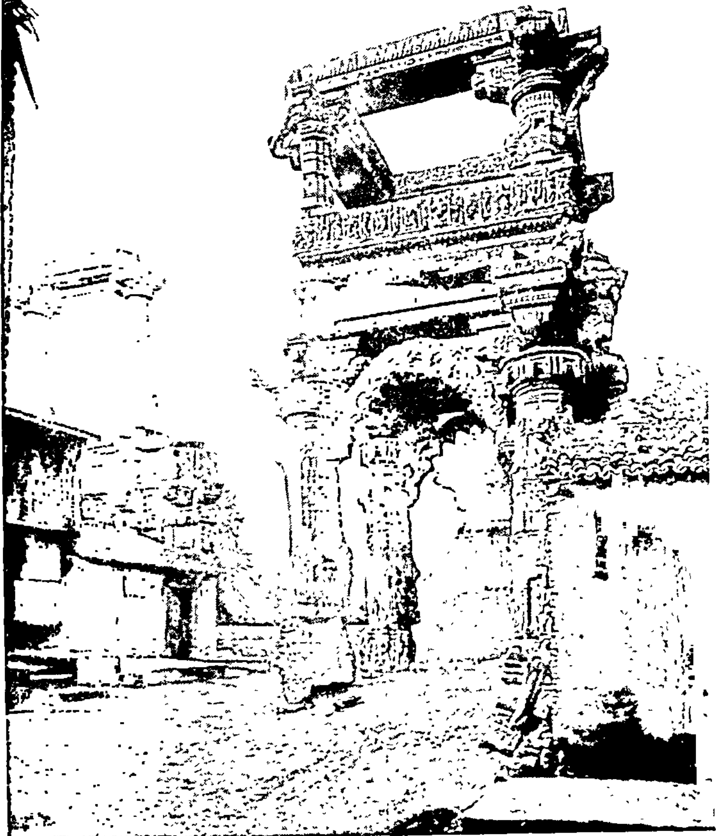
The reign of Siddhraj sees the expansion of the boundaries of the Gujarat kingdom. His first great war was against Ra Khengar, prince of Girnar. According to tradition, the cause of the war was the beautiful Ranakdevi whom Siddhraj had determined to espouse. But she had accepted an offer from Khengar, whose subject she was. Siddhraj, enraged at her marriage, advanced against Khengar, took him prisoner, and annexed Saurashtra, appointing one Sajjana as his Viceroy at Girnar. The year of the conquest of Khengar is probably the starting year of the new Gujarat era, called the *Simha Samvat*, named after Siddhraj Jayasimha, which begins with A.D. 1113–14. The earliest known mention of the Simha era occurs in an inscription on a well at Mangrol. This era was in use for about a century and a half in Gujarat and Saurashtra as long as the sovereignty of Anhilvad lasted. Siddhraj's second and greater war was against the Parmar kingdom of Malwa. It extended over twelve long years and was finished in Siddhraj's

old age, when his standard was planted on the battlements of Dhar Nagar, the celebrated capital of Raja Bhoj. It was this complete conquest and annexation of Malwa that led Siddhraj to assume the style of *Avantinath* (Lord of Malwa), which is mentioned as his title in most of the Chaulukya copper-plates.

The Sahasralinga Tank at Anhilvad

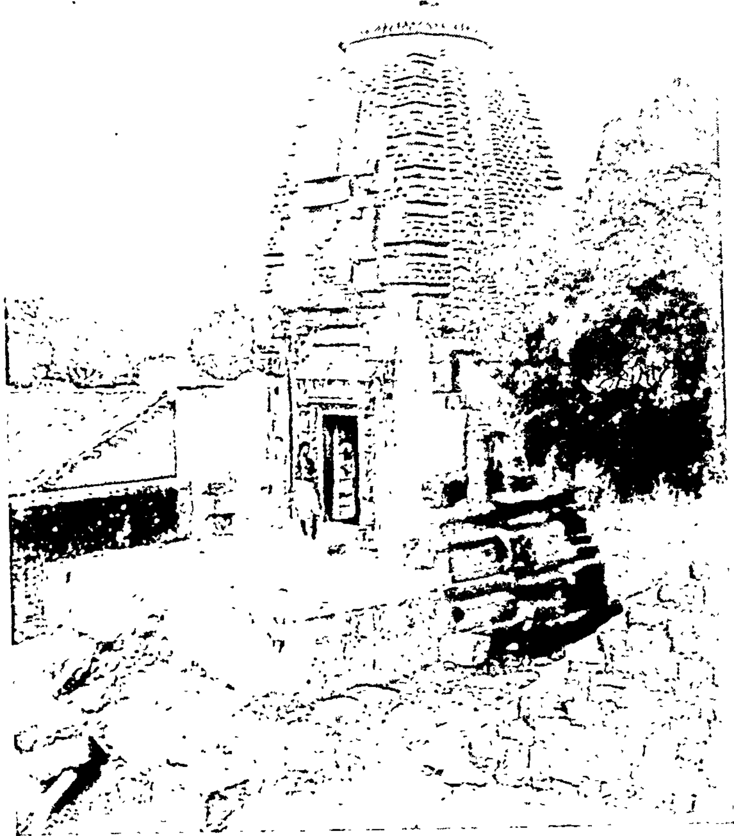
During the progress of the long war with Malwa, Siddhraj constructed at Anhilvad the celebrated Sahashralinga talav, or 'Tank of the thousand temples of Shaiva.' The reservoir must have been of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous small shrines which once graced its banks. The tank was round, or rather multilateral, and in its centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreshvar. Hardly a vestige now remains of the Sahasralinga tank, the theme of so much legend and song. Its site is still pointed out to the north-west of modern Patan. But there is neither lake nor shrine to be seen, and the basin of the tank is now converted into tilled fields. Remains of some bricks embedded in the soil are the only traces of the great embankment and of the flights of steps leading to the water's edge. Tradition has connected the construction of this great lake with a story of tragic romance. Siddhraj came to hear of the surpassing beauty of Jasma, the Odan, who lived in Malava land. The Ods are a low caste whose occupation is that of excavating lakes. Forthwith, the king ordered that 'a hundred thousand Ods, and fifty thousand Odans' be summoned to construct his great lake at Anhilvad Patan. They came, and with them came Jasma. On the completion of the lake, Siddhraj asked Jasma to be his wife. On her refusal, the king became angry and put many Ods to death. Jasma burnt herself on their funeral pyre, cursing Siddhraj with childlessness, and declaring that his tank should hold no water. About fifty-five years ago, the Ods or potters and bricklayers of modern Patan built a small temple to the memory of Jasma, not far from the Rani Wav.

It is related in the Ain-i-Akbari that Bahram Khan, the great general of Akbar, after rebelling against his master, was asked to retire to Mecca. On his way to the sea-port he came with his retinue to Patan and was hospitably received



Remains of the Temple of Rudramahalaya at Siddhpur, North Gujarat (p. lxvii)

(From Burgess and Cousens's *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*)



The Temple of Ranak Devi on the Bhogavo River at Wadhwan, Kathiawar (p. 124)

there by the governor. When alighting from a boat, after a sail on the Sahashralinga tank, Bahram Khan was assassinated by an Afghan whose father had been killed in battle by this great Mughal general.

The *Rudramahalaya* at Siddhpur restored

The name of the great Siddhraj is specially associated with the sacred town of Siddhpur, the ancient Shristhal, which is picturesquely situated on the steep northern bank of the Sarasvati, seventeen miles to the east of Patan Anhilvad. Two centuries before this period, about A.D. 944, Mulraj had founded at this place the famous Shaiva temple of Rudramahalaya (Rudra Mala) in honour of Mahakal, who is also known under the name of Rudra, 'the terrible'. But owing to various reasons the shrine had remained incomplete, and, during the two hundred years that followed, it probably fell into ruin. The work of restoring or rebuilding the Rudramahalaya, on the grand scale to be seen from the present ruins, was taken up during his reign by Siddhraj, and it was scarcely finished at the time of his death in A.D. 1143. So far as can be made out, the temple stood in the centre of an extensive courtyard, and was two or three storeys in height, with a *mandap* fifty feet square having porches on three of its sides. In or around the court were eleven other shrines to the Rudras. The temple is said to have been adorned with a very large number of columns, statues, golden pinnacles and carved screens. This magnificent structure was ruthlessly demolished by the Muslim conquerors of Gujarat, first by Ulugh Khan, Sultan Ala-ud-din's general, in 1297–8, and later by Sultan Ahmad I in 1415, by whom the building was converted into a mosque.[1] The gigantic fragments that remain today impress the beholder with the scale and grandeur of the original monument. Among these we may mention five pillars of the east porch of the *mandap,* and four of the north porch, and a beautiful *Kirtisthambha.* In honour of its royal patron, Shristhal is said to have been given the name of Siddhpur, under which it is known to this day.[2]

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1. *See* text *infra*, p. 82.
2. Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat,* 58-69; *Baroda Gazetteer,* by Desai and Clarke, II, 622-3.

Religious controversies between the Brahmans and the Jains play an important part in the reign of Siddhraj. Conferences were also held to decide between the rival factions of the Jain religion—the Digambars and the Svetambars—the former so called from their aversion to the use of all garments, the latter from their advocacy of white vestments. Accounts of one of these assemblies, held in 1124, at which Siddhraj presided in person, have been preserved to us, and state how one Kumuda-Chandra, a Jain Acharya, came from the Karnatak to champion the cause of the Digambars. He asserted as the first principle of his faith that no woman can attain *nirvana*! Wisely and gravely he contended that the person who wears clothes cannot obtain *mukti* or salvation! He was opposed on the part of the Svetambars by Hemacharya and by the Acharya Devasuri, the famous logician and monk of Karnavati. The arguments and eloquence of the latter carried the day, and the defeated advocate of the Digambars was expelled from the city 'by the gate of bad omen.'[1]

Religious conferences

Siddhraj was like his ancestors a Shaiva though the Jain chroniclers try to show that he was attached to their faith. It is true that Hemacharya, the great Jain sage, flourished at his court. But it is very probable that the king honoured him as a scholar rather than as a Jain. The opening verses of all the works written by Hemachandra during the reign of Siddhraj contain no special praise of Jain deities. Moreover, the order by which Siddhraj forbade the use of banners on Jain temples shows the reverse of a leaning to Jainism. Yet the king's complete toleration of their religion has made Siddhraj a favourite with Jain chroniclers.

Siddhraj an adherent of Shaivism

Ambition for future fame seems to have been a marked feature in the character of Siddhraj. It is proved not only by his military expeditions, but also by his patronage of men of letters and his toleration of the rival religions of the Brahmans and the Jains. The same laudable anxiety to preserve his fame is evidenced by the erection of temples and reservoirs through-

Greatness of his reign

1. *Prabhandha-Chintamani*, 97-104.

out his kingdom, and so great is his fame as a builder that almost every ancient monument in Gujarat is ascribed to him. Siddhraj is on the whole entitled to high rank among the rulers of India, and his memory is still fresh in Gujarat as its 'most powerful, most religious, and most charitable ruler.' He is rightly described by the chroniclers as 'the ornament of Gurjar-land, the light of the Chaulukya race.'

The *Ras Mala* on the extent of his kingdom

For a period extending over more than fifty years at the end of the 12th and in the first half of the 13th century, the name of Siddhraj holds the same dominating influence in Gujarat and all the surrounding kingdoms as that of his famous Muslim successor, Sultan Mahmud Begada, does in the second half of the 15th century. This will be seen from the following account of the extent and boundaries of his kingdom as given by the author of the *Ras Mala,* with the proper names modernised:

> "The extent of his kingdom may be fixed with probability in its general features, though not with certainty, or in detail. Gujarat proper, the territory to which he succeeded as the heir of Wan Raj, was held with a firm hand, and surrounded with a girdle of fortresses of no mean extent or power. Achalghad and Chandrawati, held by his Parmar vassals, were the outworks of Anhilwar on the north; Modhera and Jhinjuwara on the west, Champaner and Dabhoi on the east, with other strongholds, exhibited his banner, and contained his garrisons; but the fertile country which they embraced within their arms was but the lair of the victorious lion. We cannot suppose the dominions which were held by Mul Raj or Bhim Dev I, to have been in any material point contracted during the sway of Jai Singh. His frontier must therefore be pushed forwards on the north, beyond Abu, to the neighbourhood of Jalor; it must include Cutch. Sorath and Malwa, we have seen, owned his sway, and on the south his dominions extended deep into the Deccan, where, as Merutung relates, he excited the alarm of the King of Kolhapur. An inscription in the far-famed Chitor speaks of him as

'one whose frame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose deeds were sounded over the curtain of the earth'; while the historian of those countries bears witness to the fact that his name and exploits are recorded in the poetic annals of every state of Rajputana."[1]

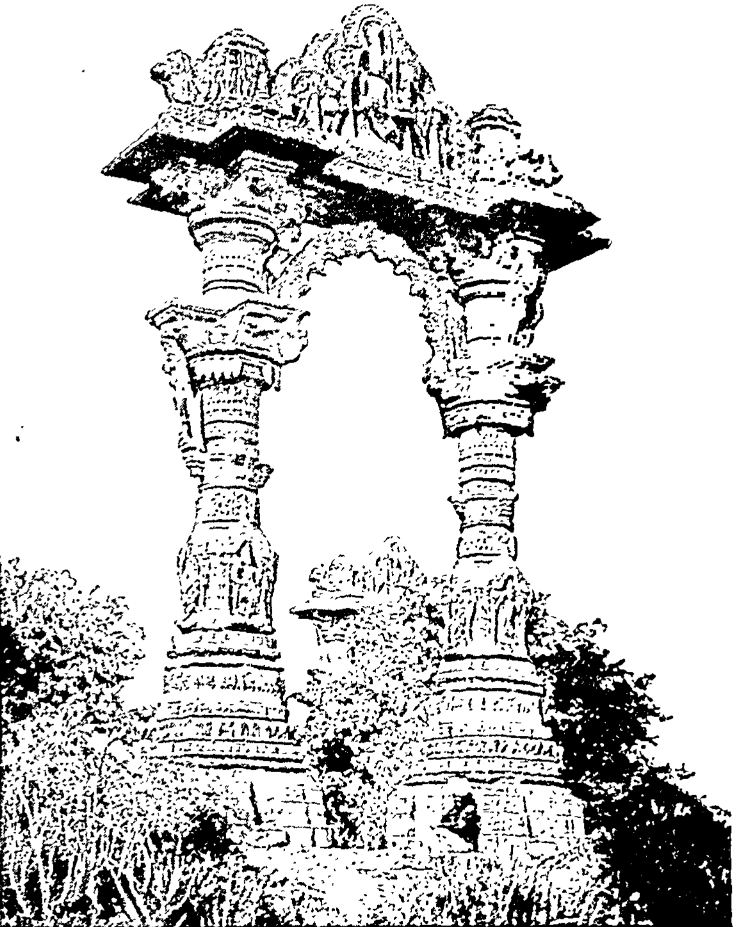
Siddhraj left no direct heir and the throne of Anhilvad passed to the next in royal descent, the astute and politic Kumarpal (1143–1174). From the time he knew that he would have no son, Siddhraj had become embittered against Kumarpal, and had refused to acknowledge him as his heir, and continually sought an opportunity to compass his death. In these persecutions Kumarpal had been frequently befriended by Hemachandra, the Acharya, and had promised that, if he ever became ruler, he would become a follower of the Jain religion. On the death of Siddhraj, the nobles sat in council to determine who should be king, and out of three eligible royal princes, who were brothers, selected Kumarpal as the worthiest because of his martial spirit. At the time of his installation, the new ruler was about fifty years of age, and he immediately proceeded to bestow rewards and favours on those who had befriended him in his long exile. Considering his greatness as a ruler, the historical record of Kumarpal's reign is meagre and incomplete. With the exception of a local revolt against his authority, and one or two foreign wars, his reign of 31 years is a period of general peace and prosperity. His great minister and general was Udayana. It was Udayana's son Amrabhata who carried out, after his father's death, his cherished desire to build stone steps up the west face of Mount Girnar in Kathiawar. According to inscriptions, these steps were cut in A.D. 1166.

Kumarpal (1143-74)

An interesting inscription belonging to the middle of the twelfth century attests the construction by Kumarpal of the rampart-walls of the old town of Vadnagar, now in the Baroda State, situated 19 miles south-east from Siddhpur in the Kheralu taluka of the Kadi District. The town is the headquarters of the Nagar Brahmans, whose great influence

Kumarpal and the town-walls of Vadnagar, 1152

1. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 172-3.



The Kirtisthambha or Great Arch at Vadnagar, North Gujarat

(From Burgess and Cousens's *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*)



The Baroda Gate at the Fort of Dabhoi (p. lxxxvi)

(From Burgess and Cousens's *Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat*)

at the courts of Gujarat is a matter of history.[1] Vadnagar stands on the site of the ancient Anandpur which is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang and also in the grants of the Valabhi princes of Gujarat. The epigraph referred to above is engraved on a stone slab in the Arjun-Bari which stands on one side of the Sarmista tank, a large and circular sheet of water to the north-east of the town. It consists of forty-six lines on a slab 32 inches in breadth and 35 inches in height, and commemorates the building of the walls of the town by Kumarpal Solanki, 'the crest-jewel of the Chalukyas', in Samvat 1208 (A.D. 1152). The inscription specially refers to the fact that the second name of the town was Anandpur, and that it had 'a sacred settlement of Brahmans who were called Nagara.'

The *Kirtisthambhas* at Vadnagar

Among the ancient remains at Vadnagar, the most striking are two magnificent *Kirtisthambhas*, or triumphal arches, that no doubt formed at one time an adjunct to some great temple of which not a vestige now remains. They stand outside the walls of the town to the north, and are identical in size and design, the more easterly of the two being in much better preservation than the other. Both of them face the east, and houses now occupy the intermediate space between them. They are almost entire, about thirty-five feet in height, and are built of red and yellow sandstone without mortar or other cementing material. The bases of such structures are relatively of considerable dimensions in order to give them stability, and in the present case the base of each column occupies a square of 7 feet 4 ins. The construction of these *Kirtisthambhas* is purely trabeate, the *torana* or arch being not constructive but decorative, and it survives only in the western *sthambha* of the two. The photographic view of this gateway will help the reader to form an idea of the style of these beautiful monuments of Gujarat, of which two other examples are to be found in this province, one at the Rudramahalaya at Siddhpur, and another at

1. It is a fact worth noting that, though Vadnagar is the headquarters of the most exclusive branch of the Nagar Brahmans, there was in the whole town in 1923 only one house in which Nagar Brahmans were to be found (*Baroda Gazetteer* by Desai and Clarke, II, 639).

Kapadvanj, where the gateway is smaller, being about twenty-three feet in height.[1]

Vadnagar, 'one of the golden wings' of Gujarat

An interesting reference to Vadnagar, illustrative of the wealth and prosperity of its inhabitants in the Middle Ages, is to be found in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, a work written in Persian by the historian Ali Muhammad Khan in the middle of the eighteenth century. In his statistical account of Gujarat and its districts, he says:

> 'Vadnagar is inhabited by wealthy Hindus, who are millionaire bankers, so much so that it has been said of Gujarat that it had two golden wings—one the town of Umreth and the other Vadnagar. Alas! these wings are now broken, and the city of Vadnagar has suffered most.'[2]

The Dhinoj Brahmans at Vadnagar

By reason of its sacred character, Vadnagar possessed at one time an unusually large number of temples, though the figure of '3,000 pagodas' mentioned by Abul Fazl at the end of the sixteenth century is grossly exaggerated. The chief temple, picturesquely placed below the walls, with a high and massive *shikhara*, is to the west of the town. It is dedicated to Hatakeshvara Mahadev—the special divinity of the Nagar Brahmans. Vadnagar was for long the chartered refuge of an infamous class of robbers known as the Dhinoj Brahmans, who, disguised as poor begging priests and working in parties of about twenty, carried on their trade of stealing and robbing. During the greater part of the 18th and far into the 19th century they were formally permitted by the Babi rulers, and later by the Gaekwar power, to reside at Vadnagar on payment of an annual subsidy or tax and on condition that they carried on their activities beyond the limits of Songadh, Viramgam and Palanpur.[3]

The final rebuilding of the Shaivite temple of Somnath, the battered ruins of which are now to be seen at Prabhas

1. Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, 82-5.
2. *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 2nd ed., 171-2.
3. *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, by Desai and Clarke, II, 639.

Patan, belongs to the reign of Kumarpal. It is stated in the *Prabandha-Chintamani* that this pious work was undertaken under the advice of the celebrated Jain Acharya Hemachandra. The King, it would appear, hesitated at the time between the faith of Shiva and the doctrines of the Jains, and the Acharya, prudently temporising, when consulted by his master about undertaking some charitable work, with a view to the attainment of religious merit, advised the restoration of the temple of Someshwar at Dev Patan, 'which was endangered by the strength of the ocean waves'. These remarks would apply very well to the present ruins which stand by the shores of the sea.

Kumarpal rebuilds the temple of Somnath

This restoration is mentioned by the author of the *Dvyashraya,* and is also commemorated in an inscription found by Col. James Tod in the temple of Bhadra Kali at Prabhas Patan, but which evidently belonged originally to the shrine of Somnath. It is dated Valabhi Samvat 850, which is equivalent to Vikram Samvat 1225, or A.D. 1169, and states that Kumarpal placed unlimited resources at the disposal of his chief officer at Prabhas Patan, *viz.,* Ganda Brihaspati, and gave him instructions to repair the fallen temples at Dev Patan.[1] The epigraph goes on to add, 'Chandrama erected the first temple of gold; then Ravan of silver. After Krishna, Bhimdev rebuilt it, and studded it with jewels, and then Kumarpal made it once more resemble Meru.'[2] This ruler is said to have paid a state visit, in company with Hemacharya, to the temple after its completion in order to celebrate the consecration.

Inscription commemorating the restoration, 1169

The last reference to this temple of Somnath during the pre-Muslim period is an inscription also seen by Col. Tod at Veraval, but probably originally fixed in the temple itself. It is dated A.D. 1264, in the reign of Arjundev Vaghela, one of the very last of the princes of Anhilpur, and it informs us that Narsinghraj and other Mahajans of Dev Patan erected a wall around the temple of Somnath with a gateway to the

Epigraph of Arjundev Vaghela, 1264

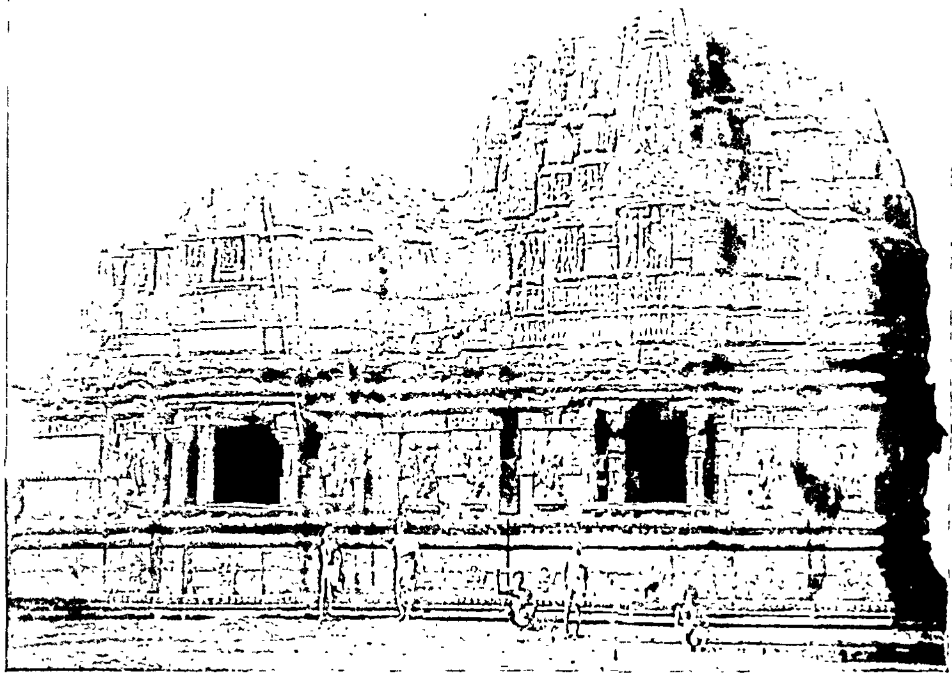
1. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala,* I, 184.
2. Article on Puttun Somnath by A. K. Forbes in Journal, B.B.R.A.S., VIII (1863-4), 59.

north.[1] It appears from the ruins of Kumarpal's temple that, though a Brahmanical shrine, it was built in the style employed by the Jains in Gujarat in the twelfth century. The interior of the walls also shows that they were largely constructed of materials from an earlier temple. From the sculptured decorations that remain, we may judge that they were of great beauty, 'quite equal to anything that we know of this class or of their age.'

The temple of Somnath despoiled under Muslim rule

We learn from the Muslim historians that the temple of Kumarpal suffered in every subsequent Muslim invasion of this town, though it was repaired and restored by pious hands from time to time. The first desecration took place in the very year of the permanent Muslim conquest of Gujarat in 1298, when Ulugh Khan, the brother of Ala-ud-din Khalji, after the defeat and fall of Karna Vagela, marched to Prabhas Patan and destroyed the idol of Somnath.[2] Nearly a hundred years later, in 1395, Muzaffar Khan, then Governor of Gujarat, and soon to be the able founder of the independent Saltanat, 'proceeded to Somnath, where, having destroyed all the Hindu temples, which he found standing, he built mosques in their stead.'[3] It is recorded that Muzaffar Shah's grandson, Ahmad I, not less intolerant of idol worship than his forefather, after his war against the Rav of Junagadh in 1414, again destroyed the temple of Sompur. The last reference made by a Muslim historian that we find in connection with this famous temple belongs to the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who, in the year 1702–3, then in the 84th year of his age, sent a Farman to the Viceroy Shujaat Khan at Ahmadabad to say that the temple of Somnath, 'situated in Sorath on the shores of the sea', had been ordered to be destroyed very early during his reign and idol-worship had been discontinued. The order proceeds to state that if it was found that the Hindus had again revived idol-worship there, the temple should be demolished 'in such a manner that no vestige of it should remain.'[4]

1. Article on Puttun Somnath by A. K. Forbes in Journal, B.B.R.A.S., VIII, 60.
2. See *Infra*, p. 2. 3. *Infra*, 54-5.
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 353 ; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 320.



The Temple of Surya at Somnath or Prabhas Patan, c. 1350 (p. lxxv)



The Fort of Achalghad, the stronghold of the Parmar Rajputs, near Mount Abu

(From J. Tod's *Travels in Western India*)

The ruins of Kumarpal's temple at Patan Somnath should not be confused with an old temple of Surya at the same place, which is situated outside the town, to the east, and is placed upon an eminence overlooking the *Triveni,* or junction of the three streams, and facing the rising sun. It is a later building than Kumarpal's temple. Its general style follows that of the temple of Surya at Than in the east of Kathiawar, but it is considered by Mr. Cousens to be of rather better workmanship, and is probably the earlier of the two, dating, perhaps, about A.D. 1350.[1] The upper part of its *shikhar,* together with the roof of the hall, and the whole of the porch, have been thrown down, no doubt during the Muslim raids on the shrines at Prabhas Patan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Temple of Surya at Prabhas, c. 1350

Hemacharya fills so important a place in the history of the Solankis, and particularly in the reign of Kumarpal, that it would not be out of place to say a few words about his career. His parents belonged to the Modh Vania caste and lived at Dhandhuka. While he was quite a boy, the holy sage Devacharya, travelling in that part of the country, took a fancy to him, and, with his mother's permission, brought him to the Jain convent at Karnavati. The boy grew up to be the greatest scholar of his time, and became famous as the author of a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit works on literature and religion, the most famous of these being the *Dvyashraya,* a work which is both a grammar and a history. When Kumarpal became a convert to the Jain religion, Hemacharya instructed him in the tenets of that faith, and the royal proselyte prohibited throughout the eighteen regions of Gujarat, under pain of the heaviest penalties, the destruction of life in any form whatever. Hemacharya died in 1172 in his eighty-fourth year and was soon after followed by his royal master.

The career of Hemchandra the Acharya

The next important ruler of Gujarat was Bhimdev II (1179–1242), better known as Bhim *Bholo,* or Bhim the

1. H. Cousens, *Somnath and the Mediaeval Temples of Kathiawad,* 29, (Plates XII-XIV).

Simple. During his long but weak rule, the central authority at Anhilpur lost its hold on the great feudatories of the kingdom, and political power rested not with the king but with the powerful provincial nobles, chief among them being the heads of the House of Vaghel, a branch of the Solankis sprung from Arnoraja, a cousin of Kumarpal. Yet, though from about 1222 sovereign authority in Gujarat practically rested with them, the Vaghelas refrained from usurping the royal title until the death of Bhimdev II.

Bhimdev II (1178-1242)

During the unusually long, though nominal, reign of Bhimdev II for over half a century, the kingdom of Anhilvad came more than once into armed conflict with the Muslim rulers who were now making their first permanent conquests in northern India. In 1178, Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sham of Ghur, who had been appointed governor of Ghazni by his brother, led an army by way of Multan and Uchh against the capital of Gujarat. But the Muslim troops appeared before Anhilvad after an exhausting march through the waterless desert of Rajputana, and, though they fought with great valour, they were defeated by the fresh and numerous army of the Gujarat ruler and compelled to retrace their steps. After great sufferings in the inhospitable desert, a miserable remnant of the army was at last able to return to Ghazni.[1]

Muhammad of Ghur's expedition, 1178

Many years later, in 1195, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the Viceroy of the Punjab under Sultan Muiz-ud-din Muhammad, and the real founder of the Muslim dominion in India, formed the ambitious design of punishing Raja Bhim of Gujarat and avenging his master's defeat seventeen years before. He advanced against Anhilvad, where Kumarpal, the commander of Bhimdev's army, was compelled to fight and was defeated and slain, while Raja Bhim took refuge in a remote part of his dominions. Aibak plundered his capital and the neighbouring country and returned with much booty to Delhi by way of Hansi. His master, on receiving the despatch of this victory, summoned him to Ghazni and received him with every

Qutb-ud-din Aibak attacks Gujarat, 1195

1. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 39.

mark of honour, appointing him Viceroy of all the Muslim dominions in India.[1]

But the Rajput states of Hindustan were evidently alive to the danger which threatened them from the permanent establishment of Muslim power in Northern India. In 1197, only two years after the above-mentioned events, we find Bhimdev sending an army to Ajmer to help the Mers, who had risen in rebellion against Aibak's authority. Though the allies succeeded in defeating the Muslims and in driving them into the city of Ajmer, the news of a large army marching from Ghazni to the relief of that city caused Raja Bhim's army to retire. At the end of the same year, Aibak marched on Anhilvad by way of Sirohi to avenge his defeat. He found the Hindu army at the foot of the Abu hills in a strong position, but having lured its leaders into abandoning the same, he gave battle and defeated the Rajputs who offered a most obstinate resistance. 15,000 were slain and 20,000 captured. This terrible disaster laid the capital of Gujarat at the mercy of the conqueror. Aibak advanced against Anhilvad, plundered the city, and returned with much booty.[2]

Aibak again plunders Anhilvad, 1197-8

IX. The Vaghelas (A.D. 1222–1298)

The Vaghelas were, as we have said, the most powerful of the chieftains of Gujarat, being hereditary lords of the township of Vaghel and also of Dhavalakkaka or Dholka. Their history has been told by the poet Someshwar in his well-known chronicle the *Kirtikaumudi,* or 'Moonlight of Glory', a work translated into English by the late Mr. Kathavate, at one time Professor of Sanskrit at the Gujarat College. Lavanaprasad, the son of Arnoraja, and minister of Bhimdev II, founded the sovereign power of his house, and transmitted it to his son Virdhaval Vaghela who refrained like his father from the assumption of the royal title.

Virdhaval Vaghela (d. 1242)

1. *Cambridge History of India,* III, 43-44.
2. *Ibid.*, 44.

The reign of Virdhaval Vaghela, the ruler of Dholka, and the real founder of the sovereign power of the Vaghela dynasty in Gujarat, has the same importance in the history of the Fine Arts in Western India as that of the Chaulukya prince Bhimdev I. It was during his reign that his two ministers, the brothers Vastupal and Tejpal, employed their fabulous wealth in adorning the summits of Abu, Girnar and Shatrunjaya with those magnificent temples which have placed their names in an imperishable niche of glory in the history of Gujarat. Kinloch Forbes, after referring to the parallel historical situation in Gujarat two centuries before, when, at the end of the reign of Bhimdev I, undismayed by the devastating raid of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and the destruction of the holy temple of Somnath, Vimal Sha and others had proceeded with the work of temple-building at Kumbharia and Mount Abu, 'apparently as little sensible of sorrow for the past as of apprehension for the future', adds:

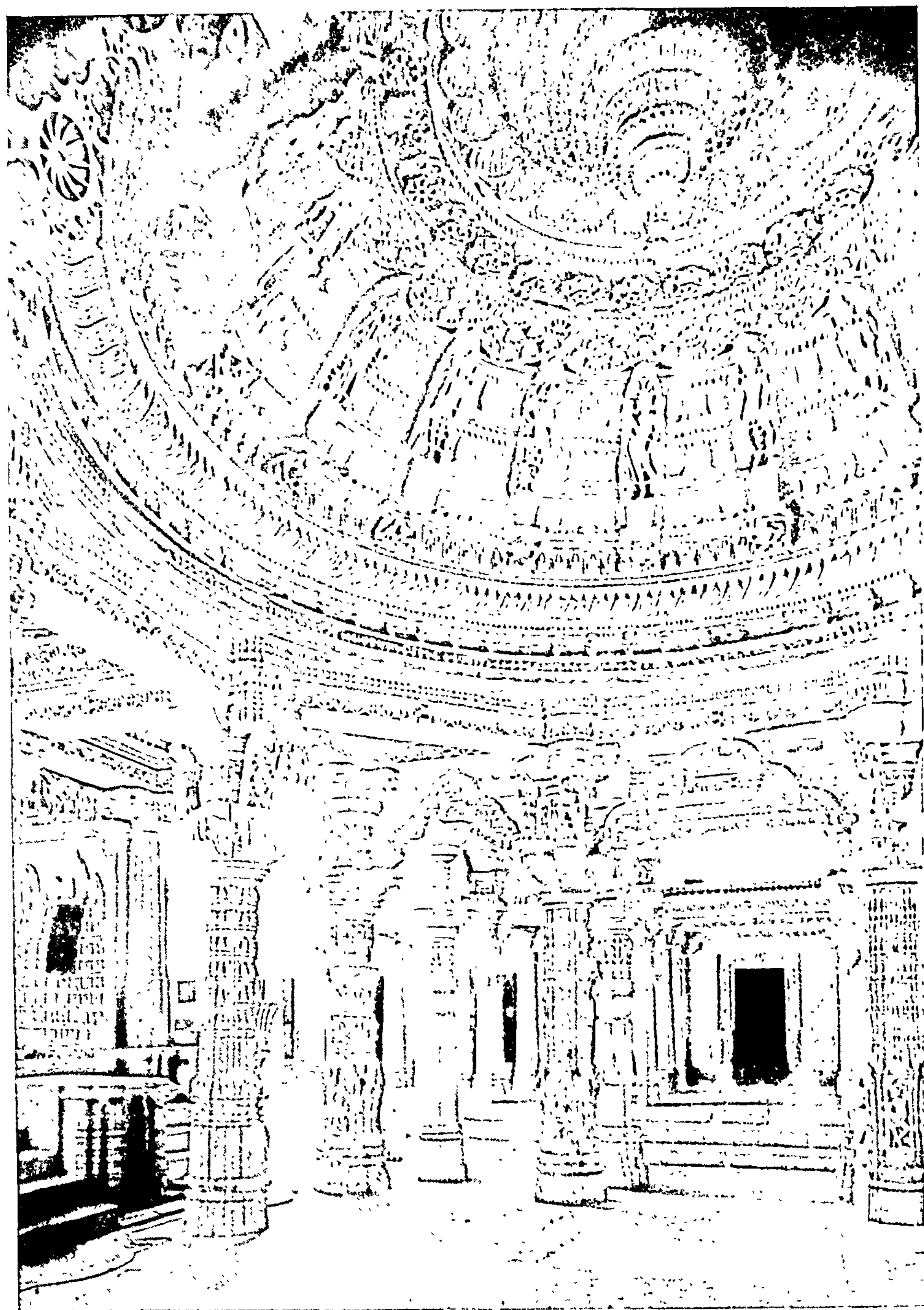
Temple-building resumed in Gujarat

> 'And now, as the second Bheem closes his troubled career—as the sun of Unhilwara sinks with him never again to rise in unclouded brightness, while the Crescent, perhaps, still waves over the capital, while the roar of battle has not well died away—at Abu and Shatroonjye the work is again resumed, and shrines, surpassing even the magnificence of former days, arise as dwelling places for those silent, ever-brooding, unmoved Teerthunkers.'[1]

The wealthy and powerful Jain brothers and ministers Vastupal and Tejpal, appear, by virtue of their religious piety, their vast benefactions and their great political influence, to play in the history of Gujarat in the thirteenth century a part which is in several respects analogous to that played by Shantidas Jawahari during the first half of the seventeenth century. They were Banyas of the Porwal caste professing the Jain religion, and were descended from ancestors who had for several generations resided at Anhilvad. They were brought to Virdhaval's notice by his former minister, and appear to

The Jain brothers Vastupal and Tejpal

1. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 252.



Marble ceiling in the Temple of Neminath built in 1231 by Tejpal at Mount Abu

(From *The Glories of Hindustan* by Dr. Alfred Nawrath)

have enjoyed his confidence to an unusual extent. The construction of a very large number of temples at various places in Gujarat is attributed to their religious zeal and piety.

With the exception of the Taj at Agra, there is probably no other monument in India which has elicited more lavish encomiums from architectural critics as the Delvada Temples on Mount Abu, whose remote and almost inaccessible situation, 4,000 feet above the level of the plains, has been the means of preserving them from the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim conquerors which has proved fatal to so many of the finest edifices of North Gujarat. We have already referred to the beautiful temple at Mount Abu erected by Vimal Sha in honour of Adinath in A.D. 1032. We shall now proceed to describe the even more superb temple, dedicated to the Jain Tirthankar Neminath, which, according to the inscription in it, was built in A.D. 1231 by Tejpal, though literary tradition has associated the names of both the Jain brothers with its construction. This temple is without doubt a masterpiece of the sculptor's art and surpasses almost every other building in India in the richness and delicacy of its carving. The finest craftsmen are said to have been employed on the work, and to have been paid in silver equal in weight to the marble dust chiselled out of their carvings.

The Delvada Temples at Abu

The following excellent account of the temples on Mount Abu has been given by the scholarly author of the *Ras Mala.* He quotes therein the remarks of Col. James Tod, one of the earliest European visitors to these celebrated temples, who has also left his impressions of them in his *Travels in Western India*:

Kinloch Forbes on these temples

> "Delwara, or the region of temples, is near the Nakhi Talav. It contains other shrines besides the two principal ones founded by Tejpal and Vimal Sha, but these are both the most ancient and the most magnificent. The temple of Vimal Sha was founded, as we have seen, in A.D. 1031, before which time no Jain edifice appears to have existed on the sacred mountain. Anything more than the most general description of these celebrated shrines is unnecessary

in this place. They are not remarkable for size or for their external appearance, but internally they are finished with all that elaborate elegance which is usually supposed to belong only to the art of the goldsmith. The principal feature in each is the usual octagonal dome, forming a vestibule to the adytum, wherein the objects of worship are enshrined, and around which is a columned peristyle, roofed with numerous domes. The whole edifice is of white marble, and the sculptured ornaments are so finely chiselled as to suggest the idea that they have been moulded of wax, the semi-transparent edges almost realising, by their hardly perceptible thickness, the mathematician's definition of a line. The pendant which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tejpal is particularly remarkable, and rivets the attention of every visitor. As Colonel Tod justly remarks, 'the delineation of it defies the pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist'; and he is secure in asserting, that no ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. 'It appears like a cluster of the half disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration.' "[1]

J. Fergusson on Tejpal's temple

This judgment on the exquisite beauty of the marble temples at Delvada on Mount Abu, given by the accomplished historians of Gujarat and Rajputana, is supported by the high authority of James Fergusson, who refers to the 'lace-like tracery of the fairy forms' into which the patient chisel of the Hindu craftsman has carved the hard marble of which it is composed. After describing at considerable length the technical architectural features and details of the two great temples, the eminent historian of Indian and Eastern Architecture turns to the beautiful dome in Tejpal's temple, which is only a little more ornamental than the one in Vimal Sha's, and says:

'The whole is in white marble, and finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament

1. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 257-8.



Jain Temples in the Fort of Mount Girnar near Junagadh

(From sketch by Mrs. Hunter Blair in Col. Tod's *Travels in Western India*)



The Damodar *Kund*, near Junagadh, with Mount Girnar in the background

which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison.'[1]

The temple of Vastupal and Tejpal at Girnar, 1232

The temple of Neminath at Mount Girnar in Kathiawar was erected by the Jain brothers in A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288), and contains an inscription by the poet Someshwar, the author of the *Kirtikaumudi* and family priest of Virdhaval Vaghela, stating how it was built.[2] As regards the Jain temples located both at Girnar and Palitana it must be borne in mind that the number erected on these hill-tops prior to the fifteenth century is extremely small, and that the great majority of those to be seen to-day have been built after that period, many being of comparatively modern date.[3] It is a matter for regret that, in their zeal to 'restore' and to beautify the temples dating from the thirteenth century or earlier, some of the wealthy Jains have inadvertently resorted to measures which have been characterised by ardent antiquarians as little short of vandalism. Thus, for example, the old triple temple of Vastupal-Tejpal on Mount Girnar has been painted all over in hideous colours, destroying the beauty of its sculptured ceilings, while its domes have been renovated externally with a coating of broken China, and the ancient inscription slabs covered with whitewash. The citadel of Junagadh, *viz.,* the Uparkot, and the hill of Girnar are, from the point of view of historical and archæological interest, the most important centres in all Kathiawar, and a succession of able administrators at Junagadh have, during the past half a century, taken all possible care for the conservation of the ancient monuments in and near this capital-city of the peninsula. It is, therefore, a matter for regret that the liberty of action granted by this State to the Jains with regard to the care of their temples on the sacred hill of Girnar should have led to such indiscriminate treatment of the historical monuments located on its summit.

1. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* II, 41.
2. A. Guerinot, *Repertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina,* Paris, 1908, p. 194.
3. *Ibid.,* 25, 30.

Even more sacred to the Jains than Mount Girnar is the hill of Shatrunjaya,[1] which, covered with palatial temples, rears itself above the town of Palitana in the south-east of Kathiawar, and rises to a height of nearly two thousand feet above the level of the plains. The devout pilgrim, after a toilsome ascent of two or three miles upon the shoulder of the mountain—over a path marked on either side by frequent resting-places, supplied with wells, and adorned with small temples—at last arrives in sight of the rocky summit of the hill where stand the shrines of his ancient religion. The hill consists of two peaks divided by a valley which has been partially filled in and covered with temples and their courtyards. The whole is surrounded by fortified walls, and the area within is divided into smaller enclosures called *Tuks.* On the southern peak stand several of the mediaeval temples built by Vimal Sha and Kumarpal Solanki, as also a pool sacred to a local goddess called Khodiar, near which is a stone image of Rishabhdev, the Jain Tirthankar, hewn out of the living rock. On the north peak the largest temple is one the erection of which is attributed to the fabled Samprati Raja.

Shatrunjaya—the hill of Palitana

The description of Shatrunjaya as a 'City of Temples,' given by Kinloch Forbes in his *Ras Mala,* is one of the best short sketches that have been written on the subject, and deserves to be reproduced:

A. K. Forbes's account of the shrines on the hill

'The old erections upon Shutroonjye are, however, few; and frequent restoration has caused them to be with difficulty discernible from the modern fanes around them, but of those of later date the name is legion. There is hardly a city in India, through its length and breadth, from the river of Sindh to the sacred Ganges, from Heemala's diadem of ice peaks to the throne of his virgin daughter, Roodra's destined

1. Shatrunjaya means, literally, the place of victory (*Jaya*) over enemies (*Shatru*); which are *raga* (attachment to worldly matters) and *dwesh*, hatred). The hill is considered the most sacred *tirth*, or place of pilgrimage, by the Jains, and is known under twenty-one other names, *e.g.*, Siddhachal, Vimalgiri, etc.

bride, that has not supplied, at one time or other, contributions of wealth to the edifices which crown the hill of Paleetana; street after street, and square after square, extend these shrines of the Jain faith, with their stately enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised, in marble magnificence, upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple, one image or more of Adeenath, of Ujeet, or of some other of the Teerthunkers is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread, upon the polished floors, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious, hymns.'[1]

Influence of the 'Hindu' style on the later architecture of Gujarat

As already stated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the style of the Brahmanical and Jain temples of Pre-Muslim Gujarat is of special interest to students of architecture because of the part played by it in the evolution of the later 'Gujarati' style of the 14th and 15th centuries, where the synthesis between the highly-developed indigenous style and the wholly different ideas and traditions introduced by the conquering Muslims, led to the development of one of the most pleasing varieties of Indo-Saracenic architecture to be found in India. James Fergusson observes:

'In Ahmadabad itself, however, the Hindu influence continued to be felt throughout. Even the mosques are Hindu, or rather Jaina, in every detail; only here and there an arch is inserted, not because it was wanted constructively, but because it was a symbol of the faith, while in their tombs and palaces even this is generally wanting. The truth of the matter is

1. A. Kinloch Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I, 7.

that the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat had been in a high state of civilisation before its subjugation by the Muhammadans, and the remains of their temples at Sidhpur, Patan, Modhera and elsewhere, testify to the building capacity of the race, and the Muhammadans had forced themselves upon this race. The Chaulukyas, however, conquered their conquerors, and forced them to adopt forms and ornaments which were superior to any the invaders knew or could have introduced. The result is a style which combines all the elegance and finish of Jaina or Chaulukyan art, with a certain largeness of conception which the Hindu never quite attained, but which is characteristic of the people who at this time were subjecting all India to their sway.'[1]

Vishaldev Vaghela (1243-61)

On Virdhaval's death his power descended to his son Vishaldev Vaghela who assumed the sovereign title at Anhilpur after setting aside Tribhuvanpal, the successor of Bhimdev II, and the last representative of the illustrious line of the Solankis. Vishaldev's reign seems to have been a brilliant one, and his sway over Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar justified his assumption of the title of *Maharajadhiraja*.

Some famous towns of early Gujarat now in Baroda State

By an interesting historical transition, we find that some of the most famous towns of North Gujarat in early times, whose names are specially associated in these pages with the rulers of the Chaulukya and Vaghela dynasties and their monuments, have, after remaining for over four centuries under Muslim sway, again been transferred, by the fortunes of war, to the control of a Hindu power, and now form part of the extensive dominions of the Gaekwars of Baroda. Among these places we may mention the old capital at Patan Anhilvad, as also the once famous towns of Siddhpur, Vadnagar, Vishalnagar and Modhera. But, besides these, there is yet another place belonging to the Baroda State which, though it lies far to the south-east, was from the political and military standpoint of great importance in early Gujarat

1. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 230.

from the 11th to the 13th century. This is Dabhoi, one of the most interesting towns in the Gaekwar's dominions, the antiquities of which we shall now proceed to describe as briefly as possible.

The ancient town of Darbhavati or Dabhoi is situated about twenty miles to the south-east of the capital city of Baroda with which it is now connected by a narrow-gauge railway. It owed its importance in early times to two factors. As a frontier town, it served under the Solanki rulers as a military fortress against the predatory mountain tribes lying all around it, and must have been for that reason well garrisoned for defence. Moreover, it stood on the direct route from the old cities of North Gujarat to Chandod, a celebrated centre of Hindu pilgrimage situated on the river Narbada ten miles further to its south. By virtue of its position, Dabhoi was the last halting place for the pilgrims from the north on their way to Chandod, and the first place on their return journey. We may mention here the historical tradition that the 'sister fortresses' of Dabhoi and Jhinjhuwada were constructed originally in the reign of Siddhraj Jayasimha.

The town of Dabhoi situated at an important centre

Vishaldev Vaghela (1243–1261) was the first ruler of his dynasty who is known, from his copperplate grants, to have held his court at the ancient capital of Anhilvad, and to have assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja*, 'King of Kings,' which neither his father nor his grandfather had claimed before him. He was born at Dabhoi, and after his accession he is said to have performed a *yajna* or sacrifice at that town. He constructed, or rather restored on a very elaborate scale, the fortifications of Darbhavati, the ornamental gates of which have been the subject of admiration for many centuries. The fort-walls of Dabhoi, which are about fifty feet in height, form a quadrilateral, but are not all of uniform length, as two contiguous sides measure only about 800 yards each, while the other two are a thousand yards long, and they meet at a sharp angle. An extensive colonnade, on the inner side of the walls, supports a platform several feet in breadth, thus forming a long covered portico for the use of the garri-

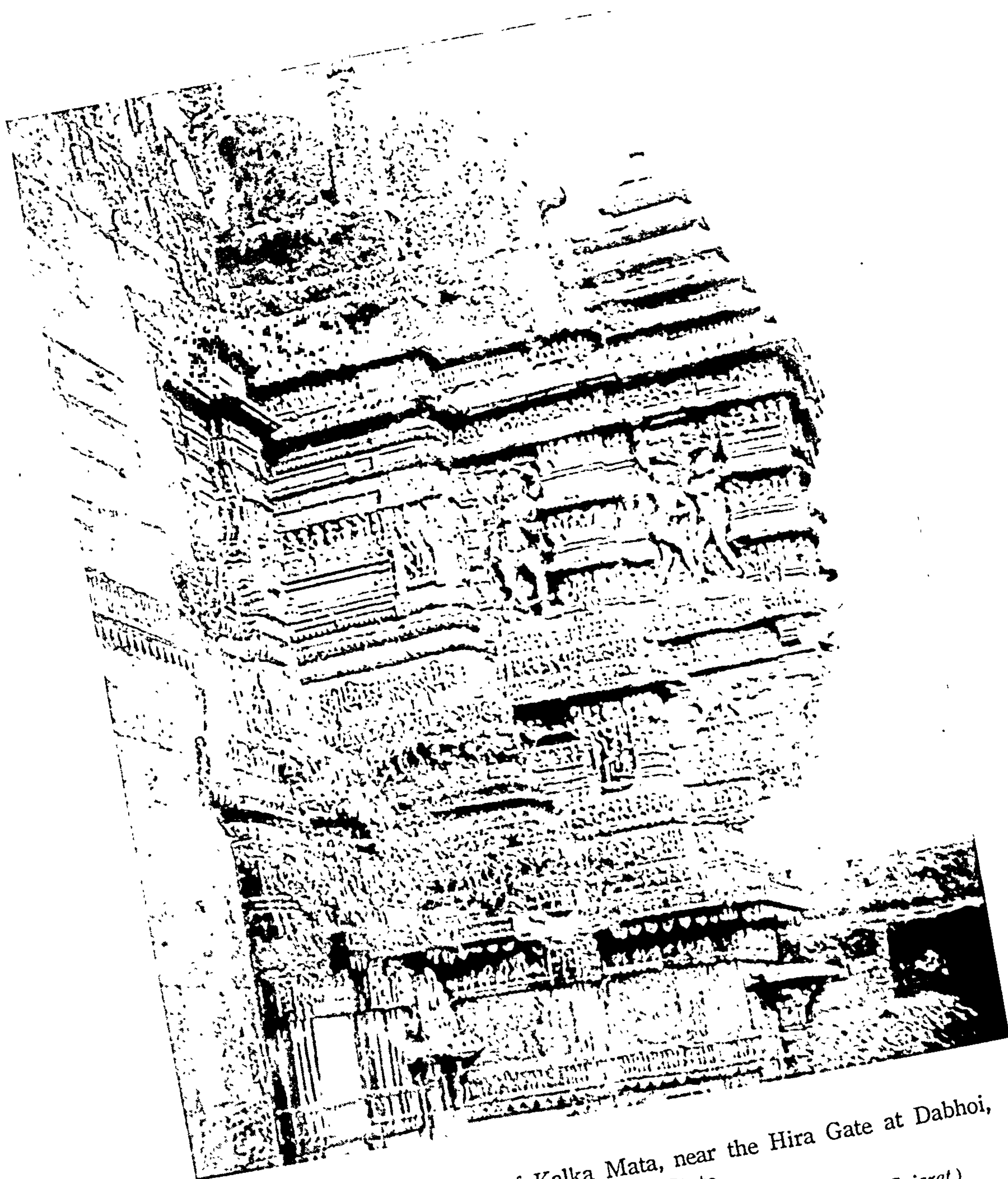
Vishaldev restores the fortifications of Dabhoi

son, but it has now mostly disappeared. It gave shelter in the monsoon of 1775 to Col. Keating's troops during the First Maratha War. In the centre of each side of the walls there is a double gateway, 'the platform above which is supported by a row of brackets projected beyond each other until they nearly meet at the top, thus forming a substitute for an arch'. The walls are throughout ornamented with sculptured horizontal bands, and the gateways are covered with a profusion of sculptured ornament. These gates are called the Hira gate to the east, the Champaner gate to the north, the Baroda gate to the west, and the Chandod or Nandod gate to the south. They have all suffered from the political vicissitudes of over seven centuries, and have been often repaired. The Baroda gate on the west has, however, been damaged the least and remains to-day perhaps the finest and the most imposing.

The *Hira* Gate at Dabhoi

The Hira Gate at Dabhoi, on the east side of the fort, was probably named, according to tradition, after the architect who designed it, but it has also been known as the 'Gate of Diamonds' since the days when it was so described by James Forbes. It has evidently been much exposed to attack and appears to have been almost entirely rebuilt. It is the loftiest of all the gateways, and about 37 feet deep, and from various features that still survive it may be judged that in its pristine splendour it was a far more imposing work of art than the others. Two niches in the inner side of this gate, facing the city, contain marble slabs, one of which is in good preservation and bears a long inscription written by Someshwar, the court poet of Vishaldev Vaghela, and dated Samvat 1311, or A.D. 1254–55, commemorating the rebuilding of the fortifications of Dabhoi by this ruler. James Forbes gives, in his *Oriental Memoirs,* the following description of the Hira Gate at Dabhoi:

> 'But the eastern portal, called by way of eminence the *Gate of Diamonds,* and the temple connected with it, present the most complete and elegant specimen of Hindoo taste that I ever saw. In proportion of architecture and elegance of sculpture, it far exceeds any of their ancient or modern structures I have met with. This beautiful pile extends three hundred and twenty feet in length, with proportionate height.



Bas-reliefs in the Temple of Kalka Mata, near the Hira Gate at Dabhoi, in the Baroda State

(From Burgess and Cousens's *Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat*)

Rows of elephants, richly caparisoned, support the massy fabric; the architraves and borders round the compartments of figures are very elegant, and the groups of warriors, performing martial exercises, on horseback, on foot, and on fighting elephants, approach nearer to the athletic gladiators and classical bas-reliefs of ancient Greece, than any performances in the excavations of Elephanta, or the best finished temples I have seen in Hindostan.'[1]

To the right of the Hira Gate is a richly-sculptured temple, dedicated to Bhadra Kalika Mata, which stands on the site of a still more ancient shrine in honour of the same deity. It was probably built about 1255 by Vishaldev Vaghela, who styles himself in his grants as 'the new Siddhraj', and who is also known to have restored the walls of Vishalnagar in North Gujarat. The temple is architecturally one of the most striking among those which have been handed down to us by the pre-Muslim period of Gujarat history. Its dimensions are small, 'but the whole outer face has been so broken by mouldings, and ornamented by sculptures, large and small, as to render it typical of the rich thirteenth century style in Gujarat.' But this extravagant profusion of ornament—with bands upon bands of mouldings and bas-reliefs covering its walls with figures from basement to summit—makes it perhaps difficult for the artistic eye to find in its beauty the same satisfaction as in the works of an earlier period. In the older temples the ornamentation is more sparingly used, and perhaps with better effect.

Kalika Mata's temple adjoining the gate

High up on the walls of Kalika Mata's temple are two elaborate representations of scenes in bas-relief, one on the western and the other on the eastern side. That on the inner side represents the well-known story of the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. The other relief upon the outer or eastern wall of the temple portrays a scene from the Mahabharata (*Adiparva,* 40–44)—the story of King Parikshit of Hastinapur being killed by a bite from Takshaka in his palace in the lake that was built upon a single pillar. All the other

Bas-reliefs in the temple

1. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* 2nd Ed., I, 537-38.

sculpture-work in this temple is distributed over the walls of the building in niches either as single figures or in pairs or groups. In one of the niches on the west face is inserted, on a white marble slab, an inscription composed in the time of Damajirao Gaekwar (1730).[1]

The Great Tank at Dabhoi

An interesting feature of the town of Dabhoi is the large tank within the walls, three-quarters of a mile in circumference, surrounded by strong masonry, and with a grand flight of steps descending to the water. This magnificent reservoir was filled, not only by the periodical rains, but also with water from receptacles outside the walls, by means of a stone aqueduct communicating with the tank, which it entered under a small temple, forming a cascade with a picturesque effect. The opening of this aqueduct at the commencement of the rainy season afforded a festival to the inhabitants for several days.[2]

James Forbes at Dabhoi, 1780-83

James Forbes was an officer in the service of the East India Company at Bombay. In 1775 he accompanied the British mission sent to support Raghoba in Gujarat, being in 1780 appointed Collector of Dabhoi, where he remained till 1783 when the parganas of Broach, Dabhoi and Sinor taken by the British were again ceded to the Marathas.[3] Forbes loved Dabhoi and its people, and took great interest in its public buildings and fortifications which he put in the best possible repair. He devotes a considerable space in his *Memoirs* to an account of the place.[4] He informs us that the city in his time contained about forty thousand inhabitants, about three times the present population, 'and nearly as many monkeys, which occupied the roofs of the houses, or enjoyed the shade of the mango and tamarind trees with the peacocks, squirrels and green-pigeons, that lived as unmolested by the Hindus as if in the midst of a forest.' When, after a residence of about three years, the time came for him to leave Dabhoi, to the great regret and distress of its people, Forbes did so with a

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1. J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, 1888.
2. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, I, 514.
3. For J. Forbes's career in India and later *see infra*, p. 488.
4. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, I, 402-4 ; 512-540.

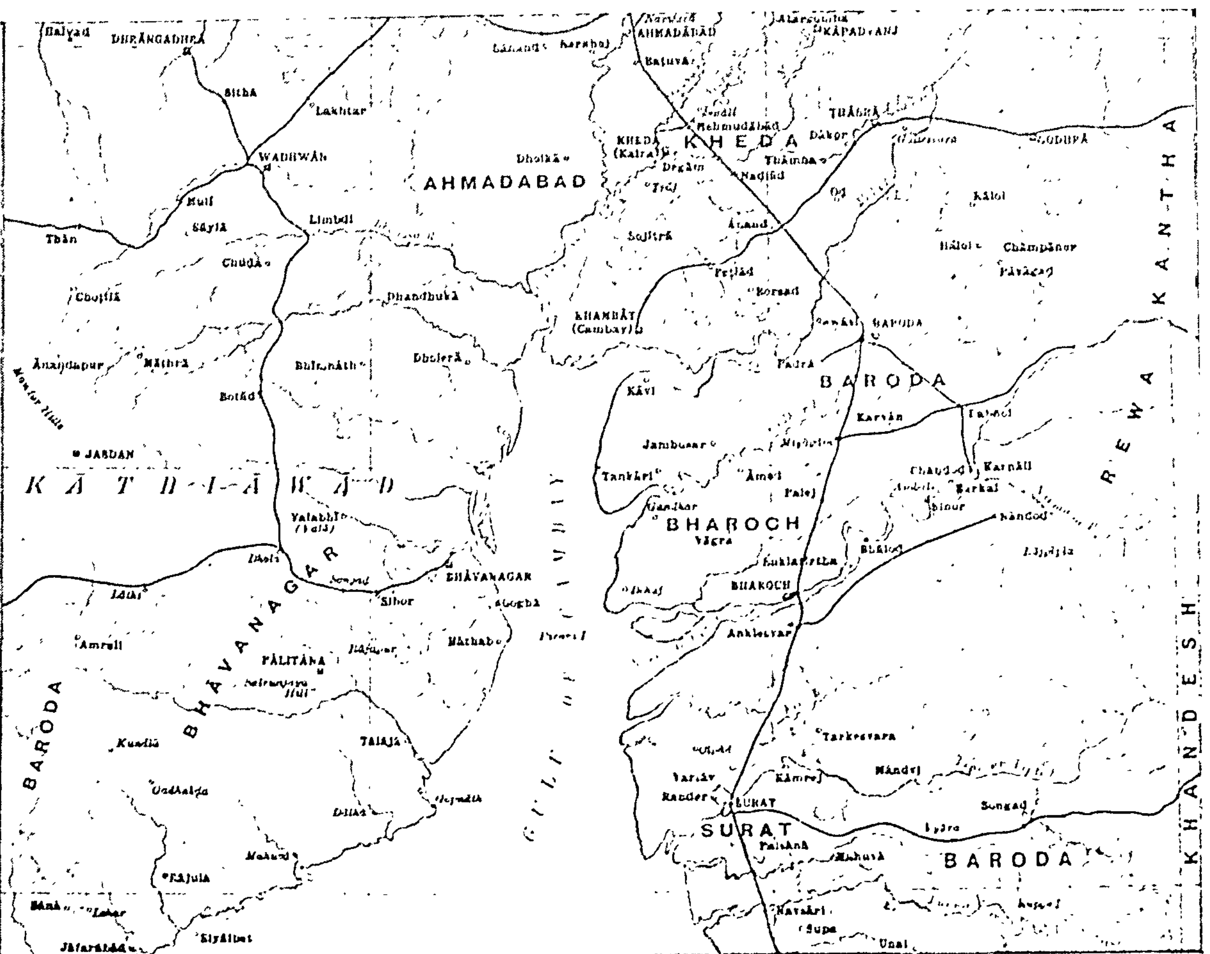
heavy heart, and on the day of his departure found some relief to his depressed spirits in composing, with a pencil, some 120 verses of 'extempore effusions', as he calls them, which begin:

> Dhuboy, farewell! farewell! ye ancient towers,
> Ye peaceful lakes, ye consecrated bowers![1]

Karna Vaghela, the last Rajput ruler of Gujarat, 1296-1298

Without pausing to consider the two immediate successors of Vishaldev, we shall turn at last to Karna Vaghela (1296–1298), better known as Karan Ghelo, or Karan the Insane, the last and most unfortunate of the Hindu sovereigns of Gujarat. In his tragic reign the Muslims finally overran the country and the sun of Anhilvad set for ever, and the account of this conquest has been given in detail in the first chapter of this history. After his flight from his capital, we hear little of the career of Karna Vaghela, and we are led to presume that the last occupant of the throne of Siddhraj died a fugitive in the wilds of Baglan. His sad and chequered career has been enshrined in an historical novel by the late Mr. Nandshankar Tuljashankar, a well-known Gujarati writer of our time. For a century after the fall of Karna, Anhilvad remained the capital of the Afghan conquerors until it was finally abandoned on the foundation of Ahmadabad in 1411. It is melancholy to relate that but little now remains of the splendid metropolis of Wanraj and Siddhraj. The very few relics of Anhilpur that survive are to be found scattered about the walls of the modern town of Patan in the Kadi Prant of H. H. the Gaekwad's dominions.

1. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 2nd Ed., London, 1834, II, 349.



Map of Central and South Gujarat and of part of the Kathiawar Peninsula

(From Burgess and Cousens's *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*)

CHAPTER I

MUSLIM CONQUEST OF GUJARAT AND DOWNFALL OF RAJPUT RULE (A. D. 1298)

Sack of Patan, Somnath and Cambay: Account of the conquest in the *Kanhad de Prabandh*: Fate of Karna Vaghela's family: Efforts to secure Devaldevi: Her marriage to Khizr Khan: Amir Khusru's great poem on the subject.

Muslim rule over Gujarat for 460 years

The long and successful but terribly oppressive and sanguinary reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji of Delhi witnessed the creation of the first Muhammadan Empire in India, and among the earliest of his conquests was the wealthy and prosperous Rajput kingdom of Gujarat, heralding the downfall of Hindu sway in these parts after more than a thousand years. The period of Muslim domination which was thus introduced in the province in 1298, in the very last years of the thirteenth century, extended over slightly more than four and a half centuries, and ended roughly with the final defeat of the Mughal viceroy Momin Khan by the Marathas and the capture of Ahmadabad by this power in 1758. This whole term of 460 years may conveniently be divided into three periods for the purpose of historical classification. In the first place, we have the rule of the governors sent by the Khalji and Tughluq Sultans of Delhi which lasted for about a century from 1298 to 1407; next we have the sway of the powerful independent dynasty of the Sultans of Gujarat for nearly a century and three-quarters, from 1407 to 1573; lastly, we have the rule of the Mughal Emperors in Gujarat from the time of Akbar's conquest onwards when the province was administered by their Viceroys or *Subahdars* for one hundred and eighty-five years from 1573 to 1758.

In 1297–8, early in the third year of his reign, Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji sent his brother Ulugh Khan and his brilliant general Nusrat Khan, with large armies, for the conquest of the flourishing Hindu kingdom of Gujarat. The

invasion of this rich maritime province can readily be explained by the Sultan's lust for dominion which led him to assume and to put on his coins the title of *Sikandar Sani,* or the Second Alexander. The Rajput chronicles of Gujarat, however, associate the Muslim conquest with an episode connected with domestic treason and they relate the following story. Karna Vaghela, the sovereign lord of Gujarat, had two ministers, Madhav and Keshav, who were brothers. They were Nagar Brahmans and it was by them that the Madhav well, which still exists at Wadhwan, was constructed. The Raja took away from Madhav his wife, who was a *padmini,* and he slew Keshav. To revenge this double insult and injury, Madhav is said to have gone to Ala-ud-din's court at Delhi to invite the Muslims to invade Gujarat.[1]

Ala-ud-Din's conquest of Gujarat, 1297-98

Raja Karna of the Vaghela dynasty, the last of the pre-Muslim dynasties of Gujarat, appears to have been defeated in a single decisive battle which placed his kingdom at the disposal of the victorious generals. His famous capital of Anhilvad-Patan, generally mentioned by the Muslim historians as Nahrvala, was taken and sacked. The wife, the treasures and the elephants of the luckless ruler fell into the hands of the victors and the whole country was given over to plunder. After despoiling North Gujarat the Muslim generals marched into the peninsula of Kathiawar where they captured the holy city of Somnath-Patan and took possession of the image in the famous temple at this place which had been set up again by the Brahmans after the destruction of the shrine by Mahmud of Ghazni. We are told that the idol was brought to Delhi where it was laid down for people to tread upon.[2] It appears that on this occasion the Muslims also subdued the sea-board track which is known as the Nagher[3] and which contains the most fertile soil in the whole of the peninsula. From this

Patan and Somnath sacked and Gujarat overrun

1. Forbes, J. K., *Ras Mala,* Oxford Press, I, 265-6.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, 163; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Ed. and trans. by B. De, I, 157.

3. Nagher is the strip of land on the sea-coast immediately following the Ghed lands of Porbandar and Junagadh and roughly extending from Madhavpur and Chorvad to Jafarabad. It thus comprises all the prosperous sea-ports of the peninsula.

date Old Sorath became a Muhammadan province and was ruled over by an officer whose seat was at Somnath Patan. But New Sorath, or the dominions of the Chudasama rulers of Junagadh, probably remained separate and unsubdued. In fact, we may well believe that the Muslim garrisons in the south coast of Kathiawar existed for a time largely on sufferance as the power of the Khalji and Tughluq governors of Gujarat was centred far away at Anhilvad Patan and they had probably enough to do in the north to be able to detach any important force to the south coast.[1]

Nusrat Khan at Cambay

Nusrat Khan, we are told, marched to Cambay (Khambayat), the wealthiest sea-port of Gujarat at this period, which he sacked mercilessly and where he secured from the rich merchants of the city an immense booty in the form of jewels and precious stones. He also secured here, by force, a handsome young slave named Kafur, whom his master had purchased at Baghdad for a thousand *dinars* and brought to Cambay.[2] This slave was presented by Nusrat Khan to the Sultan Ala-ud-din, and in course of time obtained such mastery at the imperial court by his great abilities and unrivalled military success that he received the titles of 'Malik Naib' and 'Amir-ul-Umrah', and became for a time, before and after his master's death, the *de facto* ruler of the Khalji Saltanat.[3]

Wassaf's account of the sack of Cambay

Zia-ud-din Barani in his famous history, the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, devotes only a couple of lines to the plunder of Cambay by Nusrat Khan's army. But a more detailed account is given in Wassaf's *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar* where Cambay is described as the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth. 'The citizens', we are told, 'were taken unawares and there was a terrible panic. The Muslims began to kill and slaughter on the right and left unmercifully and blood flowed in torrents.' The plunder included a huge amount of gold and silver as also of pearls, diamonds, rubies

1. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, *Kathiawar*, 284-85.
2. Malik Kafur is, for this reason, also known as Kafur *Hazardinari* i.e., Kafur of the thousand *dinars*.
3. Elliot and Dowson, III, 163; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., 157; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 256.

and emeralds, besides silk and cotton cloths. A great number of 'handsome and elegant maidens amounting to 20,000,' is said to have been taken captive.[1] This figure may, perhaps, be regarded as an exaggeration.

The *Kanhad de Prabandh* on Ala-ud-din's conquest

According to the *Kanhad de Prabandh,* an epic poem written in old Gujarati at Jalor in Rajputana by one Padmanabh in A.D. 1455, the Imperial army under Ulugh Khan marched towards Gujarat through the Chitor territory and after crossing the Banas river captured the fort of Modasa and then advanced towards Patan Anhilvad. After the fall of Karna's capital, the victorious generals are stated to have overrun the flourishing towns of Asawal, Dholka, Cambay and Rander on the mainland, as also Mahuwa, Una, Div, Somnath and Junagadh in the peninsula, and to have carried their arms as far as Kanth Kot in Cutch.[2] These details are interesting in the light of very scanty references to the invasion of the province available in the works of the Persian historians.

Flight of Karna and capture of Kauladevi

It was Karna Vaghela's misfortune to suffer the loss not only of his kingdom but also of his queen, Kauladevi, who was captured after the fall of Anhilvad and sent to Delhi to grace the harem of Ala-ud-din.[3] Karna himself escaped and fled with his daughter Devaldevi, then a child, to the Deccan where he obtained refuge at the court of the Yadav Raja Ramchandra (Ramdeo) of Deogiri. But he did not long remain a burden and a danger to his host, for he rebuilt the town and fortress of Nandurbar, on the borders of the small state of Baglan, where he set himself up as a semi-independent ruler and a vassal prince of the Raja of Deogir.[4]

Eight years after the conquest of Gujarat, in 1306, Sultan Ala-ud-din sent another expedition to the south against the Raja of Deogir who had failed to pay for three years the tribute arranged after the first invasion of the Deccan in 1294.

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, 43.
2. *Padmanabh's Kanhad de Prabandh,* Ed. by D. P. Derasari, 2nd ed., 1926.
3. Firishta says: 'Ala-ud-din, on seeing Kauladevi, the captive wife of the Prince of Gujarat, who for beauty, wit and accomplishments was the flower of India, took her into the harem.' (Briggs' *Firishta,* I, 329).
4. Cambridge History of India, III, 112, 518.

For this purpose a vast army was collected and placed in charge of Malik Kafur, who was now invested with the title of Malik Naib. Orders were also issued to the governor of Malwa and to Alp Khan in charge of Gujarat to join this expedition with their troops. But, besides the chastisement of Ramdeo of Deogir, Malik Kafur had another and a more delicate mission entrusted to him. The queen Kauladevi, now the favourite Sultana of the monarch, had, on hearing of the projected expedition, approached her lord to solicit a boon. She informed him that, before she was taken captive, she had borne two daughters to her Rajput husband. One of these, the elder, she had heard, had since died; but the younger, whose name was Devaldevi, and who was only four years old when she left her, was still alive. She, therefore, begged that the Sultan would give orders to his general to obtain possession of Devaldevi and to send her to Delhi.[1]

The Sultan's efforts to secure Devaldevi, 1306-7

Malik Naib Kafur having passed through Malwa sent the royal order to Karna Raja, then in his retreat at Baglan, to deliver up his daughter or be ready to withstand the imperial arms. But 'the clansman of Bhimdev, the rightful successor of the lion-hearted Siddhraj,' retained, in spite of his misfortunes, a sense of the dignity of his Rajput lineage and declined to obey the order. Finding that his threats were of no avail, Kafur continued his march to the south, directing that Alp Khan[2] should, with his forces from Gujarat, follow the route leading through the mountains of Baglan into the Deccan and thus endeavour to secure the desired object. For two months, however, Karna by his desperate valour stood at bay and defeated Alp Khan in all his attempts to force a passage.[3]

Karna Raja at bay in Baglan.

Prince Shankardeo, the eldest son of Raja Ramdeo of Deogir, had long aspired to the hand of Karna's beautiful daughter Devaldevi in marriage, but the Rajput pride of the Vaghela ruler would not consent to his daughter's union with

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 365-6.
2. Alp Khan (Malik Sanjar), Sultan Ala-ud-din's brother-in-law, was the first governor of Gujarat under the Khaljis and ruled from 1300 to 1316.
3. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 366.

a Maratha prince, which he regarded as a *mésalliance*. At this period, therefore, when Karna was in grave difficulties, the Prince renewed his suit, hoping to receive the reluctant consent of her father. He sent his brother Bhimdeo to Karna with presents and offered him the aid of Deogir urging that, as the princess was the declared cause of the war, the Muslim general, finding that she was now under the protection of a husband, would despair of obtaining his end and retire. Karna, relying upon this frail support, gave his consent to the marriage rather than risk the disgrace of her capture by the Muslims. Devaldevi, now in her thirteenth year, was handed over to the care of Bhimdeo who proceeded with a suitable escort to take her to Deogir. But Prince Shankardeo was not destined to possess his bride, for fate had reserved the daughter of the last Hindu ruler of Gujarat for the harem of the Sultan's eldest son, and Karna 'was destined to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs'.[1]

The Princess engaged to the Prince of Deogir

Alp Khan, when he heard of the arrangement, was much concerned lest the Sultan should impute this result to his neglect, and he resolved to secure the princess at all events before her departure. He was naturally apprehensive that his own life depended on his success. His officers, on being acquainted with the situation, promised him their full support. The Afghan armies entered the mountain passes from several directions and Karna was engaged in battle and totally defeated. He fled to Deogir leaving his tents, elephants and equipage on the field. Alp Khan pursued him through the defiles until he was within a single march of the fort of Deogir. But he had entirely lost the track of the fugitives and was in deep despair when an accident put him in possession of the object of his pursuit.[2]

Alp Khan's despair and renewed efforts

While the Muslim general was halting for two days among the mountains to refresh his army, a party of his troops, some three hundred in number, went to see the famous caves of Ellora which are situated in the neighbourhood of Deogir. During this excursion they came across a body of Maratha

He secures Devaldevi by accident

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 366-7.

2. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 367.

horse bearing the banner of Deogir. It was the retinue of Bhimdeo who was conveying his brother's bride to her new home. Though few in number, the Muslims saw no safety in flight and stood on the defensive prepared to receive the enemy. In the engagement that followed, the Hindus were put to flight, and an arrow having pierced the horse of Devaldevi, she fell to the ground. The victors, seeing her, gathered round the spot. A desperate struggle ensued for the prize, and 'the swords of Sirohi and the scymitars of Arabia, alike reddened with blood, crossed over the prostrate form of the daughter of Karan.' This would have proved fatal to the object of their contention had not one of the lady's female servants discovered to the Muslims her name and rank and implored them to carry her to their commander.[1]

She is married to Khizr Khan at Delhi

The princess Devaldevi was conducted with great care and respect to the camp of Alp Khan who was extremely pleased at securing his prize, knowing how acceptable it would be to his sovereign over whom the lady's mother exercised an influence so supreme. He, therefore, decided to prosecute his conquests no further, but returned to Gujarat and thence proceeded with Devaldevi to the court at Delhi where he presented the princess to her mother after a separation of nearly ten years.[2] Here the beauty of the Rajput princess attracted the notice and inflamed the heart of Prince Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Ala-ud-din, to whom she was eventually married some years later.

Amir Khusru's great poem on the subject

The great poet Amir Khusru,[3] who flourished at Delhi during this period, and who has enriched Persian literature by his innumerable productions, wrote in 1316 an epic poem, entitled variously as *Ishqiya* and *Duwal Rani Khizr Khan,* in which he has described at length the history of the passion

1. Briggs' *Firishta,* I, 367-8. 2. Briggs' *Firishta,* I, 368.

3. Amir Khusru, the greatest Persian poet of India, and hardly less famous as a musician than as a poet, was of Turkish race, his father having fled before the Mongols from the region of Balkh to India where he finally settled at Patiala. There the poet was born in 1253. He lived to enjoy the favour of five successive kings of Delhi, and was seventy-one years old when he died in 1324. Amir Khusru is credited with ninety-nine Persian compositions containing nearly half a million verses. He was a disciple of the great saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya of Delhi. The saint died only seven

of Prince Khizr Khan for the lovely princess from Gujarat. Amir Khusru says that on going one day to visit this Prince the latter asked him to write a poem on the subject of his great regard for this lady, and consigned an account of his passion, which he had himself written, to the poet who agreed to versify it.[1] The well-known Persian poem referred to above was dedicated by its author to Sultan Ala-ud-din, the father of the hero. The poet mentions at the conclusion that the work was composed in a little over four months and completed on the 6th of Zil'qada H. 715 (February 1, 1316). He adds that the poem comprised at first four thousand and two hundred verses, but that after the death of Khizr Khan he added three hundred and nineteen more. Extracts from this work were first translated into English in Sir John Elliot's *History of India.*[2]

Ms. copy of the poem made at Ahmadabad in Akbar's time

It is interesting to note that a beautiful manuscript copy of this poem is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur and is of much historical importance. As appears from its colophon, it was transcribed at the instance of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Viceroy of Gujarat, during the reign of Akbar, being completed at Ahmadabad on the 4th Zil-Hijja, H. 995 (26th October 1587) by Husayn bin Ali-al-Husayni, and corrected and compared under the supervision of the poet Waqui. This was Muhammad Sharif Waqui, originally of Nishapur, who came to India in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and was engaged in the service of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan. The manuscript is written in a clear Nastaliq script within golden borders with gold-sprinkled margins.[3]

The sad story of Devaldevi's later years, after she became the wife of Prince Khizr Khan, may briefly be told. When

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months before the poet and the latter was buried beside him. (E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, 108).

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 544; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 256.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 544-57.

3. 'Catalogue of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore,' prepared by Maulavi Muqtadir, Calcutta 1908, pp. 194-5.

The sad story of the later years of Devaldevi

Sultan Ala-ud-din died in 1316, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his vazir Malik Kafur, the prince, though heir to the throne, was in disgrace and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior owing to the machinations of the all-powerful Malik. But the traitor who had brought the house of Khalji to ruin did not enjoy his power long for he was murdered by Prince Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, the third son of Ala-ud-din, who now ascended the throne. One of the first acts of Mubarak's reign was to send an officer to the fort of Gwalior to put to death his two elder brothers Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan both of whom had been blinded by Kafur's orders. After her husband's tragic death the unfortunate Devaldevi was brought to Delhi and placed in the harem of his usurping brother.[1] But a still deeper sorrow and disgrace were in store for the lovely daughter of the last unfortunate Rajput ruler of Gujarat. In 1321 the worthless Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak was murdered by his favourite boon companion Khusru, the Parwari, who assumed for a while the sceptre at Delhi under the title of Nasir-ud-din. This infamous fellow, says the historian, 'took Devaldevi, the widow of his murdered master and sovereign, to himself, and disposed of the other ladies of the seraglio among his beggarly relations.'[2]

The main dates in her tragic career

The vicissitudes in the career of the last Hindu princess of independent Gujarat have been described above. She was a child four years of age when in 1298 her father lost the throne on the invasion of Ulugh Khan. When, after being captured near Ellora by the imperial troops in 1307, she was brought to the royal palace at Delhi, she was about fourteen years old. In 1314 she was married to Prince Khizr Khan at the age of twenty-one. When this young man was put to death by his brother in 1318–19, Devaldevi was only twenty-six. Two years later, when Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak was murdered, and the infamous Nasir-ud-din also, she was about twenty-eight years old. The fates were certainly not kind to Princess Devaldevi of Anhilvad Patan.

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 390; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 122, 518.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 396.

CHAPTER II

ALP KHAN AND THE GOVERNORS OF THE KHALJI SULTANS : MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 14TH CENTURY (A.D. 1300-1325)

Alp Khan's great mosque at Patan: Khalji conquest of Jalor (1306–12): Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad (d. 1236): Inscription in a masjid at Petlad (1313): Tomb of Ikhtiyar-ud-Daulah at Cambay (1316): Bilingual epigraph of Ghias-ud-Din Tughluq's reign in a well at Petlad (1323): Friar Jordanus on the Parsis of Gujarat (c. 1330).

Alp Khan as Governor of Gujarat (1300-1316)

In A.D. 1300 (Hijri 700), in the third year after the conquest of Gujarat, Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji appointed his wife's brother Malik Sanjar, who had the title of Alp Khan, and who ranked among the four highest nobles of the court, as the governor of Gujarat. Alp Khan was thus the first in the long line of the imperial Afghan nazims or governors who ruled over this province for the next hundred years on behalf of the Khalji and the Tughluq Sultans of Delhi. The ancient Hindu capital of Patan Anhilvad[1] continued throughout the fourteenth century as the headquarters of the Muslim governors, and later, on the overthrow of the authority of Delhi, of the first independent Sultan of Gujarat, until the foundation of the new capital of Ahmadabad in 1411 by Sultan Ahmad I. Alp Khan, who has been already mentioned in the last chapter in connection with the capture of Devaldevi, appears to have been a capable and popular officer for he administered Gujarat for the exceptionally long period of sixteen years till his recall in 1316 by his sovereign at the instigation of Malik Naib Kafur.

The name of Alp Khan as governor of Gujarat is associated with the construction of the Adinah mosque at

1. Patan Anhilvad is now commonly known as Kadi Patan and in Urdu works is mentioned as Piran Patan.

Patan which was remarkable for its size at the time and which his long tenure of office must have enabled him to complete. The historian Ali Muhammad Khan, the last *Mughal Diwan* of Gujarat, gives the following account of the masjid in his *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, a work which was completed about the middle of the eighteenth century:

He builds the Adinah or Friday mosque at Patan

> 'Alp Khan, moreover, built the Friday mosque of white marble which remains at the present time, and the pillars of the same work, as known to the common people, are so numerous that one often makes a mistake in counting them. They also relate that it was once an idol temple converted to a mosque. But it is, in short, a wonderful and noble building which was then in the centre of the city, though now distant from the part inhabited.'[1]

This great masjid no longer remains, but judging from all accounts it was perhaps the largest mosque in North Gujarat. The site on which it stood, now covered by fields, is outside the present walls of Patan near the western gateway. It is a matter for regret that this monument dating from the very early years of the fourteenth century, and which evidently survived till the middle of the eighteenth century, should have been so completely destroyed during the political disorders that followed. Its ruins have partly served as a quarry for material with which to build the walls of the modern town.[2]

Remarks on its ruins

It was during Alp Khan's long administration of Gujarat that Sultan Ala-ud-din effected the conquest of the powerful Rajput principality of Jalor in South Rajputana which was ruled at this time by the famous Chauhan hero Kanhar Deo. According to Firishta this Raja had presented himself in 1305 at the Sultan's court and had sworn allegiance to the Sultan.[3]

Ala-ud-din's conquest of Jalor (1306-1312)

1. J. Bird's History of Gujarat, 163-64.
2. J. Burgess and H. Cousens: 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat', 53-4; Gazetteer of the Baroda State, by Desai and Clarke, II, 574, 584.
3. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 361-62; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, trans. by Ranking, I, 265.

But hostilities broke out about 1306 after Ala-ud-din had consolidated his authority in Marwar, and Kanhar Deo's semi-independent status was construed as contumacy. The contest that followed appears to have been a prolonged one and probably extended over six years. Some of the historical details of this long war may be gathered from the poet Padmanabh's epic romance *Kanhad de Prabandh* to which reference has been made in the last chapter. Padmanabh was a Vishnagra Nagar Brahman of Jalor who wrote this poem in A.D. 1455 (Samvat 1512), i.e., about a century and a half after the Khalji conquest of Jalor, and he appears to have assimilated in his work the historical traditions current in his day about the great strife. The siege of Jalor by the Muslims and its heroic defence by Kanhar Deo is the subject matter of his poem.[1] The name of Kamal-ud-din Gurg is mentioned both in the Persian histories and in this Gujarati epic as that of Ala-ud-din's general who brought reinforcements from Delhi and ultimately took Jalor after Kanhar Dev and his followers had fallen in the fight. The date of the fall of Jalor has been given by Muta Nainsinh, a Gujarati writer of the seventeenth century, as the 12th April 1312, and deserves to be accepted.[2] The story related by Firishta that the Sultan at first sent a female servant in the palace named Gul-i-Bihist ('the Rose of Paradise') in charge of his army against the Chauhan hero, and that she fell sick and died just when the Rajput ruler was on the point of surrender, is absurd and deserves to be definitely rejected for it is not supported by any other writer.[3] To commemorate his victory Sultan Ala-ud-din had a three-domed mosque erected in the famous fort of Songir at Jalor which is still in existence. The Chauhans appear, however, to have some time after recovered their sway over both Jalor and its fort and it continued till nearly the end of the fourteenth century.

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1. The manuscript of the *Kanhad de Prabandh* was first discovered by Dr. Buhler in the last century, and the work has been ably edited and published by the well-known scholar Mr. D. B. Derasari of Ahmadabad, 2nd Ed., 1926. This poem is, along with the *Vasanta Vilas*, one of the oldest known manuscripts in Gujarati so far brought to light.

2. *Muta Nainsinhni Khiyal* is the name of this writer's historical work. He flourished at Jodhpur, 1603-1670 A.D.

3. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 370-71.

What is one of the earliest Muslim inscriptions in the province of Gujarat, being dated Hijri 633 (A.D. 1236), i.e., more than sixty years before the first permanent conquest of the country by Ala-ud-din Khalji, is to be found in the tomb of Baba Arjun Shah at the town of Petlad, the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Baroda district of H. H. the Gaekwar's dominions. The existence of this tomb shows clearly that Islamic influence had permeated the province of Gujarat early in the thirteenth century at a period when it was still ruled by its own Rajput princes. Baba Arjun Shah was a saint whose ancestors appear to have belonged to the capital of Farghana in Central Asia and who settled in India at Damoh.[1] The date of his death shows him to be a contemporary of Sultan Il Tutmish at Delhi.

An early Muslim inscription in Gujarat, 1236

The tomb of Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad is a square structure with a dome over it and has been described as somewhat squat and heavy in its proportions resembling the tomb of Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq at Delhi. The inscription is carved on a small marble tablet fixed at the end of the grave. The language is Arabic and the style of writing is *naskh* of a beautiful type similar to that found in contemporary records at Delhi and other places. There are verses from the Quran carved at the top and the right and left margins of the tablet and the epitaph is translated by Mr. Yazdani as follows:[2]

Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad

> 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God. This is the grave of the humble slave who is expectant of the mercy of God—be He exalted—the great Shaikh Arjun of Damoh and Akhsi(?), may God illumine his grave through the plentitude of His mercy. He died on Monday, in the middle of the silent month of God (Rajab), in the year 633 H. (March, 1236 A.D.).
>
> 'The writer—Abu Bakr Mahmud, son of....Abdu-l-Haqq(?).'[3]

1. Damoh is now the name of a town and district in the Jubbulpur Division of the Central Provinces.
2. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1915-16, article entitled "Inscriptions in the Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah, Petlad" by G. Yazdani, 15.
3. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, op. cit., 15-16.

The ancient tomb of the Muslim saint Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad, described above, contains, in addition to the main inscription relating to the saint himself, two other loose inscription tablets which belong to a period much later than the saint's death and which commemorate quite different events.

Masjid built at Petlad in 1313

One of these records the erection of a masjid in the year 1313 during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji. The language of the epigraph is Arabic, but the letters are very crude in execution. Mr. Yazdani translates it as follows:

> 'The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the great Sultan Ala-ud-dunya wad-din and the administration of the most benevolent Khan, Alp Khan, and the governorship of the chief of the nobles Ikhtiyar-ud-din. . ., through the commendable efforts of his servant, Badr-ud-din Dinar. . . auspicious month of Ramzan 713 H. (December, 1313 A.D.).'[1]

The mosque referred to in the above inscription was most probably built at Petlad, which is not far from Cambay port, and when its structure disappeared the tablet inserted in it found a place in the holy shrine of Baba Arjun Shah.

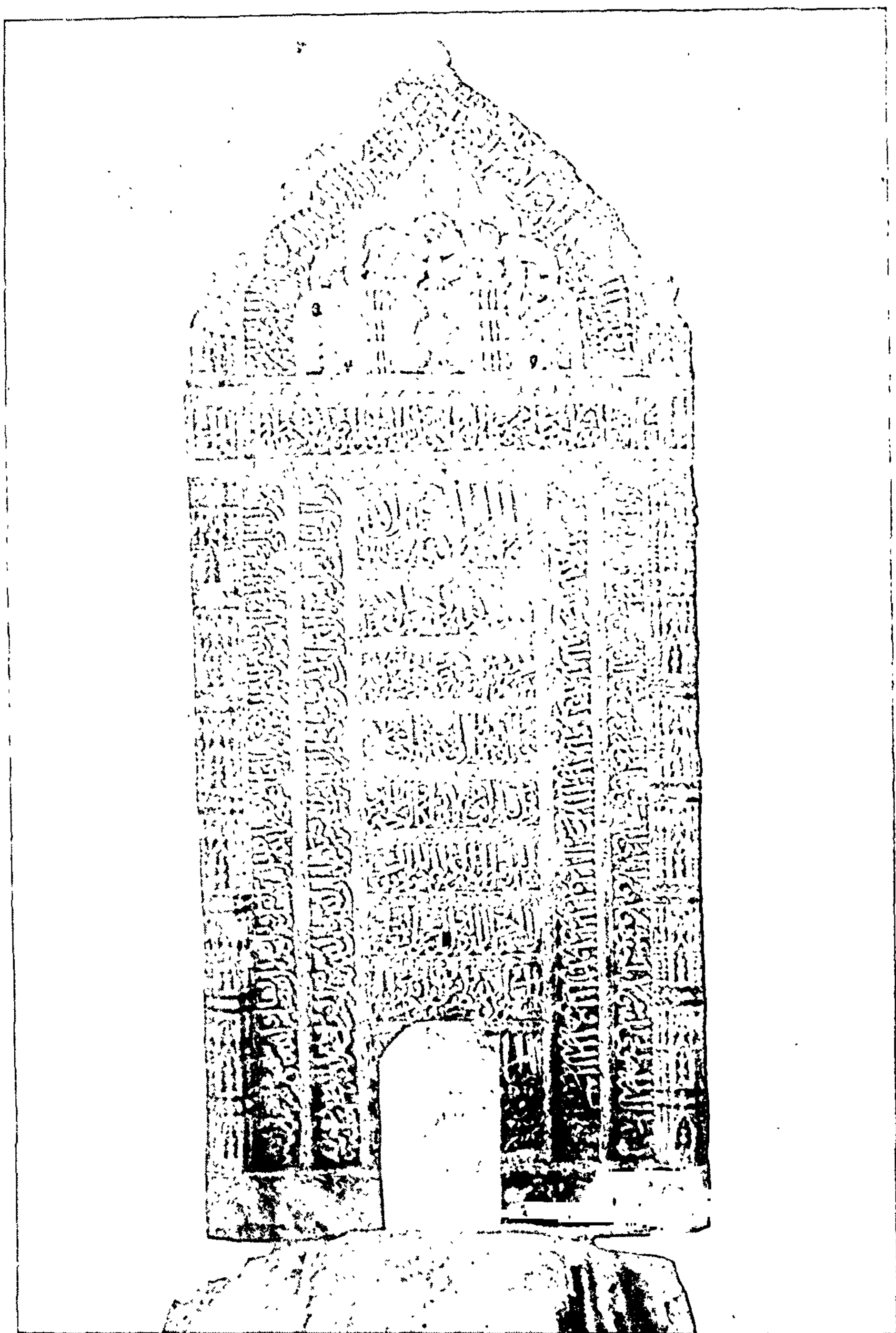
The nobles mentioned in the epigraph

The noble named Ikhtiyar-ud-din mentioned in the text may perhaps be identified with an officer bearing the same name who is described as *Bahr Bak* or Commander of the Sea in the inscription over a tomb dated 1316 A.D. which is located at Cambay and to which we shall refer in the pages that follow. The epigraph of the Petlad masjid, which we are considering here, has a further historical importance in the fact that it clearly indicates that 'the most benevolent Khan,' Alp Khan, was in charge of the administration of Gujarat in the year 1313 when the mosque was built.

Identity of Ulugh Khan and Alp Khan incorrect

The confusion in identity made by some Persian historians, such as Firishta and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, between Ulugh Khan, the Sultan's brother, and Alp Khan, the brother-in-law of Ala-ud-din, is thus cleared up with the help of this inscription. It was Ulugh Khan who with

1. Article entitled 'Arabic Inscription in the Shrine of Arjun Shah at Petlad' by G. Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 32-33.



Inscribed marble Tombstone over the grave of Ikhtiyar-ud-Daulah at Cambay, 1316 (p. 18)

Nusrat Khan Jalesari conquered Gujarat in H. 697 (A.D. 1297–8) and soon after left that province for Delhi. In 1300 we find him entrusted with the charge of the newly captured fortress of Ranthambhor in Rajputana. But here he fell ill within six months and died on his way to Delhi to which city his body was conveyed for burial. On the other hand, Alp Khan, the brother of the Sultan's wife, was appointed governor or nazim of Gujarat in 1300 and ruled the province for nearly sixteen years till 1316 when he was recalled to the capital by his suspicious master and put to death at the instigation of the vazir Malik Kafur.[1]

Cambay inscription on Ikhtiyar-ud-Daulah's tomb, 1316

The beautiful Arabic inscription at Cambay, dated Hijri 716 (A.D. 1316) commemorating the martyrdom and last resting place of an amir named Ikhtiyar-ud-Daulah, the *Bahr Bak* or Commander of the Sea at this city, probably confirms the historical references to the rebellious conditions in the province at the end of Ala-ud-din's reign. The inscription, which is in the *naskh* style, after reproducing several verses from the Quran in the top arch and in the outer and inner bands, contains the following epitaph in the central portion of the tablet as translated by Mr. Yazdani:—

> 'This is the grave of the great Amir, whom God has taken into His mercy and whose sins have been pardoned, the Sayyid, the martyr, Ikhtiyar-ud-Daulah wad-din, *Bahr Bak* in the city of Khambayat...... may God cool his resting-place and alleviate his solitude! He died in the night on Tuesday, the 17th of Jumada II, 716 A.H. (6th September, 1316 A.D.). O God, bless the best of the creation, Muhammad and his descendants!'[2]

Some time before his death, Sultan Ala-ud-din had, by his intemperance and excesses, completely undermined his constitution, and his strength was giving way. He, therefore,

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1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 179, 208; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 39 and *n*. See also a paper in Urdu on the subject in *Al-Maarif* of Azamgarh for April 1927 by Maulvi Abuzafar Nadwi.

2. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, p. 38. The inscription is cut on an arch-shaped marble tablet fixed at the head of one of the plain masonry tombs in the verandah of a modern building which is used as the residence of the Diwan or other state officials at Cambay.

of his Parwari (?) community, but the royal officials there defeated him and taking him prisoner sent him to Delhi. Here he was pardoned by the perverse Sultan who took him again into favour, appointing him as a personal attendant.[1]

Murder of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak

In 1320 the infamous Khusru Khan, intoxicated with unbridled power and secure in the confidence of his master, filled the royal palace with his own followers and relatives, and at last with their help assassinated the worthless Qutb-ud-din Mubarak. With his death perished the house of Ala-ud-din Khalji. The throne of Delhi was now usurped for a few months by the vazir who assumed the title of Nasir-ud-din. The great nobles of the capital were either terrorised or made unwilling accomplices, and idol-worship was publicly practised in the royal palace. But during these dark days all eyes were turned on one great nobleman, Ghazi Malik Tughluq, the Warden of the Marches, who at last advanced against Delhi, defeated and slew the upstart, and established the great Tughluq dynasty on the throne of Delhi (1320).

Accession of Ghias-ud-din Tughluq

Bilingual inscription in a well at Petlad, 1323

An interesting epigraphic record in North Gujarat bears silent testimony to the sovereign authority of the first of the Tughluq Sultans in this province. The sacred resting place of Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad in the Baroda territories contains yet another loose inscription slab besides the commemoration tablet of a mosque which has been described above. This slab, which is partly broken both at the top and at the bottom, contains a bilingual epigraph in Persian and in Sanskrit and is dated Hijri 723 or A.D. 1323. It records the dedication of a well and the grant of 20 *kubhas* of land for its maintenance. The script of the Persian text is *naskh* of an elegant type. Both the Persian and Sanskrit versions are incomplete owing to the damage done to the tablet, and it is only by comparing the two that several important details have been established.[2] The well was constructed during the period when

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 390-1; Elliot and Dowson, III, 217-8; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., I., 196-7; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, op. cit., I., 285.
2. See article by G. Yazdani entitled 'Inscriptions in the Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah, Petlad,' in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1915-16, pp. 16-18.

Sultan Ghias-ud-din Tughluq was ruler at Delhi and overlord of Gujarat and the date recorded is the 20th December 1323.

The Sanskrit epigraph is the more explicit of the two and its translation may be given first. It helps to show how thoroughly Muslim rule in Gujarat has been established during the fourteenth century:—

Translation of the Sanskrit epigraph

'Om! In the year 1380 Vikrama Samvat, on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Pausha,[1] on the 20th day of the lunar month of Duliheja (Zul-Hijja), on Tuesday—on this day in the victorious reign of the glorious Sultan, the illustrious Gayasadina (Ghiyath-ud-din), the paramount king of great kings (Maharajadhiraja), by the order of the Diwan at Anhilpattana. . . appointed by him (*i.e.,* the Sultan), under the dispensation of the glorious Badradina Avubaka Ahmada Amira-Koha (Badr-ud-din Abu Bakr Ahmad Amir-i-Koh), agent in the circle of Petilapadra, in the proximity of the revered Arjun-Ghori, (at) Petila. . . by Ismaila (?) Usmana Siraj (Ismail Uthman Shirazi), an inhabitant of Skambhatirtha (Khambayat) were given 20 *kubhas* of land marked off with boundary. . . repaired well. . . The illustrious Thakurs should protect (these gifts). Written (also) in Persian'.[2]

The following facts are brought out by the inscriptions. Sultan Ghias-ud-din Tughluq's short reign of five years (1320–1325) saw the completion of this well at Petlad, the ancient name of which is given as Petilapadra. The well adjoined the sacred sanctuary of Baba Arjun Ghori at this town. The builder was one Haji Ismail Uthman of Shiraz and he was a resident of the adjoining city of Cambay. The order of the Imperial diwan at the provincial capital of Patan Anhilvad was probably secured for the grant of 20 *kubhas* of public land for the construction of a well in the town of Petlad. The

Facts gathered from the epigraphs

1. Tuesday, 26th December, 1323.
2. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,* 1915-16, p. 18.

town itself was situated in the fief of Saiyid-il-Umara Badr-ud-din Abu Bakr, 'the chief of the Mountain.'[1]

Friar Jordanus on the Parsis of India, c. 1330

What is perhaps the earliest reference to the Parsis of Gujarat is to be found in the work of Friar Jordanus, a Frenchman and a member of the Dominican order, who appears to have passed through Gujarat at this period on his way to the Malabar coast where he was appointed Bishop of Columbum[2] or Quilon. The date of his visit to India cannot be traced with exactness; but it may roughly be placed at about 1330. It is not, however, generally known that there were Roman Catholic missionaries and a Bishop in India at this period, just between the days of Marco Polo and those of the great Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta. Father Jordanus wrote a small book in Latin known as *Mirabilia Descripta* which has been rendered into English by Col. Henry Yule, under the title or 'The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus', for the Hakluyt Society. The book as such does not contain anything that would add to our knowledge. After a number of pages devoted to the trees, animals, and birds of what he calls 'India the Less,' the good Friar makes a short and accurate statement which we quote below for it is the first account of the Parsis in India and of their peculiar mode of disposal of the dead. This is what he says:—

> 'There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light, matters which at present I do not propose to discuss.'[3]

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1. For the translation of the Persian inscription by G. Yazdani see 'Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica', 1915-16, p. 17.
2. Col. H. Yule identifiesColumbum with Kulam or Quilon on the coast of Malabar, now in the Travancore State.
3. *The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus*, trans. and ed. by Col. H. Yule (Hakluyt Society), 1863, p. 21.

CHAPTER III

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATTUTA AND HIS VISIT TO THE GUJARAT PORTS (A.D. 1342)

'The Traveller of Islam': Across Central Asia to India: Ibn Battuta at the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq: Cambay and its merchant-princes: At Kavi and Gandhar: At Piram and Gogha: From Gujarat to China: Return journey from Peking to Morocco: Value of the *Travels*.

Ibn Battuta, 'the Traveller of Islam'

We propose to consider in this chapter one of the most remarkable men in medieval history whose presence in Gujarat, for a short period in 1342 during the course of his travels, at the time when the country was under the rule of Muhammad bin Tughluq, may be regarded as an outstanding episode in the history of the province. This was Ibn Battuta of Morocco, the most celebrated of Muslim travellers, whose wonderful journeys over three continents, extending over twenty-eight years and covering 75,000 miles on a conservative estimate, have earned for him the title of *The Traveller of Islam.* His personal name was Shaikh Abu Abdalla Muhammad, Ibn Battuta being the family name. Born at Tangier on the 24th February 1304 he appears to have been trained in theological studies to fit him for the office of a qazi. In 1325, at the early age of twenty-one, he entered on his travels returning to his country finally in 1353. Even then his energy and his learning secured for him an appointment as Qazi or judge in one of the Moroccan towns where he died in 1368 or the following year.[1]

His early travels: Constantinople

Without entering into the details of his wanderings it may be mentioned that during the first decade of his travels Ibn Battuta traversed the lands of the Near and Middle East including Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Iraq, Arabia and Persia. Several times he turned his steps for a pilgrimage to the holy

1. 'Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354', trans. and ed. by H. A. R, Gibb (*The Broadway Travellers*), *Introduction.*

city of Mecca and once he made a long stay of three years in that city to study theology. During these early years our traveller visited Constantinople, then a Christian capital, which was to remain for a hundred years yet the metropolis of the Byzantine Empire. The opportunity of doing so was supplied during a journey undertaken across the Black Sea to the territories of Sultan Muhammad Uzbeg, the Mongol Khan of the Golden Horde in South Russia. The Moroccan theologian was granted very gracious interviews by the Sultan's queens or Khatuns, a fact which shows the complete absence of the *pardah* system. Here Ibn Battuta joined the cortege of one of these Khatuns, a Greek princess, who was proceeding on a visit to her father, the Emperor Andronikos III (1328–41), at Constantinople. Having arrived at the Greek capital he had an interview with the Byzantine Emperor, and he tells us how, as he passed the city gates, he and other Muslims were detained by the guards who muttered, 'Saracen! Saracen!'[1]

Across Central Asia to India and the Delhi court

Ibn Battuta appears to have early decided to seek his fortunes in India where Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was by his boundless generosity attracting crowds of scholars to Delhi from all parts of the Muslim world. After a remarkable journey overland from Constantinople through southern Russia and across the steppes of Central Asia to Bokhara, Khurasan and Kabul, Ibn Battuta crossed the Hindu Kush range and entered India through the north-western passes in 1333. At Delhi he received a cordial reception and the Sultan appointed him to a sinecure post as Qazi of the capital. Here he stayed for fully seven years, enjoying the royal patronage and living in great luxury, but making withal those shrewd observations which have led his *Travels* to be ranked among the original authorities for the reign of the great Tughluq. 'Little did Sultan or courtiers think,' says his latest biographer, 'that six centuries afterwards their reputations would depend upon the notes and reminiscences of the obscure and spendthrift qazi from the West.'

A few extracts from the *Travels* illustrative of the surprising contradictions in the character of the great Sultan may

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, op. cit., 148-57.

be given below for these were perhaps responsible for the serious disaffection among his nobles and the consequent revolts in Gujarat and other provinces which will be described in the next chapter:

Ibn Battuta on Muhammad's character

'This King', says Battuta, 'is of all men the fondest of making gifts and of shedding blood. His gate is never without some poor man enriched or some living man executed, and stories are current amongst the people of his generosity and courage and of his cruelty and violence towards criminals.' Again, 'In spite of all we have said of his humility, justice, compassion for the needy, and extraordinary generosity, the Sultan was far too ready to shed blood. He punished small faults and great without respect of persons, whether men of learning, piety, or high station. Every day hundreds of people, chained, pinioned, and fettered are brought to his hall, and those who are for execution are executed, those for torture tortured, and those for beating beaten.'[1]

From Delhi to Gujarat on the way to China

After several years spent in great wealth and prestige at the Tughluq capital, the Moroccan adventurer fell under the royal displeasure and was able to save his life only by resorting to the ascetic's robe and by resigning all his offices. The Sultan appears to have been placated by these signs of his humiliation for when he decided shortly after to send an embassy to the distant ruler of China his choice fell on Ibn Battuta for leading it. The erstwhile Qazi set off from Delhi in 1342 in semi-regal state with costly presents to be delivered to the Celestial Emperor. But he had not journeyed far on his mission when the caravan was attacked by brigands, and being parted from his entourage Ibn Battuta was for a week a hunted fugitive and narrowly escaped with his life. He managed at last to rejoin the rest of the embassy in its progress through India as far south as Daulatabad. From that city the party proceeded to the sea-coast towns of Gujarat where we find Battuta visiting the ports of Cambay, Gandhar and Gogha.

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, op. cit., 197, 203.

In describing the great capital city of Daulatabad and its formidable rock-fortress, both of them at this period under the Delhi Sultanate, Ibn Battuta gives us one of the earliest references to the Marathas that have been made by a foreign traveller. 'The inhabitants of Daulatabad', he says, 'belong to the tribe of Maratha, whose women God has endowed with special beauty, particularly in their noses and eyebrows'. And again, 'We continued on our way to Nadhurbar (Nandurbar), a small town inhabited by the Marathas, who possess great skill in the arts and are physicians and astrologers. The nobles of the Marathas are Brahmans and Katris (Kshatriyas)'[1]

His references to the Marathas

With these introductory remarks about the career of a world-traveller so famous as Ibn Battuta we shall turn to consider the account of his visit to the coast-towns of Gujarat on his way to the south of India by sea. The great and wealthy sea-port of Cambay was the first place which he reached on his journey to the coast through the interior of India (passing through Nandurbar and Songadh on the Tapti), and the city is thus described:

Ibn Battuta at Cambay

> 'Thereafter we travelled to the town of Kimbaya (Cambay), which is situated on an arm of the sea resembling a river. I myself saw the ships there lying on the mud at ebb-tide and floating on the water at high tide. This city is one of the finest there in regard to the excellence of its construction and the architecture of its mosques. The reason is that the majority of its inhabitants are foreign merchants, who are always building fine mansions and magnificent mosques and vie with one another in doing so.'[2]

The commander of this city, a person who stood high in favour with the Sultan of Delhi, was one Muqbil-ut-Tilangi and he had as his lieutenant a young Shaikh from Isfahan who acted as his *alter ego* in all affairs. Ibn Battuta and his party were invited to a feast by the governor at his palace, and we are given a fairly interesting anecdote of

The Commander at Cambay entertains our traveller

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, op. cit., 227-28. 2. *Ibid.*



The Main Gate and Towers of the Bhadra Citadel at Ahmadabad, c. 1413 (pp. 93-96)

what took place there. By a rather unusual coincidence the Qazi of the city, who was blind in the right eye, was seated opposite the Sharif of Baghdad who resembled him both in his figure and his infirmity, except that he had lost his left eye. The Sharif looked at the Qazi and laughed. When the Qazi took offence at this conduct, the reply was 'Do not reproach me for I am better looking than you are.' 'How so', enquired the judge? The Sharif replied, 'Because you are blind in the right eye while I am so only in the left'. The company began to laugh at this retort but the Qazi who felt downcast could not reply because the Sharifs were held in great consideration in India.[1]

Cambay merchant-princes and their mansions

Our traveller next gives a list of the most wealthy and influential merchants of the city of Cambay, each of whom had a grand residence with a private mosque attached to it. The first name mentioned is that of one Sharif As-Samari, 'the door of whose mansion resembled the gate of a city'. Another was Al-Qazeruni, who was known as 'the prince of merchants' and had a large residence with its own masjid. A third was Najm-ud-din Al-Gilani, who was extremely rich and whose influence was so great that the Sultan had sent for him and had nominated him governor of Cambay, an office which led ultimately to the loss of his riches and his life. It appears that the event took place prior to Ibn Battuta's visit to the city.[2]

Visit to Kavi and Gandhar

From Cambay Ibn Battuta and his party journeyed to Kavi[3] and then to Gandhar[4] an important port at this period. We are told that both these places were situated in the territories of a vassal Hindu prince. This ruler came out to meet the ambassador's party when it reached Gandhar and

1. *Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah* par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1922, IV, 55-57.
2. *Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah*, op. cit., IV, 53-55, 57.
3. Kavi is now in the Jambusar division of the Broach district on the left bank of the Mahi river. In clear weather the buildings at Kavi may easily be seen from the town of Cambay.
4. Gandhar is also in the Broach district, on the left bank of the Dhadhar river, about four miles from the Gulf of Cambay. Though now a village, it was once a maritime town of some consequence. Its decline began after its sack and destruction by Dom Manuel de Lima in 1546 during

gave them great honour, himself leaving the palace and installing them in it. Here also the principal Muslims of the town came to visit the new comers. Ibn Battuta embarked at this port with his followers in a number of ships belonging to a rich shipowner and others. The largest of these vessels, named *Al-Jagir,* had a complement of fifty rowers and as many Abyssinian men-at-arms, who were 'the guarantors of safety on the Indian ocean: let there be but one of them on a ship and it will be avoided by the Indian pirates and idolaters.'[1]

Piram Island: its capture by the Muslims

After a two days' sail from Gandhar, Ibn Battuta and his party, along with the horses of which they carried more than seventy as presents, reached the little island of Piram which is mentioned as distant from the coast of Kathiawar by four miles. The island was uninhabited, for the Muslims had overthrown the Hindus of the place who had deserted it. We are further told that Al-Kazeruni, the 'prince of merchants' at Cambay, who wished to repeople the island, had entrenched and fortified it and had established some Muslims there.[2] This reference to Piram is interesting since we learn from other sources that it was taken by the armies of Muhammad bin Tughluq from its Rajput chief Mokhraji Gohel during the Sultan's campaigns in these parts during the years 1347–50. Ibn Battuta's visit, however, took place some time in 1342 and the discrepancy in the dates cannot be satisfactorily explained.

Gogha on the Kathiawar coast visited

The next day our traveller reached the famous port of Gogha on the east coast of Kathiawar which is described as a large town with important bazars. As it was low tide the ships anchored four miles from the shore, and Ibn Battuta with two of his companions went ashore in a small boat narrowly escaping disaster when the boat struck in the mud. The ruler of Gogha is described as a 'heathen' who gave only nominal submission to the Sultan. Battuta visited an ancient mosque in this town, recited his evening prayers there, and saw a troop

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the second siege of Div by the Muslims. (See my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 38-9).

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, op. cit., 229.
2. *Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah* par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, IV, 60.

of 'haiderian' faqirs under their superior. On returning to his vessels the party set sail for the south coast of India.[1]

Ibn Battuta's long journey by sea and land from Gujarat to the Far East deserves to be sketched. After leaving Gogha the ships first touched at Goa (*Sandabur*) and then at Honawar and Calicut. When leaving Calicut, however, the boats in which all Sultan Muhammad's presents were laden were swamped at sea and the ambassador was left with nothing more than his sleeping-mat. To proceed with his mission would now be absurd nor would it be prudent to return with such a tale to the Sultan at Delhi. He, therefore, decided to start on his adventures again in a private capacity. Having arrived at the Maldive Isles he settled down among its pleasant palm-groves for eighteen months, was made a qazi or judge, and married four wives! In 1344 he proceeded to Ceylon where he mounted the highest peak familiarly known as the 'Footmark of our Father Adam'. Sailing up the Coromandel coast we find him at Chittagong in Bengal and later at Sumatra until he reached the limits of his travels in China where he visited what we now know as Amoy, Canton, and Shanghai and at last reached the great capital at Peking though he was unable to see the Emperor who was at the time out of the town.

From the coast of Gujarat to China and Peking

The return journey of our traveller westwards from China to North Africa need not detain us long. In 1347 we find him back at the port of Calicut where, on second thoughts, he abandoned his idea of returning to the court of Delhi, and journeyed by way of Arabia and Persia to Damascus in Syria revisiting this town after an interval of twenty years. In this city he came across a venerable Shaikh belonging to Tangier who informed him of his father's death fifteen years before. At last, in November 1349, the great traveller arrived at the royal city of Fez, the capital of Morocco, and soon after made his way to his native town. But the urge for travel appears still to have dominated his life for after only a three months' stay he left his home for

Journey westwards: return to Morocco after 28 years

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, 230; *Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah*, op. cit., IV, 61.

a four years' tour in Spain and the Negroland of Africa as far as the river Niger, returning finally to his native land in 1353.

Composition and value of the 'Travels'

At Fez, Ibn Battuta related his adventures to his sovereign, the Sultan of Morocco, and to his court where they appear to have been received with considerable incredulity. But he had a powerful friend in the vazir, at whose suggestion the Sultan gave instructions to his secretary Muhammad Ibn Juzayy to commit them to writing. It was thus at the dictation of our traveller, who appears to have relied far more on his memory than on any notes, that Ibn Juzayy compiled the great Arabic work that we possess. This dictation was finished on 9th December 1355. In spite of several interpolations, the bulk of the narrative is in the simple straightforward language of Ibn Battuta who stands out as one of the most remarkable men in history, the extent of whose wanderings by sea and land is estimated, as stated before, at not less than 75,000 miles without allowing for deviations. In concluding this work, Ibn Juzayy, the Secretary, adds, "Here ends the narrative which I have abridged from the dictation of the Shaikh Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad Ibn Battuta' (may God ennoble him). It is plain to any man of intelligence that this Shaykh is the traveller of our age: and if one were to say 'the traveller *par excellence* of this our Muslim community', he would be guilty of no exaggeration".[1]

Modern criticism of Ibn Battuta's character

These appreciative comments made in the middle of the fourteenth century by the learned secretary of the Sultan of Morocco who transcribed Ibn Battuta's narrative may be supplemented by reference to some equally complimentary criticism offered by a European scholar in the third decade of the twentieth century. Mr. Gibb in the introductory remarks to his translation of selections from the great Arabic work, after mentioning that these *Travels* 'had been ransacked by historians and geographers', goes on to say that the work constitutes a great human diary, and adds:

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta*, op. cit., 11, 41, 339.

'It is impossible not to feel a liking for the character it reveals to us, generous to excess, humane in an age when life was at its cheapest, bold (did ever medieval traveller fear the sea less?), fond of pleasure and uxorious to a degree, but controlled withal by a deep vein of piety and devotion, a man with all the makings of a sinner, and something of a saint.'[1]

European editions of Ibn Battuta's work

The *Travels* of Ibn Battuta have been known in Europe only during the 19th century, at first merely by Arabic abridgements in the Gotha and Cambridge libraries. The translation of an abridged text by Dr. Samuel Lee in 1829 first brought the work into prominence. The complete manuscript of this famous work was found in Algeria some years later, including the autograph copy of the original editor Ibn Juzayy. From these was derived at last (1858–59) the standard French edition and translation of the whole by M. Defrémery and Dr. Sanguinetti in four volumes. Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, who has published in English his selections from Ibn Battuta in the *Broadway Travellers* series in 1929, is engaged in preparing a complete English version of the travels for the Hakluyt Society.

1. Gibb's *Ibn Battuta.*

CHAPTER IV

THE EMPEROR MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ IN GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAR (A.D. 1345-51)

Revolt of the Foreign Amirs: The great Sultan subdues Gujarat in person and halts at Broach: The Deccan province revolts and he marches to Daulatabad: The rise of the Bahmani Dynasty (1347): Taghi's insurrection in Gujarat: The Sultan's return to Broach and pursuit of Taghi: The Emperor at Asawal, Kadi and Patan: His interview with the historian Zia Barani: He enters Kathiawar and takes Girnar (1349): Stays at Gondal (1350): Marches to the Indus and dies at Thatta in Sind (1351): Mokhraji Gohel of Piram and Gogha, the ancestor of the Ruling House of Bhavnagar.

Muhammad Tughluq's repressive policy and its results

The famous Sultan Muhammad Tughluq spent the last six years of his life and reign in Gujarat and Kathiawar and the presence of the great Emperor in person for so prolonged a period in these parts is thus of particular interest in the history of this province. The Sultan's futile administrative policy, his draconic penal code, and his ferocious persecutions had, after a long reign, produced their inevitable consequence in the alienation of his subjects and in the discontent and disloyalty of his officials. Chief among the latter were the foreign nobles known as the *Amiran-i-Sadah* or 'centurions' whom he punished with wholesale executions. It was the rebellion in 1345 of these amirs in the districts of Baroda and Dabhoi which decided the Sultan to lead an army in person from Delhi to Gujarat. Here he established his headquarters first at Broach and then at Asawal on the Sabarmati, and subsequently at Junagadh and Gondal in the peninsula, in his unwearied efforts to crush out the revolts in Gujarat and in the Deccan until he finally left Kathiawar in pursuit of the rebel leader Taghi for Sind where he fell ill and died on the march near Thatta on the Indus in March 1351. The contemporary historian Zia-ud-din Barani has in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*



Entrance Porch to Hilal Khan *Qazi's* Mosque at Dholka built in 1333 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (pp. 68-9)



Interior of Hilal Khan Qazi's Mosque at Dholka (pp. 68-9)

given us a detailed account of the history of this memorable expedition.[1]

The foreign nobles, whose revolts in Gujarat and in other provinces are reviewed in this chapter, have been variously described by the Persian historians as Yuzbashis or the 'Amiran-i-Sadah', a term which has been rendered into English as 'Amirs of hundreds' or 'centurions'. They appear to have been leaders of mercenary troops and for the most part foreigners, being probably descendants of those 'New Muslims' or converted Mongol settlers who played an important part in the history of northern India during the Khalji period. According to some, these 'Amirs-Sadah' were not only military but also revenue officials, being responsible for the collection of revenue in groups of a hundred villages each. They perhaps approached in character the 'free lances' of the Middle Ages in Europe.[2]

Remarks on the 'Amiran-i-Sadah'

Sultan Muhammad had adopted at this period for political reasons the policy of appointing persons of low birth in the highest posts in the Empire in preference to his old nobility. The execution by Aziz Khamar, one of these upstarts and governor of Malwa, of over eighty of these 'centurions' at Dhar, the capital of his province, under the direct orders of the Sultan, provoked the amirs of Dhaboi and Baroda in Gujarat to rebellion. Taking advantage of the fact that Malik Muqbil, the *naib* vazir of Gujarat, was conveying the state revenues and the horses for the royal stables by way of Baroda to the capital, they attacked him and captured the treasure as also the merchandise which the traders of the province were taking to Delhi under the protection of the royal convoy. When news of this revolt reached the Emperor he decided to lead his army in person to put it down. After appointing a council of regency composed of his cousin and heir Prince Firuz and two other high nobles to carry on the

The 'centurions' of Dabhoi and Baroda rise in revolt

1. Barani's account has been translated into English in Elliot and Dowson's *History*, III, 253-65, and also in Bayley's *Gujarat*, 43-57. Hajji-ad-Dabir's Arabic account based on Barani will be found in the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, III, 878-85.

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 43 *n*; Cambridge History of India, III, 166 *n*.

government, he left Delhi for Gujarat at the end of Ramzan of the year H. 745 (February, 1345). It was to prove his last departure from his capital for he was not destined to return.[1] While halting some twenty miles from Tughluqabad, the disquieting news reached the Sultan that Aziz Khamar, the governor of Malwa, who had no capacity as a general, had committed the folly of marching against the insurgent nobles of Gujarat by whom he had been defeated, captured and put to death.

The Sultan in Gujarat: the rebels defeated

On arrival at the hills of Abu on the confines of Gujarat, the Emperor deputed Shaikh Muiz-ud-din to Patan Anhilvad as governor of the province. He also despatched an advance contingent against the rebel nobles, who, being defeated with heavy loss, retreated with their wives and families in the direction of Daulatabad, the capital of the Deccan province. Proceeding by slow marches towards Broach, the Sultan sent another force in pursuit of the fugitive Amirs who were overtaken on the banks of the Narbada and utterly routed. The greater part of them were slain and their wives and camp equipage captured, while a few of their leaders who sought refuge with Man Singh, the Hindu ruler of Mulher and Salher in Baglan, were imprisoned by this chieftain. The rebellion of the Amirs had thus been crushed out in blood, but the Sultan was out for vengeance and now sent orders to the victorious general on the banks of the Narbada to arrest and promptly execute the loyal 'centurions' of Broach who were serving in his camp and who do not appear to have been guilty of any offence except that they belonged to the order of foreign amirs against whom his wrath was directed.[2]

The Emperor makes Broach his headquarters

The great Emperor had by this time arrived at the ancient city of Broach on the Narbada which now became his headquarters. Here he found that the revenues of the districts of Broach and Cambay, and in general of the whole of the province, were several years in arrears. He, thereupon, appointed collectors who adopted the most rigorous measures and

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 252-54; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans. by De, I, 231-33.

2. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., 256; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., I, 234.

exacted large sums from the people. In pursuit of his policy of striking terror among his subjects, all persons who had been connected with the insurrection of the foreign amirs or who in any way sympathised with it were seized and put to death. The Sultan's stay at Broach must have left far from happy memories among the people of the city for a long time after his departure.[1]

The Deccan province in revolt

The Sultan had not long been stationed at Broach when the fire of sedition broke out in the Deccan as the result of his own repressive policy. An enquiry into the loyalty of the nobles of Deogir was followed up by the despatch of orders to Nizam-ud-din, the brother of the great Kutlugh Khan[2] and governor at Daulatabad, to collect a force of 1,500 horse and forward it to Broach along with the most powerful 'centurions' of his province. These orders were carried out, but at the end of the first day's march the amirs became apprehensive that they had been summoned to share the fate of their comrades at Dhar and Gujarat, and broke out into revolt. They returned to Daulatabad where they imprisoned the governor, murdered the officers who had been sent for the purpose of an inquisition, and proclaimed one of their own members as king. Moreover, they took possession of all the treasures and occupied the almost impregnable citadel of this city which was known as Dharagir. The Maratha country was apportioned by these foreign amirs among themselves and the money distributed among the soldiers.

The Sultan marches against Daulatabad

On hearing of this formidable rebellion, Sultan Muhammad left Broach at the head of a large army to meet the danger in the south. On arriving at Deogir[3] he defeated the insurgents with heavy loss: the phantom king fled with his confederates and his family to the protec-

1. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., III, 256-57.
2. Kutlugh Khan, who had been the Sultan's tutor, had for some time held the government of the Deccan with his headquarters at Daulatabad. The Sultan evidently suspected his fidelity and had, therefore, recalled him.
3. The name of the ancient city of Deogiri was changed by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq into Daulatabad when he undertook in 1339 to transport the whole population of Delhi to that place, and to make it his capital. Deogiri is now located in the District and taluk of Aurangabad in the Hyderabad State.

tion of the citadel, while the royal troops sacked Daulatabad and plundered its defenceless population. A despatch announcing the victory was sent to Delhi and read from the pulpits at the capital. The Sultan was engaged during the next three months in providing for the settlement of the Maratha country and in conducting the siege of the fort of Daulatabad when he received the disconcerting news of a second rebellion in Gujarat under the leadership of a noble named Taghi. Entrusting the conduct of the siege to his officers, the harassed Emperor turned his arms once again to the province of Gujarat.[1]

Before reverting to the affairs of Gujarat we may say a few words about the progress and ultimate result of the revolt in the Deccan province. After the Sultan's victory at Daulatabad many of the defeated amirs, led by Hassan Kangu, the most capable of their order, who had received the title of Zafar Khan, retreated with their troops to the province of Bidar and to the city of Gulbarga where they awaited a favourable opportunity. This came much sooner than they had expected by the retirement of the Sultan to meet the revolt in Gujarat. Hasan Kangu defeated the royal detachments sent to oppose him in Bidar, while the Sultan's officers at Daulatabad found themselves no match against his popularity and superior military genius. As Hasan approached the capital they raised the siege of the fort and hastily retreated on Dhar. At the same time, Ismail Shah, the phantom king created by the centurions after their initial success, left the fortress of Daulatabad, entertained the victorious centurion, and expressed his intention of abdicating the throne. The choice of the nobles naturally fell on Zafar Khan who was now proclaimed as the independent Sultan of the Deccan and of the Maratha country, and who now assumed the regal title of Abul Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah (August 3, 1347). The latter part of his new designation was derived from the fact that Hasan claimed descent from the ancient Iranian hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. Thus came into existence the illustrious dynasty

Foundation of the Bahmani dynasty in the Deccan (August, 1347)

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 257-58; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans. by De, I, 235.

of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan who ruled there for the most part with great splendour for the next one hundred and eighty-five years. The disintegration of the vast Tughluq Empire had begun.

Renewed insurrection in Gujarat under Taghi

The temporary absence of the Sultan from Gujarat to quell the revolt in the Deccan had emboldened the nobles in the former province to make another attempt to throw off his authority. The rebel leader Taghi who fomented this sedition was a cobbler by birth and originally a slave. But he was gifted with unusual capacity and now won over to his side not only the 'amirs of hundreds' but also several of the Hindu chieftains of the province. Marching on the capital of Nahrwala he killed the deputy governor and made Shaikh Muiz-ud-din (who had been left as governor by the Sultan) and his officers prisoners. Taghi next proceeded at the head of the rebels to the rich sea-port of Cambay and after plundering that city turned with an army composed of Hindus and Muslims to the fort of Broach and attacked it. On receiving intelligence of this serious insult to his authority, the Sultan left Daulatabad before he had half completed the subjugation and settlement of that province, and taking the Muslims of Deogir with him hastened with all speed towards Broach. At one of the stages in this march he was joined by the historian Zia-ud-din Barani who had been specially sent from Delhi by the Sultan's nephew Prince Firuz and other loyal nobles to congratulate the sovereign on the conquest of the Deccan capital. Barani informs us that when he was riding in the Sultan's suite the latter unburdened his mind to him in conversation and expressed his opinion that he would have been spared these troubles from his nobles had he at the very outset given orders for the complete destruction of all the foreign amirs of Deogir, Gujarat and Broach. The historian adds that he had a great mind to explain to his master that the general disaffection among his subjects and the troubles and revolts that were breaking out on every side were due to his excessive severity and that if these heavy punishments were suspended for a while a better understanding would spring up.

Zia Barani, the historian, joins the Sultan on his march to Gujarat

But he dreaded the Sultan's temper and could not summon up courage enough to tell him what he desired to say.[1]

When the Emperor arrived again at Broach and encamped on the banks of the Narbada opposite this city, Taghi abandoned the town and retired to Cambay. The Sultan placed Malik Yusuf Bughra in command of two thousand horse and sent him with some other amirs against the rebel: but in an encounter with Taghi he was slain and his troops being routed fled to Broach. Taghi celebrated this victory by executing Shaikh Muiz-ud-din, the governor, and other officials who were prisoners in his camp. On receiving news of this disaster the Sultan crossed the Narbada and remained for two or three days in Broach and made ready to advance against the insurgent nobles in person. Taghi upon this fled from Cambay to Asawal (the old town on the Sabarmati which stood on the site of the later capital city of Ahmadabad), and subsequently, on finding the Sultan in hot pursuit, he retired to Patan Anhilvad.[2]

The Sultan's return to Broach: operations against Taghi

Muhammad Tughluq soon arrived at Asawal, one of the most famous towns in North Gujarat during the fourteenth century, and for a month made this place his headquarters. The reason of his inactivity was the bad condition of his horses and the heavy rains which made campaigning difficult. Emboldened perhaps by the Sultan's slackening of the pursuit, Taghi boldly advanced from Nahrwala in the direction of Asawal and arrived with his troops at Kadi. In spite of the rainy season being at its height the Sultan marched north to give him battle. The rebel leader plied a hundred of his devoted soldiers (*fidais*) with wine so that they charged the royal army with reckless courage, but they were encountered by the elephants and overthrown. Five hundred of the retainers, who were posted at the rear of Taghi's army, were taken along with the baggage and all put to the sword. The Sultan sent the son of the late Malik Yusuf Bughra in pursuit of the flying amirs but night coming on stopped his activities. Taghi now fled with his horsemen to Patan and collecting

The Sultan at Asawal: Taghi defeated at Kadi

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 258-60; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 235-36.
2. Elliot and Dowson, III, 259.

his family and dependants retreated to the peninsula of Kathiawar.[1]

The Sultan at Anhilvad: the services of the Rana of Mandal and Patdi

Two or three days later the Emperor reached the ancient capital city of Anhilvad and encamped in a garden near the famous Sahasralinga lake which is believed to have been constructed in the days of Siddh Raj Jayasingh of the Solanki dynasty. This second rebellion had now been to a large measure crushed and the Sultan devoted himself to settling the affairs of Gujarat. The Rajput chiefs, Ranas and Mahants[2] of the province came in and paid their homage and were rewarded with dresses of honour. Among these was the Rana of Mandal and Patdi, two old towns of North Gujarat which are now included in the Viramgam sub-division of the Ahmadabad district. We are told that several of Taghi's chief supporters had sought refuge with this Rana who, however, put them to death and sent their heads to the Sultan along with their wives and children whom he had captured. For this service the Rana when he came to the court received robes and a necklace of pearls as presents.[3] It may be mentioned that the town of Patdi, situated on the railway line to Kharaghoda, boasts of a strong old castle and that the chief of Patri is still a considerable jagirdar in these parts.[4]

The Sultan's despondency during his stay at Patan

It was while the great Tughluq was stationed at Patan that the distressing intelligence of the fall of Daulatabad and the successes of Hasan Kangu in the Deccan province reached him. The Sultan was naturally overcome with care and anxiety for he realised that his people had become alienated from him and that his throne was tottering to its fall. During the months that he remained in this city no one was sent to execution probably as the result of this despondent mood. Though Prince Firuz and other amirs had been summoned with their troops from Delhi to be sent to the Deccan, the Sultan gave

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1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 260-61; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 236.
2. The Mahants are the head priests of Hindu shrines and heads of religious communities.
3. Elliot and Dowson, III, 261.
4. Mandal lies about fourteen miles north-west of Viramgam station. Patri (or Patdi) is situated on the B. B. & C. I. Ry., fifty-eight miles west of Ahmadabad, in a bare plain at the border of the Rann of Cutch.

up this idea when further news arrived to the effect that the victorious Hasan had been proclaimed King as Ala-ud-din Bahmani. The Sultan's great object now was to hunt down the rebel Taghi and to attack the fort of Girnar where he had taken refuge, and in order to secure this object he spent three more rainy seasons in Western India. The first of these, probably that of 1348, he passed at Mandal and Patri when he devoted himself to the affairs of the province and the equipment of his army. The next two saw him in the heart of the Kathiawar peninsula.[1]

Interview between Zia Barani and the Sultan

The famous historian Zia-ud-din Barani, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,* who is our foremost contemporary authority for the reign of Muhammad Tughluq and for this expedition into Gujarat, had accompanied the Sultan from Broach to Nahrwala and was constantly summoned by the king to help him with his advice. At this period, after the disturbing news of the loss of the Deccan had reached him, the Emperor sent for the historian and thus addressed him:

> 'My kingdom is diseased, and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache, and fever follows; he strives to allay the fever, and something else intervenes. So in my kingdom disorders have broken out; if I suppress them in one place they appear in another; if I allay them in one district another becomes disturbed. What have former kings said about these disorders?'

Barani's sage advice unpalatable to the Emperor

It is clear that during these last years of his long reign the utter futility of the policy he had pursued and of the measures he had adopted to secure obedience throughout his Empire was beginning to dawn upon the Sultan's mind. The reply given by Zia Barani and the solution offered by him bespeak him a wise counsellor who had read the lessons of history to good purpose. He declared that some kings, when they found that they had forfeited the confidence of their people and had become the objects of general dislike, had abdicated their thrones in favour of the most worthy of their

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 261-62.

sons and retired into private life free from the cares of state. Others had taken to hunting, wine and pleasure and had left the business of government to their vazirs and officers. In this way, said the historian, the disorders of the body politic might be cured. But the advice fell on deaf or unwilling years for the Sultan's stern and inflexible disposition and his great genius could not brook the thought of abdication in any form. The policy of the most ruthless repression had become second nature to him. 'My remedy for rebels, insurgents, opponents and disaffected people is the sword' was his final answer. 'The more the people resist, the more I inflict chastisement.'[1]

Capture of Girnar and subjugation of all Sorath

In 1349 the Emperor marched towards Girnar in the heart of the Kathiawar peninsula where Taghi had sought hospitality. But when the Ra of Junagadh saw the strength of the royal army he decided to imprison and deliver up the rebel leader. Taghi, having got notice of this, anticipated his action by flying to the remote kingdom of Sind where he found refuge at the court of the Jam of Thatta. After the rains were over, the Sultan captured either the Uparkot citadel or the hill-fort of Girnar, for the reference is not very clear, and brought 'the whole coast-line and the islands under subjection'. Ra Khengar, the ruler of Girnar, tried to escape but was caught and brought back. The Rajput princes and chiefs of the peninsula came in to make their submission to the Sultan and were honoured with robes and rewards. It may safely be asserted that at no time since Ala-ud-din's conquest was the whole of the Kathiawar peninsula, and especially the district of Sorath, so completely subdued by the Muslim power as it was at this period.[2]

The Sultan makes Gondal his head-quarters, 1350

The rainy season of 1350 was spent by Sultan Muhammad at Gondal[3] where he fell sick with fever and was obliged to make a prolonged stay. He now summoned Khudawand-Zada, his royal sister (daughter of Tughluq Shah), and Makhdum-Zada, as also many scholars and learned men, and

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 262-63.
2. Elliot and Dowson, III, 263-64.
3. Gondal is now the capital of the progressive Native State of the same name in Kathiawar. The Thakor Saheb, as its ruler is called, is a Rajput of the Jadeja stock and ranks among the Princes of the First Class in Kathiawar.

the harems of his amirs and maliks from Delhi to Gondal. They all arrived in due course along with a large force of horse and foot so that a great army was collected at this town. At the same time under his orders boats were collected at the river Indus from Dipalpur, Multan, Uchh and Sehwan for the transport of the royal army across this river into Sind. In October 1350, the old Sultan, weak no doubt from his recent illness, but with spirits undaunted, marched to the Indus which he crossed in safety with all his troops and elephants. Here he was joined by Amir Altun Bahadur, a noble of the court of the ruler of Farghana in Central Asia, who had been sent with four or five thousand Mughal horse to assist the Delhi Sultan. The Emperor was greatly pleased at this honour and showed great attention to this amir and his followers. The vast imperial array, 'an army as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts', now advanced along the banks of the Indus in the direction of Thatta in order to humble the Sumras and their ruler and to annihilate the rebel Taghi whom they had sheltered.[1]

He marches across the Indus into Sind

But little did the Emperor or his army dream that the days of his life had been numbered. While the Sultan was marching with his countless host, and had arrived within thirty *kos* from Thatta, the *ashura* or the fast of the 10th of Muharram (March 9, 1351) arrived. He kept the fast and when it was over ate some fish which disagreed with him. His illness returned and he was again prostrated with fever. He was placed in a boat and thus continued his journey by the river for two or three days more till he came within fourteen *kos* of Thatta. While thus encamped on the Indus his malady grew worse. His army, now in very sight of the goal, 'was very troubled for they were a thousand *kos* distant from Delhi, with their wives and children in a desert land, and looking upon the Sultan's expected death as a precursor of their own they despaired of ever returning home'. On the 21st of Muharram 752 H (March 20, 1351) Muhammad bin Tughluq departed this life, and, in the pregnant words

Death of the Sultan on the Indus near Thatta, March 20, 1351

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 264; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 238-39.

of the historian Badayuni, 'the Sultan was freed from his people and the people from their Sultan.'[1]

Mokhraji Gohel defeated by the Tughluq armies, c. 1349

It has been said above that, after the conquest of Girnar, the Sultan 'brought all the coast towns and the islands into subjection.' Though no details of these conquests have been given by the Persian historian, we learn from the Hindu bardic accounts preserved in the *Ras Mala* that it was at this period that the arms of the Sultan were turned against the Rajput hero Mokhraji Gohel who held sway on the east coast of Kathiawar. Mokhraji had made himself master of the sea-port of Gogha and the adjacent island of Piram, which is still interesting for its fossil remains of extinct varieties of such mammals as the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, etc.[2] Mokhraji, we are told, was a bold sea-rover who from his vantage ground at Piram plundered many a merchant vessel frequenting these coasts. The legend goes that the capture by him of fourteen vessels laden with gold dust which belonged to a Muslim merchant of Delhi was the immediate cause of the operations against him. Secure in his sea-girt fortress on the island, the Gohel chief is said to have for long kept the royal troops at bay. But he was enticed to the mainland by a stratagem and in a bloody struggle that followed he died sword in hand at the gates of Gogha. The Muslims thus secured this port and the family of the Qazis of Gogha is said to owe its first appointment to Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. The fortress of Piram was destroyed by the Muslims on the death of its builder.[3]

The ancestors of the ruling house of Bhavnagar

It is interesting to note that Mokhraji Gohel whose career has been reviewed above was the ancestor of the present ruling house of Bhavnagar, one of the premier states in Kathiawar. Mokhraji's grandfather Sejakji was driven, at some period not yet definitely established, into this peninsula by the Rathods

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 264-5; Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 317.

2. The island of Piram is formed of a rocky reef only a mile and a half long and barely half a mile broad. The first rush of the spring tide in its channel is irresistible, forming a wall of water, three or four feet high, extending across the gulf and rushing at the rate of twelve miles an hour (Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 348-49).

3. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Oxford Ed. I, 307-09; Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 285; *Ibid.*, IV, 349-50 and 341 *n*.

from the ancestral home of the Gohel Rajputs at Khedgarh on the Luni in Marwar. He was received hospitably by the Chudasama ruler Ra Kavat of Junagadh to whose son he had given his daughter in marriage. The Ra also granted to him the town of Shahpur and twelve villages in the Panchal district. Sejakji is said to have built a new town, to which he gave his name (Sejakpur). It is situated twenty miles to the south-west of Wadhwan. His son Ranoji founded the town of Ranpur, now in the Dhandhuka taluka of the Ahmadabad district, at the confluence of the Bhadar and the Goma rivers. He was, however, expelled thence by the Muslims and slain about 1309. Ranoji's son was Mokhraji who extended the power of his clan to the south, taking Bhimrad from the Valas and subsequently Umrala from the Kolis, making this last town his capital.[1] He also captured Gogha from the Muslim *kasbatis* and the island of Piram from the Barya Kolis. He strongly fortified the latter place and settled down in security, but the capture and plunder of Gogha as also his piracies drew upon him the attack of Muhammad Tughluq and led to his death as mentioned in this chapter.[2]

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1. After Umrala the capital of the Gohels was transferred to Sihor and later to Bhavnagar when that town was founded by Bhavsinghji in 1723.

2. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, 1, 295-97; 303-04; J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, 265; Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 387-88.

CHAPTER V

GUJARAT AFFAIRS UNDER SULTAN FIRUZ TUGHLUQ AND THE GOVERNORSHIP OF MALIK MUFARRAH SULTANI (FARHAT-UL-MULK), A.D. 1362-1391

Retreat of Sultan Firuz to Gujarat from Sind: Terrors of the *Ran* of Cutch: Successive governors (1363–76): Malik Muffarah's long rule (1377–91): He aims at independence: Superseded by Muzaffar Khan (1392–1407): Rajput ancestry of the future founder of the Saltanat: Decisive battle of Kamboi (1392): Rise of the House of Palanpur at Jalor (c. 1392): Fall of Chauhan rule at Jalor and Songir Fort.

Expedition of Firuz against Sind in 1362

On the death of the Emperor Muhammad Tughluq in the neighbourhood of Thatta in Sind, the nobles serving with the army prevailed upon Prince Firuz, the late king's cousin and heir, to accept the crown, and he was duly enthroned in the imperial camp on the Indus. During his long reign of thirty-seven years (1351–88) there are not many events of importance in Gujarat recorded by historians. About 1362, some twelve years after his accession, Firuz decided to lead a great army to Sind against the Jam in order to avenge his enforced retreat from that province in 1351. With a huge force composed of 90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants the Sultan started on this distant expedition and in due course arrived near Thatta on the Indus. But, before he could start operations, a pestilence broke out among the horses in his camp carrying away three-fourths of the total number. This was accompanied by a famine which made it impossible to secure grain for the army. The Emperor held a council and decided to retire upon Gujarat to refit his army.

Terrible retreat through the Ran of Cutch to Gujarat

The guides who were engaged to lead the Sultan and his famished army from Sind to Gujarat proved treacherous and misled the host which found itself in the heart of the barren and saltish *Ran* of Cutch. The miseries and privations that followed for lack of water as well as food are graphically described by the historian Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*:

"Grain rose to one tanka and two tankas a *ser* and even at that price was not to be obtained. Men, through craving hunger and helpless nakedness, could not pursue their way, and in their extreme distress gave up in despair. As no corn was to be procured, carrion and raw hides were devoured; some men were driven by extreme hunger to boil old hides and to eat them. A deadly famine reigned and all men saw death staring them in the face. All the horses were destroyed and the khans and maliks were compelled to pursue their weary way on foot. The guides who led the way and conducted them had maliciously misled them into a place called Kunchiran (the *Ran* of Cutch). In this place all the land is impregnated with salt to a degree impossible to describe and if the water was held upon the tongue it crystallised. When with great difficulty and exertion they escaped from that salt country they came into a desert where no bird laid an egg or flapped its wing, where no tree was to be seen, and where no blade of grass grew. If even a lethal weed had been wanted it could not have been found. No other desert, however fearful, could be compared with this.'[1]

For six months no news of Firuz or his army reached Delhi and there was great consternation in the capital at the idea that the Emperor and his troops had been lost. The Sultan, however, emerged ultimately from the terrible march through the desert leaving thousands of his men dead behind him, and the survivors at last found rest from their troubles on arrival in Gujarat. The governor of this province at the time was Amir Husain, who had the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He was an active ruler, but when he waited on his sovereign, the Sultan sharply demanded of him why he had sent no supplies or assistance for the relief of the army and thereby allowed the troops to perish. He was dismissed from his government and his estates were resumed.[2] The wet season of the year 1363

Arrival in Gujarat and dismissal of the governor

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 324-5.
2. Elliot and Dowson, III, 328-9; Briggs' *Firishta*, I, 455.

was spent by the Emperor Firuz in Gujarat and we are told that he enjoyed part of it in hunting of which he was exceedingly fond. During this period the work of recruiting the army went on with great activity and the whole of the revenue of Gujarat, amounting to about two *krors*, was spent in making advances to the men to enable them to obtain new outfits and remounts. Khan-i-Jahan, the capable vazir of the Empire, who had been left in charge of Delhi, also exerted himself in sending to the Emperor in Gujarat vast quantities of supplies, munitions and provisions. When all was complete Firuz gave orders for the march to Thatta leaving behind him a noble named Zafar Khan in charge of Gujarat. It is not necessary for us to follow him further in his second campaign in Sind which ended very successfully in the submission of the Jam.

Fresh army recruited in Gujarat

Zafar Khan of Sonargaon, mentioned above, whom Sultan Firuz left behind him in Gujarat as governor in 1363, was one of the most distinguished nobles at the Delhi court and of royal descent. He was the son-in-law of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din of Sonargon[1] (the ancient Muslim capital of Eastern Bengal) who was slain and deprived of his kingdom by the ruler of Bengal. Zafar Khan then sought refuge at the court of Sultan Firuz at Delhi where he was received with great honour. He appears to have accompanied the Emperor on his campaign against Sind and was now left in Gujarat in charge of the province. No details of his administration have been recorded but we are told that he died in 1371–72 and that his eldest son Darya Khan was invested with his title and the government of the province. The latter's deputy Shams-ud-din Anvar Khan, however, appears to have exercised the real authority. It may be pointed out that the fourteenth century saw the office of governor of Gujarat held by no less than three nobles each of whom had the title of Zafar Khan. The first was

Zafar Khan of Sonargaon as governor of Gujarat, *1363-72*

1. Sonargaon, once so famous, is now an insignificant village called Painam in the Dacca District in Eastern Bengal. In Akbar's time the sarkar of Sonargaon produced a very fine variety of muslin in great quantity. (Abul Fazl's *Ain*, trans. by Jarrett, II, 124).

Malik Dinar, who served under Sultan Ala-ud-din's son Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, being the brother-in-law of the latter; the next was Zafar Khan of Sonargaon mentioned above; and the last was Zafar Khan, son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, who was appointed governor of Gujarat in 1391 under the successor of Sultan Firuz with the title of Muzaffar Khan and who founded the illustrious dynasty of the independent Sultans of Gujarat.[1]

Shams-ud-din Damghani as governor, 1376

About the year 1376 the revenues received from Gujarat had declined considerably and the Emperor was therefore induced to listen to the proposals of a noble named Shams-ud-din Damghani to the effect that, if appointed to the charge of the province, he would send every year forty lakhs of *tankas,* 400 Abyssinian slaves, as also 100 elephants and a large number of Arab horses over and above the existing payment. The Sultan countenanced the offer though with his reputation for moderation he should have realised that this must necessarily involve grave oppression on the provincial population. He gave orders, however, that if Shams-ud-din Anwar Khan, the deputy of the governor, would accept this enhanced amount, he should be confirmed in charge of the province. As this noble naturally declined, Damghani was appointed to the office. But finding it impossible to fulfil his rash offers he withheld the revenue and broke out into revolt. The people of Gujarat, whom he had oppressed terribly, as also the *Amiran-i-sadah,* rose against him, and after the Sultan had sent an army he was killed in action and his head was sent to Delhi.[2]

Malik Mufarrah, entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk, as governor, 1377-1391

After the death of Damghani, the next governor of Gujarat appointed by Sultan Firuz was Malik Mufarrah Sultani who is also known under the titles of Farhat-ul-Mulk and Rasti Khan. He ruled the province for the prolonged period of fifteen years from 1377 to 1391, a fact which goes to prove the relaxation of imperial control over the outlying provinces.

1. Elliot and Dowson, III, 303, 310-11, 329; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* I, 250; Briggs' *Firishta,* I, 455.

2. Elliot and Dowson, IV, 12-13; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* I, 250; Briggs' *Firishta,* I, 456; Bird's *Gujarat,* 171. Two of these histories give the name of Zafar Khan's deputy as Zia-ul-Mulk Malik Shams-ud-din Abu Raja.

Moreover, when in 1387 one Malik Yaqub, who had the title of Sikandar Khan, was appointed to succeed him, Farhat-ul-Mulk and his 'centurions' combined to defeat his troops and to put him to death.[1] In 1388 Firuz Tughluq died at a ripe old age, and in 1391, under his weak son and successor, news reached Delhi from Gujarat which could no longer be neglected for it was clear that, removed at a great distance from the capital, Farhat-ul-Mulk was aiming at establishing his independence. As Firishta says, 'in order to gain popularity for the furtherance of that object, he encouraged the Hindu religion and thus promoted rather than suppressed the worship of idols.'[2] That a great Muhammadan governor of one of the most important of the imperial provinces should have thus sympathised with the Hindus during a period of high religious fanaticism in India was no doubt an unusual circumstance. It can only be explained by the conclusion that Malik Mufarrah Sultani designed to establish his regal sway in Gujarat, and, as a preliminary measure, made friends with the martial Rajputs by allowing them free exercise of their faith.

He aims at independence

But neither the policy nor the designs of the powerful governor met with favour from the learned and orthodox Muhammadans of Gujarat who addressed petitions to the throne pointing out the probable political aspirations of Farhat-ul-Mulk and the danger to Islam if he were permitted to retain his government longer. On the receipt of these addresses Muhammad II Tughluq convened a meeting of the holy men at Delhi and in consultation with them appointed Zafar Khan, the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, one of the most respectable men of the court, to the post of governor of Gujarat. Zafar Khan received, on the eve of his departure for Patan Anhilvad, the title of Muzaffar Khan, and was presented with a red canopy such as is exclusively used by kings (February, 1391). This may be considered a fitting presage of his future greatness, for he was to be the founder of the independent dynasty of the Gujarat Sultans which is known variously as the Muzaffar Shahi or the Ahmad Shahi. Some stages after he had left Delhi for Gujarat the news reached him that the wife of his son Tatar

Muzaffar Khan sent to supersede him, 1391

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 253-54. 2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 2.

Khan was delivered of a child whom he named Ahmad and who was destined to be famous in history as the founder of the new capital city of Ahmadabad in 1411.[1]

In view of the memorable political revolution which he effected in Gujarat, the story of Muzaffar Khan's Rajput ancestry and of the conversion and elevation of his father, as related in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, deserves to be mentioned for it is not without a touch of romance. It says that, during the reign of the great Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, Prince Firuz, then heir-apparent, went on a hunting expedition, during which he wandered from his companions and lost his way and at last found shelter in a village of the taluka of Thanesar in the Sirhind division of the Punjab. The chief men of that place were two brothers, Sadhu and Saharan by name, men of wealth and consequence, who belonged to the Tank[2] tribe of the Rajputs. The prince was hospitably entertained by them and fell in love with their sister, 'peerless in beauty and loveliness'. After he had satisfied his hostess about his rank and family, he was offered the young lady in *nikah* marriage, and set out for Delhi accompanied by the two brothers who had decided to follow his fortunes. Shortly after, both the brothers accepted the creed of Islam, and such was the loyalty and zeal of Saharan that he received at the royal court the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk ('the Support of the State'). When Firuz Tughluq ascended the throne of Delhi, Zafar Khan and Shams Khan, the two sons of Wajih-ul-Mulk, were promoted to the rank of nobles and appointed to the office of cup-bearers.[3] Zafar Khan was born at Delhi on 30th June 1342,[4] and he was thus well past his prime when under his new title he was appointed in 1391 to the charge of the important province of Gujarat at a critical period.

Rajput ancestry of the founder of the Gujarat Saltanat

When Muzaffar Khan arrived at Nagor[5] in Rajputana on his way to the seat of his government, he received many com-

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 3; Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 5.
2. The Tank tribe of Rajputs claim to be of Suryavansi descent and together with the Gurjars appear from very early times to have inhabited the plains of the Punjab (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, 232).
3. Bayley, E. C., History of Gujarat, 68-70.
4. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 3.
5. Nagor is a town in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana, distant 75 miles north-east from Jodhpur city.

plaints from the inhabitants of Cambay and other places against the oppressive rule of Farhat-ul-Mulk and the burden of taxes and imposts under which they groaned. From the vicinity of Patan he wrote to Rasti Khan advising him to proceed to the court to hand over the balance of the revenues which had been so long withheld from the crown. But the latter continued his stay at his capital and collected an army of over ten thousand troops, mostly Hindus, to oppose his rival. The new governor had by this time advanced to the old town of Asawal on the Sabarmati from which place he again warned the recalcitrant Rasti Khan against opposing legal authority which made him liable to be treated as a rebel. Receiving an insolent answer, Muzaffar Khan raised a body of four thousand cavalry in order to support his commission and proceeded by rapid marches towards Nahrwala (Patan).[1] The two armies met at the village of Kamboi where a battle was fought in which Farhat-ul-Mulk was defeated and slain (4th January 1392). The victor proceeded to Patan where he gave orders that a town should be founded on the field of the battle to be called Jitpur or the town of Victory.[2]

He arrives in Gujarat and defeats Farhat-ul-Mulk

The battle of Kamboi[3] or Jitpur must be regarded as one of the most decisive conflicts in the history of Gujarat. Had its issue been other than it was, had Malik Mufarrah Sultani not been overwhelmed and slain by the better fortune and superior military genius of his rival, it is almost certain that he would have in due time declared his independent regal sway in Gujarat, since the complete disintegration of the Tughluq Empire was near at hand. Farhat-ul-Mulk's long connection with the province and the support of his Rajputs allies were both elements in his favour. History would not then have seen Muzaffar Khan or his successors on the throne of Gujarat. Ahmad Shah would not have laid the foundation of his great capital city on the Sabarmati nor would the ancient Rajput dynasties at Junagadh and Champaner

Comments on the decisive battle of Kamboi, 4th January 1392

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 3-4.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 74-5; Bird's *Gujarat*, 176-77.
3. Kamboi-Solanki is situated about 20 miles west of Patan and is now a small village in the Chanasma taluka of the Kadi district in H. H. the Gaekwar's territories.

have fallen before the victorious arms of his grandson Mahmud Begada. But it is idle to speculate on the might-have-beens of history.

Rise of the Jalori dynasty of Palanpur, *cir.* 1392

By an interesting coincidence, the final decade of the fourteenth century which saw Zafar Khan *bin* Wajih-ul-Mulk, the last governor of Gujarat under the Tughluq Empire, lay the foundations of the independent Gujarat Saltanat, also witnessed the establishment of a Muslim family at the ancient city of Jalor[1] in South Rajputana which was destined to play an important part in the history of North Gujarat. This was *the dynasty of Lohani Afghans which held sway at Jalor for* nearly three hundred years, and which, after the session of this town and district to Marwar by Aurangzeb in 1697, transferred its capital to Palanpur where it rules till this day. The Jalori house of Palanpur, as we may designate it, throughout acknowledged the suzerain authority first of the Gujarat Sultans at Ahmadabad and later of the Mughal Emperors and their viceroys, and its titles were repeatedly confirmed by these powers. By an irony of history, this ancient dynasty continues still to hold popular sway in North Gujarat while its erstwhile suzerains have long since disappeared. By virtue of an uninterrupted rule extending over five centuries and a half the ruling house of Palanpur takes rank to-day historically as perhaps the oldest among the Muslim States of India.

Fall of Chauhan power at Jalor and Songir Fort

Several conflicting accounts have been handed down by history and tradition about the advent of a body of Lohani Afghans in Marwar in the fourteenth century and the circumstances under which they became masters of Jalor and its great fort of Songir at a period when the fame of Rajput chivalry was at its height. It appears that at some early period in this century one Malek Sherkhan left the province of Bihar, with his family and followers, in search of adventure or on a visit to Mecca. Having arrived in Marwar the party decided to settle down in this country and eventually migrated to the town of Jalor where the Afghans took service under its

1. Jalor is now the chief town in the district of the same name in Jodhpur State and is situated 75 miles south of Jodhpur city. It stands close to the left bank of a river which is here called the Sukri (Rajputana Gazetteer, III-A, 189).



Hill-Fort of Songir near Jalor in Marwar State (formerly under the Jalori dynasty of Palanpur), (pp. 50-52)

Chauhan rulers. Many years later, in 1392, the Rathor ruler of Marwar devised a plot with the object of annexing Jalor to his dominions. He invited Vishaldeo Chauhan to his capital at Mandor with the offer of a marriage with his sister, but on arrival the unsuspecting guest and his retinue were attacked and killed. For a time, Rani Popanbai, the widow of Vishaldeo, carried on the government at Jalor with the help of Malek Khurram the leader of the Lohani Afghans. But ultimately disagreements arose between the Afghans and the Rajputs which ended in the overthrow of Rajput rule at Jalor and the establishment of the sovereign authority of Malek Khurram over the city and the fort. In this unexpected manner a strong Muslim power was founded in the very heart of Rajputana.[1]

Malek Khurram's title to Jalor confirmed

Though no scion of the Chauhan house was now left powerful enough to claim the throne of Jalor, Malek Khurram was not unmindful of the dangers that surrounded him on all sides. He, therefore, wrote to Zafar Khan, then Subahdar of Gujarat on behalf of the Tughluq Sultans, pointing out how a century before this period Ala-ud-din Khalji had captured the fort of Songir and annexed the pargana of Jalor to his Empire, and how some time later the Rajputs had repossessed themselves of these places. Now, by the overthrow of the Chauhan dynasty, he had again floated the banner of Islam on the fort of Songir, and he requested confirmation of his title by the Delhi ruler as also help to maintain his position. Zafar Khan was well pleased with this achievement and is said to have secured for Malek Khurram a farman from Delhi to confirm his sway over Jalor and the neighbouring districts, and a royal *thana* or guardhouse was established at Songir fort. The date for these events is given as A.D. 1394.[2] After the terrible invasion of Timur in 1399 the feeble Delhi Sultans were unable to control their distant provinces, and the Jaloris for a time became independent. But soon the powerful king-

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1. H. H. Sir Taley Muhammad Khan (Nawab of Palanpur), *History of the Palanpur State*, Guj. text, 1-5. This book is based on a Persian work entitled *Khatim-e-Sulemani* by Malik Suleman *bin* Malik Abdulla *bin* Sharf-ud-din. See also Bombay Gazetteer, V, 318.
2. *History of the Palanpur State*, op. cit., 5-6.

dom of Ahmadabad asserted its sway and the house of Jalor became its feudatories.[1]

The great Fort of Songir at Jalor

On a hill to the south of Jalor and entirely commanding the town stands the great fort of Songir,[2] one of the most famous in Rajputana. It guards the southern frontier of Marwar and is built at one extremity of the same range which extends north to Siwana. Constructed early in the Christian era by the Parmar Rajputs, its walls, composed of huge masses of cut stone, remain even now in a perfect state of preservation. The fort is about 800 by 400 yards in extent, and is accessible only by an ascent of three miles up a steep and slippery stone roadway, passing three distinct lines of defence, all of considerable strength. It is well supplied with water from a couple of tanks within the walls and possesses several handsome buildings and temples. After the armies of Ala-ud-din captured the place from Kanhar Dev Chauhan a three-domed mosque is said to have been built in the fort by the Sultan and still remains in good repair and in daily use.[3]

1. Bombay Gazetteer, V, 318.
2. Songir, or 'the golden mount', is a corrupted form of Suvarna-giri or Songiri and is the more ancient name of the fort of Jalor. The term Songira was adopted by the Chauhans as distinctive of their tribe when the older term Mallani was dropped. (Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, Ed. by Crooke, III, 1266).
3. Major K. D. Erskine, Rajputana Gazetteer, III-A, 1909, pp. 189-90.

CHAPTER VI

MUZAFFAR KHAN'S GOVERNMENT OF GUJARAT AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SALTANAT (A.D. 1392-1410)

Long rule of Muzaffar in Gujarat (1392–1410): Rao Ranmal of Idar: Campaigns against Somnath and Div : Invasion of Timur (1398) and disruption of the Delhi Empire: Shaikh Ahmad Khattu's services to the people of Delhi: Tatar Khan assumes the crown in Gujarat (1403–4): He is poisoned: Muzaffar Shah as Sultan (1407–10): Remarks on Asawal, Karnavati and Ahmadabad.

Muzaffar Khan's long rule in Gujarat (1392-1410)

After the signal victory over Farhat-ul-Mulk at Kambhoi in North Gujarat on the 4th January 1392, the victorious Muzaffar Khan proceeded to Patan Anhilvad where his sovereign sent him a despatch from Delhi congratulating him and addressing him as *Azam Humayun.* Now begins Muzaffar's long sway over Gujarat, first as governor and later as Sultan, which lasted for over eighteen years (1392–1410). In 1393 he proceeded to Cambay and busied himself with the work of restoring prosperity to the province. Like all successful founders of great dynasties, the new ruler was an active and successful general and we find him waging incessant campaigns not only against the Rajput rulers of Gujarat and Kathiawar but also against the neighbouring Muslim ruler in Malwa. But he appears specially to have directed his energies against the Hindus and their religion thereby illustrating the principle that proselytes are often the most zealous of sectarians.[1]

In 1394, Rao Ranmal, the famous ruler of Idar,[2] having refused to pay the customary tribute, Muzaffar led his army against that city and invested its famous hill-fortress of Idargarh. The siege was a protracted one and the garrison became

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1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 75.
2. Idar forms to-day the principal Rajput state in the Mahi Kantha Agency. Idar town, the former capital of the state, is situated 64 miles north-east of Ahmadabad. Except in the hot weather, the scenery in Idar state is very beautiful.

ultimately so distressed for lack of provisions that they are said to have consumed cats and dogs. The Rao at length sent his son to supplicate for the lives of the inhabitants, a boon which was granted on payment of a large indemnity in the form of specie and jewels.[1] Twice again, during his administration, Muzaffar and his son Tatar Khan invested Idar. On the last occasion, in 1401, the Rao fled to Vishalnagar, upon which the invader entered the fort, placed a garrison in it and overthrew all the idol temples.[2]

War against Rao Ranmal of Idar

Rao Ranmal, the first great ruler of the Rathor dynasty of Idar, reigned, according to Hindu accounts, for the long period of fifty-eight years from 1345 to 1403. Tradition says that he was attended by twelve valiant Sardars, who were also called Ranmals, and who were constantly on duty at the fort of Idar. The small structure which stands on the crest of one of the two highest peaks of Idargadh is still known as Ranmal's *choki* or guard-room. There is little doubt, however, that this was originally an elegant little Jain temple and of great antiquity which was perhaps used for military purposes by the Rajput rulers of Idar in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. The lake situated to the south of Idar city, and still known as Ramleshwar, is said to have been constructed by this ruler. Rao Ranmal owned, according to bardic story, a valuable horse which was named Navlakho *i.e.*, worth nine lakhs of rupees and which was able to cover 300 miles in one night![3]

Rao Ranmal of Idar

In 1395, burning with iconoclastic zeal, Muzaffar Khan marched on the sacred town of Somnath Patan in South Kathiawar where he destroyed the celebrated Hindu temple, ravaged the city, and built a mosque. He left there learned men to propagate the religion of Islam and temporal officers to administer the country. Several years later, in 1402, being informed that the Hindus were making an attempt to re-establish the worship

Expeditions against Somnath and Div

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 5.
2. Briggs, op. cit., 7, 8; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 79, 80 *n*.
3. History of Idar State, Pt. I. by Jogidas A. Joshi, 96-104.

of their faith at Somnath, he again marched to that city and defeated the enemy in a pitched battle. Those who escaped fled to the fort of Div. Muzaffar proceeded to besiege the latter place, which however opened its gates to him. The garrison was almost all cut to pieces and the ruling chief and all his court were cast under the feet of elephants. A large temple in the town was razed to the ground and a mosque built on its site. After appointing qazis and muftis and leaving a garrison in Div, the governor returned to his capital at Patan.[1]

Tatar Khan at Delhi (1391-97) and his arrival in Gujarat

When, in 1391, Muzaffar Khan was appointed to the government of Gujarat, the Sultan, Muhammad *bin* Firuz Tughluq, had kept his son Tatar Khan at the court as his vazir and also as a pledge for his father's loyalty. On the death of this Sultan in 1394 the floodgates of civil strife were thrown open in Hindustan ending in the destruction of the once powerful Tughluq Empire. The capital city was plunged into a state of anarchy which baffles description; civil war between puppet Sultans became chronic; and every great noble aspired to the throne. Tatar Khan played a prominent part in all these intrigues for power for he had a vaulting ambition. But finding himself outmatched by another noble named Mullu Iqbal Khan, and foiled in an attack on Delhi, he proceeded to Gujarat in 1398 hoping to raise an army there with the help of his father and to renew the war in order to accomplish his ambitious designs on the capital. But news soon arrived from Delhi of the terrible invasion of Timur and the utter prostration of the Delhi Saltanat which made it clear to Tatar Khan that any designs on the capital at this period would be criminal folly.[2]

The invasion of Timur Lang and its effects, 1398

Taking advantage of the civil strife among the feeble scions of the Tughluq dynasty, and the resultant confusion, the terrible Turkish conqueror Amir Timur Lang (*Sahib-i-Kiran*) crossed the Indus in 1398 and led the hordes of Central Asia on that bloody expedition which for a time converted

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 6, 8; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* quoted in Bayley's *Gujarat*, 80 *n*.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 74, 78.

Hindustan into shambles. Sultan Mahmud, who was then on the throne, fled before the invader and after many wanderings arrived at Patan, the capital of Gujarat, where Muzaffar Khan received him with honour. The Sultan's object was to secure the governor's support and then to march on Delhi, but as Muzaffar declared this proposal to be impracticable he felt aggrieved and left the province for Malwa.[1] Timur departed from India as quickly as he had arrived after committing unspeakable atrocities, massacring more than 100,000 prisoners and plundering the accumulated wealth of generations. His invasion completed the work of the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire, and among the provinces which now asserted their independence under their several governors was that of Gujarat.[2]

Services rendered by Shaikh Ahmad Khattu (later of Sarkhej) at Delhi

The name of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, the patron saint of the future capital of Gujarat (Ahmadabad), is honourably associated with the signal services which he rendered to the citizens of the Imperial capital at Delhi in 1398 at the time of its occupation by the great conqueror Timur. The victor had granted quarter to the people of Delhi and had appointed his men to collect the ransom. On account of the harsh methods adopted by them, some of the citizens refused to pay and a few of Timur's men were slain. The wrath of the Transoxian barbarian was thereupon kindled and he gave orders for the capture and slaughter of the inhabitants of the city. At last the tyrant's mercy was secured by the intercession of Shaikh Ahmad. This reference is given to us by the historian Badayuni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and we reproduce his account:

> 'On the fourth day, he (Timur) ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners and took them all off towards Transoxiana. Eventually Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, whose tomb is well known at Sarkhej in Gujarat near Ahmadabad, went along with the army and had an interview with the great Timur and made apparent to him his condition as a darvesh and the greatness of his learning; and he had many discussions with the learned men accompanying the

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 79. 2. Elliot and Dowson, IV, 37.

> Transoxian army and confuted them and interceded for the prisoners. The great Timur became a firm believer in him, and accepting his representations he released all the prisoners.'[1]

We are told by a Persian historian that 'the high-flowing bird of Tatar Khan's ambition would not rest in the nest it had found,'[2] and in 1403, some years after the tide of Timur's invasion had receded from Hindustan, he again urged his father to march on Delhi assuring him that as soon as his standards were displayed he would be hailed as ruler by the people at that capital. But Muzaffar Khan, who had now reached the ripe age of sixty, was quite content with the substance of independent power that he now enjoyed in Gujarat and would not agree to so risky an enterprise. Finding that his father was obdurate in resisting his ambitious designs, Tatar Khan, in November 1403, basely seized his person, and placing him in confinement proclaimed himself king at Asawal with the title of Muhammad Shah, and won over the officials and the army. After conducting an expedition against the Hindus in the hills of Nandod (Rajpipla), the young ruler directed his course towards Delhi to claim that throne.[3]

Tatar Khan imprisons his father and assumes the crown, 1403

But the usurper of his father's power was not destined to enjoy his dignity for long. Muzaffar Khan, in prison, sent one of his confidants to his brother Shams Khan, who was then in the traitor's camp, pointing out the wickedness of his nephew in deposing his own father and urging him to kill Tatar Khan and to deliver him from bondage. Shams Khan is said to have poisoned the young Prince at the town of Sinor,[4] after which he hastened to Asawal to release his brother and to restore him to power. Tatar Khan was buried at Patan, having as the

He is poisoned by his father's orders, February, 1404

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 280 *n*; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Al-Badaoni, trans. by Ranking, I, 357-8.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 78.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 81-2.
4. Sinor is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Baroda prant of the Gaekwar's territories. The town is picturesquely situated on the steep banks of the Narbada and a noble flight of 100 steps leads from the houses to the water-side.

first nominal Sultan of Gujarat reigned for only two months.[1] Thus in the very moment of its birth and independent existence the Gujarat Sultanate was stained in blood, and a tradition has been recorded to the effect that Muzaffar Khan continued to weep for his son until the day of his death.[2]

Muzafar Shah as Sultan of Gujarat, 1407-10

Being restored to power, Muzaffar returned to his capital at Patan and for several years carried on the administration as before refraining from assuming the insignia of royalty. At last, in 1407, his nobles pointed out to him that as the Tughluq dynasty was at an end, and the striking of coin was no longer exercised by the House of Delhi,[3] the province of Gujarat could not be maintained 'without the signs and manifestations of kingly authority.' In compliance with this requisition, Muzaffar 'raised the umbrella of royalty and took to himself the title of *Shah* at Virpur' and struck coins in his own name some three years and a half after the death of his son, the Sultan Muhammad I.[4] The same year Muzaffar invaded Malwa, took the capital city of Dhar, and captured and imprisoned its ruler Sultan Hoshang to avenge the death of his old friend and comrade Dilawar Khan who had been poisoned by his son Hoshang. The latter was, however, subsequently restored to his throne.[5]

Death of Sultan Muzaffar I, June, 1410

In 1410, some years after his formal accession to the throne, Sultan Muzaffar Shah I was taken seriously ill, and thinking that his end was near he abdicated in favour of his grandson Ahmad whom he had for several years trained up as his successor. Some five months later he died of his disease (June, 1410) and was buried in his mausoleum within the citadel of Patan.[6] He was nearly seventy years of age at the

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1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 9; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 81 and *n*; 82 and *n*; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, IV, 39.
2. Bird's *Gujarat*, 182.
3. This argument was based on facts for we find that between H. 804 and H. 815 (1401-12) the Delhi Sultans struck no coins in their own names.
4. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 83-4; Bird's *Gujarat*, 183.
5. Elliot and Dowson, IV, 41.
6. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, on the authority of the 'Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi,' puts Muzaffar's death at the end of Safar, H. 813 (June 1410)—Bayley's *Gujarat*, 86. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* gives the same date (Bird's *Gujarat*, 184-85). On the other hand, Firishta gives the date of his death as the sixth day of Rabi-us-sani, H. 814, or July 28, 1411 (Briggs, IV, 10).

time of his death and had enjoyed unbounded sway in Gujarat for over eighteen years, first as semi-independent governor and later as Sultan.[1] The circumstances of the abdication and death of Muzaffar Shah, as stated above, are accepted by the majority of Persian historians.[2] The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, our foremost authority for the history of the Gujarat kingdom, gives, however, another version 'as commonly reported and believed.' He says that Prince Ahmad, now only nineteen years of age, but impatient of the crown and of power, made the Sultan, his grandfather, prisoner at Patan and poisoned him, ostensibly to revenge his father's death. We are also told that Sultan Ahmad in later years bitterly repented of his action and suffered a life-long remorse for the murder of his grandsire.[3]

Was he poisoned by his grandson Ahmad?

The old town of Asawal appears to have held an important place among the cities of North Gujarat right up to the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century when Sultan Ahmad Shah I built his new capital of Ahmadabad in its immediate vicinity in 1411. From this time onward Asawal became either absorbed in the new city or dwindled into a village. The references to it by Arab and Persian writers are interesting. The celebrated Al Biruni (A.D. 970–1039) is the first of the Arab geographers to mention Asawal along with Cambay, Bharuch, Supara and Thana, all on the western coast. He correctly places Asawal as two days' journey from Cambay.[4] The next notice is by the Moroccan geographical writer Al Idrisi at the end of the eleventh century who refers to Asawal as populous, commercial, rich, industrious and productive of useful articles. He compares the place 'both in size and in the condition of its population' with Dulaka (Dholka).[5] Then we have the historian Zia-ud-din Barani in the fourteenth century who mentions Asawal as the place where the great Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq halted for a

References to Asawal by Arab and Persian writers

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 10; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 87 *n*.
2. Firishta, as well as the authors of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* are all agreed on this version (Vide Bayley's *Gujarat*, 87 *n*.)
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 86-7.
4. Alberuni's India, by E. C. Sachau, I, 209.
5. Elliot's History of India, I, 86-87.

month at the height of the rains owing to the bad condition to which his horses were reduced while marching in pursuit of the rebel noble Taghi in Gujarat.[1] Early in the fifteenth century the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* notices Asawal as the town to which, in 1403, Tatar Khan, the son of Muzaffar Khan (the founder of the Gujarat Saltanat), having basely seized his own father, sent him prisoner, while he proclaimed himself King under the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah.[2] We have next the statement of Firishta and of the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* that Sultan Ahmad I founded his new capital in the vicinity of Asawal.[3] Lastly, we may point out that the historian Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, in his account of Humayun's invasion of Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Bahadur, says that Mirza Askari and his nobles left Ahmadabad and 'formed a camp in the rear of Asawal opposite Sarganj (Sarkhej)' some time before he retreated from the province.[4] It appears likely from this reference that the old town of Asawal was outside the city-walls of Ahmadabad to the south beyond the Jamalpur gate.[5]

Karnavati and Ahmadabad

It may also be pointed out that students of the early period of Gujarat history have placed the site of another old town which has now disappeared, viz., that of Karnavati, in close proximity to Asawal and Ahmadabad. According to the annals of the Rajput period of Gujarat history, Ashapalli (i.e. Asawal) was the headquarters of a Bhil principality in the time of Raja Karna Solanki (A.D. 1064–94). This ruler led an expedition against its chief Asha Bhil who was defeated and slain, and, in response to an omen from a local goddess named Kochharva, Karna built her a temple. He also founded a city called Karnavati, the situation of which has never been definitely ascertained. The probability is that this town stood on or near the site of that of his Muslim successor Sultan Ahmad. The mention of Asawali and of Kochrab (now a village on the west side of the Sabarmati) point to this site, as also the

1. Elliot's History of India, III, 260.
2. Elliot's History of India, IV, 39.
3. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 14 ; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 90 and *n*.
4. Elliot's History of India, V, 198.
5. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 427-28.

fact that Ahmadabad has generally been styled Shrinagar and Rajnagar in Hindu and Jain writings and inscriptions. Karnavati, like modern Ahmadabad, was also a great centre of Jain worship. We are told that the famous Jain Acharya Devasuri resided and preached here and that Kumudchandra had to go to Karnavati when he went to see this scholar. The celebrated author Hemachandra seems also to have been brought up in the house of the minister or local governor Udayana of the same city. It is true that Shrinagar may be used only as an epithet to mean 'the illustrious city'. But with the historical materials available it may be safely stated as a probability that Asawal, Karnavati and Ahmadabad were all situated on approximately adjoining sites on the banks of the Sabarmati river.[1]

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 170; Forbes' *Ras Mala* (Oxford Ed.), I, 103; Ratnamanirav Bhimrav, *Ahmadabad* (in Gujarati), 10-22.

CHAPTER VII

MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AT CAMBAY, BROACH, DHOLKA AND MANGROL AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

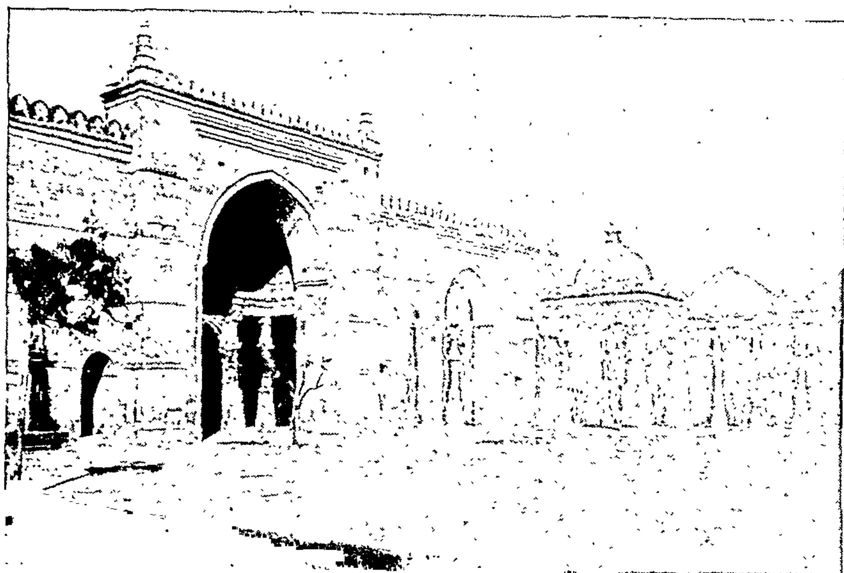
Sir J. Marshall on Khalji Architecture: Jami Masjid at Cambay (1325): Tomb of Umar-al-Kazeruni (1333): The Idgah at Cambay (1381): Jami Masjid at Broach: The Idgah at Broach (1326): Hilal Khan Qazi's mosque at Dholka (1333): Old Jami Masjid at Dholka (1361): Conquest of Mangrol under Firuz Tughluq (c. 1375): Bhan Jethwa's Hall transformed into the Jami Masjid (1383–4): The Citadel at Mangrol (1395): The City Walls of Mangrol (1397–8): Shrine of the local saint Saiyid Sikandar.

Memorials of Khalji and Tughluq rule in Gujarat

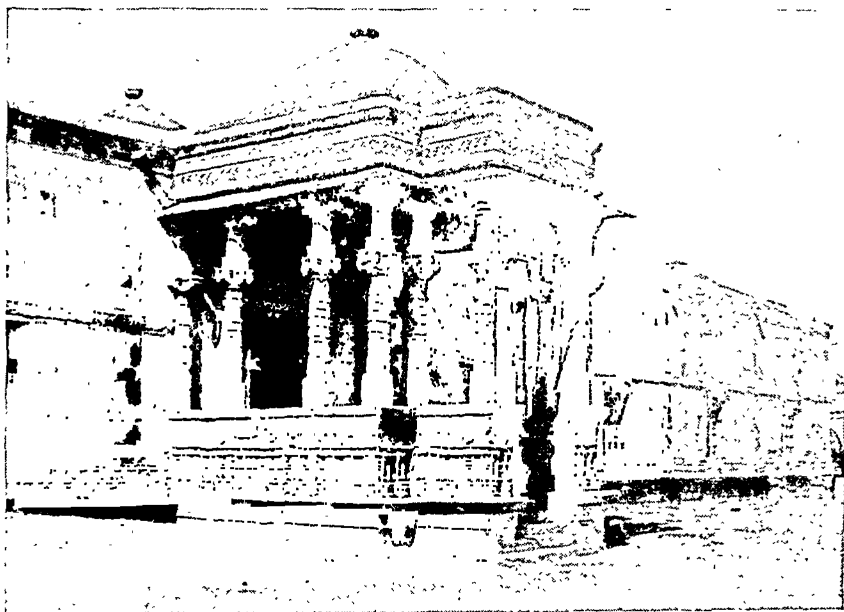
Before passing on to the long history of the powerful dynasty of the Sultans of Gujarat, we shall devote this chapter to a survey of the principal monuments at Cambay, Broach, Dholka and Mangrol, which still remain as memorials of the sway of the Khalji and Tughluq Sultans and their governors in these parts during the 14th century. The towns mentioned above, though now considerably on the decline, were no doubt very important centres of trade and population six centuries ago. This first contact of the indigenous architectural style of Western India with the totally different traditions imported by the Islamic conquerors is an important landmark in the history of Fine Art in India. But the political conditions prevailing in the province during this early period were not favourable for any rapid development of the new 'Gujarat' style, and it was not till the rise of the independent Sultans of Gujarat that the greatness of this school really began.

Sir John Marshall on the new style in Gujarat architecture

The following remarks made by Sir John Marshall, a distinguished student of Archæology, on the synthesis which gave rise to the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture in Gujarat, deserve to be quoted in this connection:



The Jami Masjid at Cambay built in 1325 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (pp. 63-4)



Entrance Porch at the Jami Masjid at Cambay (pp. 63-4)

'When the armies of Ala-ud-din Khalji overran Gujarat and annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate, they found still flourishing there a singularly beautiful style of architecture. The zenith of the style had been reached some two centuries before the coming of the Muhammadans, but at the close of the thirteenth century the school of Western India was still full of vitality and the Indian architects and craftsmen whom the conquerors pressed into their service were hardly less gifted than their forefathers who designed the far-famed temples at Somnath and Siddhpur, at Modhera and Mount Abu. . .

'Fortunately for the future of this school the annexation of Gujarat took place at the very moment when the Imperial architecture of Delhi had reached its highest expression under Ala-ud-din Khalji, and the builders who came from Delhi to the new province must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of that architecture: indeed it is more than likely that some of them had personally participated in the building of the splendid structures erected by Ala-ud-din at the dargah of Nizam-ud-din and the Qutb. This point, which has hitherto escaped notice, had an intimate bearing on the subsequent development of the Gujarat school. It meant that the sense for symmetry and proportion and the almost faultless taste which had characterised Khalji architecture became, from the outset, the key-notes of the Gujarat style also.'[1]

The Jami Masjid at Cambay built from the spoils of a Hindu temple, 1325

The ancient seaport of Khambayat or Cambay, most picturesquely situated at the head of the Gulf of the same name at the place where the great river Mahi discharges itself into the sea, has been on the decline for several centuries past owing partly to the silting up of its harbour which now keeps the sea about a mile distant from the city-walls. Among the most splendid of its monuments is the noble Jami Masjid which was erected as early as 1325 in the first year of the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq

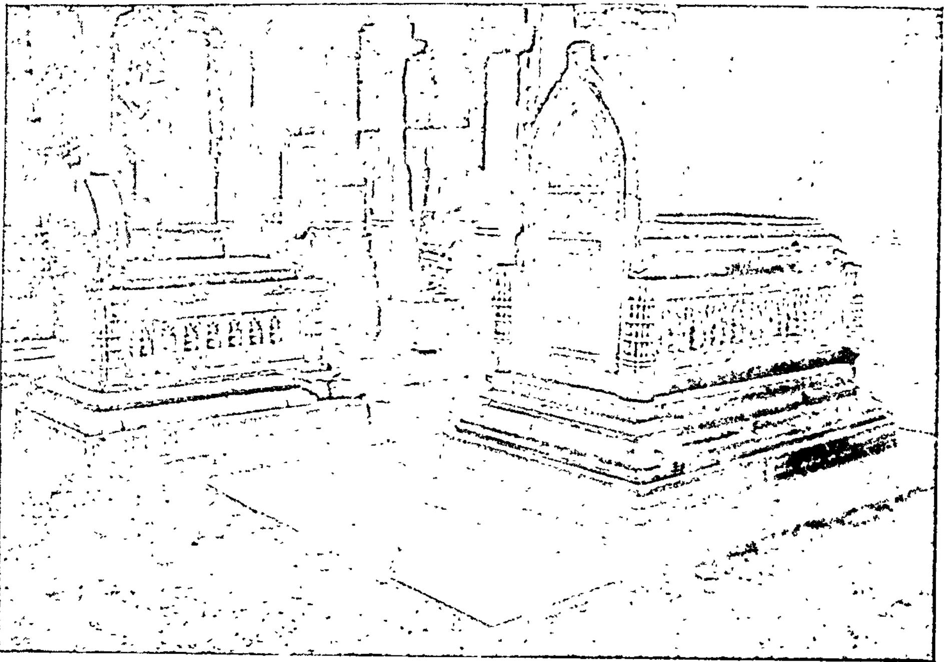
1. Cambridge History of India, III, 608-09.

and which is still in excellent preservation. The mosque stands on the west side of a large courtyard, while on the other three sides are pillared corridors. All the evidence goes to show that the masjid was built on the site of some Hindu temple that was destroyed and the materials of which were used for the purpose of the new building. The collapse of a portion of the courtyard walls has in recent years brought to light a large number of loose pillars and brackets, adorned with images and sculptures, which are evidently remains of a *mandap* or entrance-porch to a temple. There is also a pillar which bears a Sanskrit inscription carved upon it. All these materials, which had been originally built into the walls with the images and sculptures inverted, are now available for inspection.

Other features of the mosque and the inscription in it, 1325

The Jami Masjid at Cambay is remarkable for its fine proportions and spacious design and above all for its noble façade, all of which indicate the effect of the new influence from Delhi on the local Gujarat style. Above the central mihrab of the mosque we find several passages from the Quran carved in relief, and to the right of it is the mimber or pulpit with eight steps. In the courtyard in front of the masjid is a cistern for water covered by an ornamental canopy which bears an inscription in Persian of a later period. The fine portico on the north side of the walled enclosure, which is supported by eight pillars, bears an Arabic inscription which, after the usual quotations from the Quran, gives the following historical information:

'This is a *waqf* (bequest) and dedication to Allah. This blessed Jami mosque and place for the congregation has all been built from the private property (bestowed) through the grace and bounty of Allah and offered to Him alone: in the reign of the learned and righteous Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Tughluq Shah, the Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty: by the feeble servant—who hopes for the mercy of Allah and for His grace, may He be exalted—Muhammad Al-Butamari, may Allah grant his wishes and guide him. On the



The Rauza of Umar-Al-Kazeruni, adjoining the Jami Masjid at Cambay, 1333 (p. 65)

The Idgah at Broach built in 1326 in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (p. 67)

eighteenth of Muharram in the year seven hundred and twenty-five (4th January 1325).'[1]

Adjoining the Jami Masjid at Cambay is a large mausoleum two storeys in height with a dome 39 feet in diameter. This dome has unfortunately fallen in so that the rauza is now a picturesque ruin. There are two elaborately ornamented tombs under the great dome, both of which were sadly damaged when it fell. That of the builder, now partially rebuilt, is of white marble and the upright slab at one end of it contains several beautifully engraved inscriptions. These contain some of the most admired verses from the Quran, including the famous 'Throne verse' and the conclusion of verse 151 of Surah II: 'Verily we are God's and to him shall we return', and the basic *kalimah* or creed of Islam: 'I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his worshipper and messenger'. The epitaph of the builder is at the bottom of the central panel and runs as follows:

Marble tomb of Umar-al-Kazeruni at Cambay

'This is the tomb of the feeble worshipper, blessed martyr, (one) received into mercy, chief of chiefs, prince of vazirs, celebrated in Arabia and Persia, pillar of the state and of religion, Umar bin Ahmad-al-Kazeruni, who bore the title of Zaur-al-Malik, may Allah the most high overwhelm him with mercy, pardon, and approbation in the mansion of paradise. He departed to the mercy of Allah, the exalted, on Wednesday, the ninth of Safar, in the year seven hundred and thirty-four (20th October 1333).'[2]

The epitaph on the tomb (20th Oct. 1333)

The adjoining tomb has its inscription damaged by the falling dome. It records the resting place of 'one received into mercy, the pardoned, the boast of women, the crown of treasures, Bibi Fatima', and the date is the eleventh Shavval in the year seven hundred and eighty-three (30th December

1. J. Burgess, 'Muham. Arch. of Bharoch, Cambay, etc.,' 28; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 313-14.

2. J. Burgess, 'Muham. Arch. of Bharoch, Cambay, etc.,' 28; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 320. The Al-Kazeruni mentioned by Ibn Battuta in his account of Cambay (1342) was in all probability a member of the same wealthy family of merchants in the city.

1381). All along the tablet are verses from the Quran as in the other tomb described above.

Before we leave our survey of the Muslim monuments of the fourteenth century at Cambay we must mention the Idgah which is situated in the open country about two miles distant from the city and which is still frequented on the days of the *'Id*. There is the usual wall with a high mimbar or pulpit attached to it. On one side of the wall is an Arabic inscription on a white marble tablet and in excellent preservation which is rendered below:

The Idgah at Cambay and its inscription, 1381

'In the reign of the Sultan of the world, the great king, the lord of the lives of the nations, the shadow of God on earth, Abul Muzaffar, the Sultan Firuz Shah, may God perpetuate his kingdom, this Idgah (*Namazgah-i-Id*) was built by the great noble helped by God, the glory of the Maliks and the Amirs, the pillar of the Sultans and of the vazirs, possessor of noble qualities and virtues, . . . Mufarrih (?) Sultani, the chief commander(?), the governor of the dominions, may Allah exalt him and perpetuate his rule, in the year seven hundred and eighty-three (A.D. 1381).'

Turning now to the early Muslim monuments at the ancient city of Broach on the Narbada we may say that the public or Jami Mosque in this place belongs to the reign of Sultan Ghias-ud-din Tughluq and the first half of the fourteenth century. According to tradition, the conquerors built the masjid on the site of one of the Hindu or Jain shrines of this city, and the large number of slabs and pillars of Hindu style and workmanship supports this tradition. The carved ceiling shows a wonderful richness and variety of patterns perhaps equalled but not surpassed by any others in India. The inscription above the central *mihrab* reproduces verses from the Quran and the Hadith and bears no date. The marble door leading from the portico into the court of the mosque is evidently bodily introduced from some Jain temple. There is a fragment of an Arabic inscription over the cornice too obliterated to be of much value. The Jami Masjid at Broach,

The Jami Masjid at Broach

though smaller than that at Cambay, is nevertheless a beautiful specimen of Muslim architecture. On the capture of Broach by the British in 1803 some of the English troops were quartered within it.[1] When the Archæological Survey first directed its attention to it, this mosque was not in use for worship and it was generally used by faqirs as a rest-house, the food being cooked in the interior and the beautiful ceiling blackened with soot. All this has now disappeared and every care is being taken by the department to keep the mosque in the fine condition in which we see it at present. The hand of time seems, however, to tell on the pillars and other supports for special precautions have been taken to support the roof.[2]

The Idgah at Broach built in 1326

The beautiful Idgah at Broach, situated outside the city to the west on the road leading to the village of Vejalpur, is perhaps the finest of its class in all Gujarat and one of the oldest Muslim monuments in the province. The lofty *mimbar* has an inscription dated H. 726 (A.D. 1326) on one side and the whole area is surrounded by a wall with a picturesque entrance, though it is difficult to pronounce an opinion on the antiquity of this feature. The inscription is in Persian and reads as under:

> 'This House of Prayer (*namazgah*) was constructed during the reign of the Emperor, the shelter of the world, Abul Mujahid Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, the Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom, from the private property of Malik-us-Sharq Fakhr-ud-daulah wad din Muhammad Butamari,[3] on the twenty-fifth of the month of Rabi-ul-awwal in the year H. 726 (March 1, 1326) under the direction of Taj-ud-din Muhammad Baha-ul-Mulk. The scribe is Sad Kamal'.

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1. Bombay Gazetteer, II, Surat and Broach, 556 *n*.
2. Burgess, 'Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat,' p. 20 *ff* and Plate VIII. An interesting reference to the history of this Masjid is to be found in a Persian *bayaz* or diary written in H. 1220 (A.D. 1805) by Qazi Saiyid Ahmad Husain, the great-grandfather of the present Qazi Nuruddin of Broach.
3. The builder of the Idgah at Broach is thus the same nobleman who constructed the great Jami Masjid at Cambay in H. 725 (January, 1325) a little over a year previously.

Dholka, now a taluka town in the Ahmadabad district, about twenty-three miles south-west of the capital, appears to have been in the fourteenth century a far more important place than at present partly owing to its close association with the Rajput rulers of the Vaghela dynasty whose rule over Gujarat was supplanted by the Muslims at the end of the thirteenth century.

Masjid of Hilal Khan Qazi at Dholka, 1333

There are two mosques at Dholka belonging to this early period, the earlier of which was erected in 1333 and is known under the name of Hilal Khan Qazi's Masjid. The central dome of this building is raised nearly seven feet above the others by short pillars, the interspaces being filled in with tracery. One end of the masjid is screened off, for the use of the women, by a partition of perforated stone-work and the floor of this area is raised nearly three feet above that of the rest of the mosque, with its own mihrab and a separate entrance. This arrangement at the Dholka mosque takes the place of the later zanana galleries in the Jami Mosque as also in Ahmad Shah's and other masjids at Ahmadabad. The mihrabs in the Dholka mosque are all of marble and beautifully sculptured. The finely carved panels in the ceiling appear to have originally belonged to Hindu temples. One of the finest things within the masjid is the marble pulpit or *mimbar*, which may be classed among the most beautiful in India. The sides of the pulpit stairs are covered with little square panels of geometric designs in deep relief. The pulpit platform is surmounted by a pretty canopy with a pyramidal roof of purely Hindu design. Hilal Khan's masjid has no minars, their place being taken by two low turrets on the front wall on either side of the central arch. One of the most artistic adjuncts to this old masjid is the beautiful portico supported on thirty-two pillars through which the court is entered on the east.[1]

Inscription in Hilal Qazi's masjid, 1333

Built into the brick wall near the central mihrab is an inscription slab, carved with incised letters, which apparently belongs to the original structure and reads:

'In the name of Allah the merciful and the clement. Allah, be He exalted, has said, 'Verily the mosques

1. Burgess, 'Muham. Arch. of Bharoch, Cambay, etc.', 30-32.

belong to God, therefore do ye not invoke any one with Allah'. The edifice of this mosque was constructed during the reign of His Majesty the Sultan Abul Mujahid Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, and during the term of Malik-ul-Mulk-ush-Sharq Rukn-ud-Daulat wad Din Fattah Sirdar Yekdilkhas,—by Mafakhr-al-Umara, Muqarrab-ud-Daulat-wad-Din, Hillal Mullai(?): the architect being the slave Abd-al-Karim Latif. Dated the twenty-seventh of the month Zil-hijja in the year seven hundred and thirty-three (8th September 1333).'[1]

The Old Jami mosque at Dholka, 1361

Another monument at Dholka belonging to the fourteenth century, which is called the Old Jami Masjid,' and is popularly known as the *Tanka* Masjid, was built, as the inscriptions in it say, in 1361 during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. It was no doubt the principal Friday mosque in the city prior to the erection of the present Jami Masjid some time in the fifteenth century by the Sultans of Ahmadabad. The pillars in this mosque, as also the carved ceiling panels, and the north gateway to the court of the masjid, all appear to have been bodily introduced into this building from some Hindu temple as may partly be seen from the images, no doubt defaced, set in the niches of the pillars.[2]

Arabic inscription in the same dated 1361

Three inscription-slabs, one in Arabic and two in Persian verse, fixed over the mihrabs in this building, record the date of the mosque and the name of its builder. The Arabic epigraph over the central mihrab, after giving some quotations from the Quran, reads:

'This noble Jami Masjid was built in the reign of the great Sultan and noble ruler, shadow of Allah upon earth, reviver of the *sunnah* and the *farz*,[3] confider

1. Burgess, op. cit., 32. For the text see Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 323.
2. Burgess, 'The Muham. Arch. of Bharoch, Cambay, etc.,' 32-34. Two other mosques at Dholka, viz., the great brick masjid built by Alaf Khan Bhukai now in ruins, and the more ornamental Jami Masjid of stone, were built in the fifteenth century by the Ahmad Shahi Sultans.
3. *Farz* is the term used for those religious rules and ordinances which are said to have been enjoined by God himself, as distinguished from those

in the aid of the merciful Lord, Firuz Shah the Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and make ever-lasting his monarchy, from the personal property of the great Malik, lord of the sword and of the pen, patron of knowledge and of (good) actions, Mufkhar-al-Khawas, Ikhtiyar-ad-Daulat wad-din, Mufarrah-as-Sultani, may his special dignity be permanent and may the shadow of the portals be extended towards him. And this was (built) on the tenth Rabi-ul-Akhir, in the year seven hundred and sixty-two (17th February 1361).'[1]

Persian inscription in the Old Jami Mosque at Dholka

Another inscription in Persian verse, over one of the side mihrabs, is in more flowery language and therefore deserves to be mentioned here though the substance is the same:

'In the reign of Firuz Shah, the second Alexander, Mufarrah, the Mufkhar-al-Khawas, Khas-al-Khas Sultani,
Built the pure Jami mosque in Dholka [Allah.
Of his own special property, by the divine favour of
The bricks are made of ambergris and the clay is the musk of Tartary;
The mortar is of pure camphor. Happy is the fortunate builder!
The courtyard is like paradise, and men walk thereon.
The five prayers are there performed by Masud Tayi,
The glorious date of its completion in hard marble was—
Of the Hijrat seven hundred and sixty-two by divine grace.
Benediction be upon this building of his till the day of resurrection.'[2]

The third inscription, also in Persian verse, is over the south gate of the court and the historical details as well as the

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which are established upon the precept or practice of the Prophet, and which are called *sunnah*. (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 124).

1. Burgess, 'Muham. Arch. of Bharoch, etc.', 33 ; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 326.

2. For text and translation see Burgess and Cousens, *Ibid.*, 325-6.

date are identical with those given in the two epigraphs translated above.

Muslim monuments at Mangrol and their inscriptions

The small seaport of Mangrol, the ancient Mangalpur,[1] situated on the south-west coast of Kathiawar, must have been a centre of considerable size and population during the second half of the fourteenth century as may be judged from the number of its monuments dating from the Tughluq period and from the many inscriptions in Arabic and Persian found at this place several of which will be referred to in the following pages. In fact, more epigraphs relating to this early period of Muslim rule are to be found here than perhaps in any other town in the peninsula. These, about nine in number, have been transcribed and translated into English in a small volume bearing on the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Kathiawar published in 1889 by the Bhavnagar State under the title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari.* Though these transcripts and their versions require to be re-edited and revised in the light of the more exact historical information available to us during the past forty-five years, they are of the greatest value to scholars because no such collection to the Muslim inscriptions of the Kathiawar peninsula has hitherto been published.

Conquest of Mangrol under Firuz Tughluq, c. 1375

Mangrol doubtless came under the Muslim yoke, together with the rest of Nagher, early in the fourteenth century at the time of the conquest of Gujarat by the generals of Ala-ud-din Khalji. But in the decades that followed some of the local Rajput chiefs appear to have recovered their authority at this and other places. This is evidenced by an inscription dated Samvat 1375 (A.D. 1319) in the Sodhali Wav at Mangrol which is stated to have been constructed during the reign of Raval Mahipaldev.[2] Under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq

1. The ancient town of Mangalpur Patan is supposed by some to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy. It was called by the Muslims Mangalor, and this by a provincialism has been corrupted to Mangrol. As, however, there was another place of the same name in the South Konkan, this port was called by seamen, by way of distinction, Sorathi-Mangalor while the other was called Malabari or Konkani-Mangalor. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 542-43).

2. The inscription is cut in bold letters on a beam spanning the descent and states that the Wav was constructed by a certain Vali Sodhala of the Modh caste during the reign of Mahipaldeo (*Progress Report, Arch. Survey of Western Ind*, 1898-99, p. 16.)

and his successor, the Muslims conducted several expeditions to restore and consolidate their authority in the whole of the coast belt between Madhavpur and Una-Delvada. Some time about 1375, though the exact date is not available, in the reign of Firuz Tughluq, a force was despatched under Iz-ud-din and Saiyid Sikandar against the Gohel Raval of Mangrol and after some warfare they conquered his entire principality and firmly established the faith of Islam.

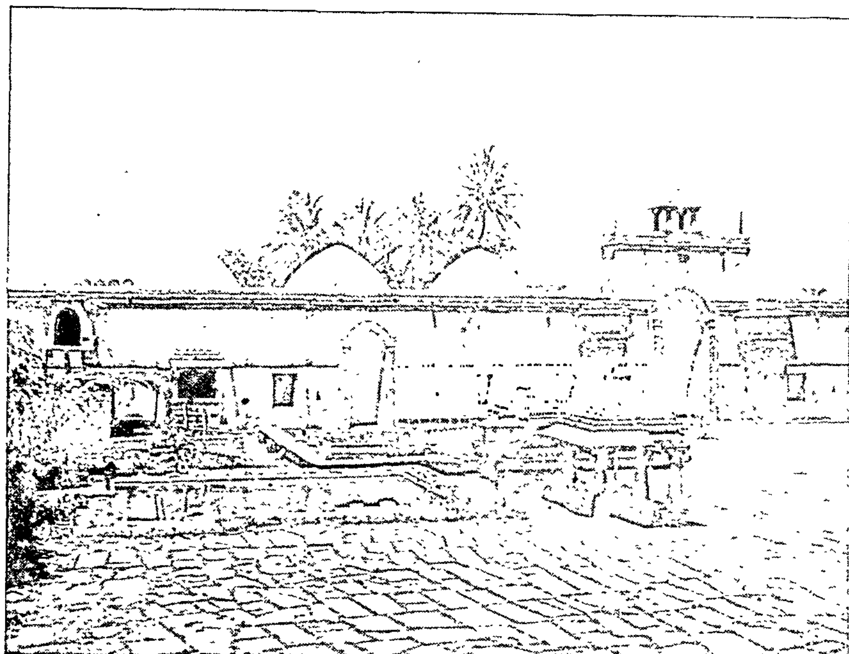
The Hall of the 1800 virgins transformed into the Jami Masjid

An ancient Hindu monument at Mangrol was, according to tradition, transformed into the imposing Jami Masjid which is considered to be the finest in Kathiawar. The story about the origin of this monument, as related in the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, says that Bhan Jethva of Porbandar, whose capital was at Ghumli in the Barda hills, and who at one time held possession of Mangrol, had divorced his favourite wife but wished subsequently to take her back. The learned men being consulted declared that he could do so only if he undertook to give in marriage 1,800 virgins on the same day and defrayed the bridal expenses. A grand nuptial-hall was accordingly built at Mangrol for the marriage of these virgins.[1] This monument is said to have been cast down by Shams-ud-din Anwar Khan, the deputy governor of Firuz Tughluq in Gujarat, and it was at a later period transformed into the Jami Masjid by Iz-ud-din bin Aram Shah, the local governor in the reign of the same Sultan.[2]

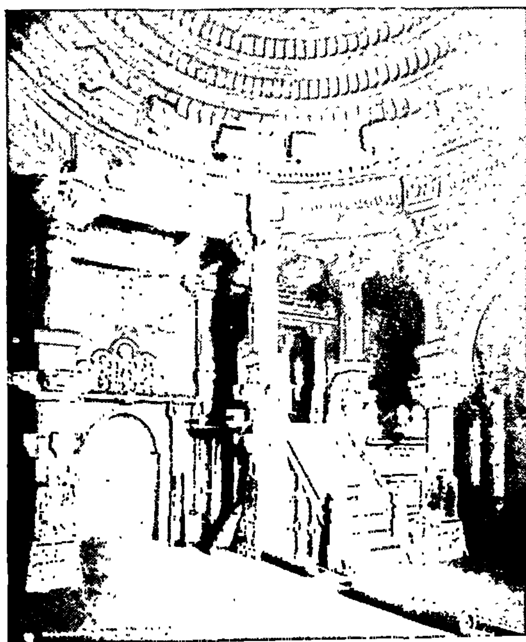
Inscription in the Jami Masjid, 1383-84

The Jami Masjid at Mangrol, which has been compared with the mosque of the same name at Ahmadabad, is a solid and extensive structure but without minarets. Though built largely of old Hindu materials, a good deal of new work appears to have been added. The corridor around the great courtyard is composed largely of Hindu columns arranged in two storeys, and including those in the masjid the monument contains an immense number of pillars on some of which are engraved words in the *Devnagari* character.[3] In the courtyard of the Masjid is an old *wav* or step-well, which was probably

1. 'Tarikh-i-Sorath' by Diwan Ranchhodji. trans. by E. Rehatsek and Ed. by Burgess, 52.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 285, 543.
3. Progress Report, Arch. Survey of Western India, 1898-99, pp. 15-16.



The Jami Masjid at Mangrol in Kathiawar built in 1383-4 in the reign of Firuz Tughluq (pp. 72-3)



Interior of the Jami Masjid at Mangrol in Kathiawar built in 1383-4 (pp. 72-3)

originally an appendage of the building which stood on the site of the mosque. The inscription slab belonging to this mosque is now seen built up in the side-wall of the Borahs' Masjid near the Bandar Gate, and the epigraph, which is rendered below, gives the name of the builder and the year (A.D. 1383–84) in which the monument was constructed:

'In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. God the Blessed and the High has said: 'Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God: wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God.'

In the reign of the king, before whose court princes lie prostrate and are like dust in his way,

Firuz Shah, the world-conquering king, the protector of the faith, by whom the basis of infidelity (*kufra*) was laid in the dust.

The light of the lamp of religious law became brilliant through him in his reign. May it not fade away.

By the endeavour of Iz-ud-din, son of Aramshah, the foundation of this building was laid through the grace of God.

This building was also completed in the same auspicious reign, and his hope was that all his sins may be pardoned.

According to calculation it was 785 H. O! God, forgive through thy grace and help the sins of the builder in both the worlds! And that's the end.

This is written by Taher Osman Jafari, the mean slave expectant of the mercy of the Most High.'[1]

The Rahemat and the Ravali Masjids

Besides the grand Jami Masjid at Mangrol there are several others belonging to this period of which two may be mentioned as of special interest. One is the *Masjid-i-Rahemat,* i.e., the 'Mosque of Mercy', situated outside the town-walls of Mangrol on the north-east close to the *maqbara* or family tombs of the Shaikhs. The inscription in this masjid is in Arabic and states that it was built in H. 784 (A.D. 1382-83) by the Qazi-ul-Qutb and in the reign of Sultan Firuz.[2] The

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari, 11.
2. *Ibid.*, 10.

other is the Ravali Masjid, probably so called from the conversion to Muslim worship of the Raval's temple. This mosque is constructed in part of old Hindu materials and is entirely trabeate in design with an open pillared façade. The main entrance has a large and pretentious porch. The inscription slab relating to this building is built up in the wall of a Dargah near by and states that the masjid was constructed in the year H. 788 (A.D. 1386) by one Malek Abdul Malek, son of Hisam, in the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah 'whose fortune is like that of Alexander, whose splendour is like that of Faridun, at whose table Hatim Tai might pick up crumbs and at whose court Kai Khusru might stand sentinel'.[1]

The inner Citadel at Mangrol, built in 1395

Two interesting inscription-slabs found at Mangrol give important information about the building of the inner citadel and of the city-walls in this town during the fourteenth century. One of these is located in the Record Room of the state situated near the Darbargadh, and it states that at the time when the Shah-in-Shah Nusrat Jahan Badshah was reigning at Delhi, Muzaffar Zafar Khan was the great vazir, and adds that 'in the length and breadth of Gujarat no Governor like him has been or will be'. Under him Malik Yakub bore sway over Sorath, and Malik Musa was the Kotwal of this district. The inscription records the construction by the latter of the inner Citadel at Mangrol (*hisn-i-sangin hisar*) with gates of steel. The date of the completion of the fortress is given as the 14th Rajab, H. 797 (May 5, 1395).[2]

Nusrat Shah of the above mentioned inscription

It may be mentioned that the Sultan mentioned in the above inscription was Nasir-ud-din Nusrat Shah of Mewat, the son of Fateh Khan, and grandson of the Emperor Firuz Tughluq. In the struggle among the nobles at Delhi during the period of the Later Tughluqs, this prince was placed on the throne in January 1395 by one of the nobles as a rival to Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, another grandson of the great Emperor Firuz. Both were puppet rulers, mere instruments in the hands of the factious nobility. The capital of Nusrat Shah was at Firuzabad while that of Mahmud was

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari, 14.
2. *Ibid.*, 17-18.

at Delhi. As the historian Badayuni says, 'they were like two kings in a game of chess'. The whole period is one of indescribable political confusion and anarchy before and during the terrible invasion of Amir Timur. Nusrat Shah died at Mewat in 1398. It may be reasonably presumed that Zafar Khan, the powerful viceroy of Gujarat, belonged, as did his son Tatar Khan, to the faction supporting Nusrat Shah in the north.[1]

Sanskrit epigraph about the gates of the Citadel

The information about the construction of the Citadel given in the Persian inscription referred to above is supported by another in Sanskrit inscribed on the same marble slab, so that the two together may be considered to form a bilingual epigraph. A transcript of the inscription is given in Burgess and Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*[2], and it is rendered into English below:

> 'In Samvat year 1452, on Sunday, the 15th of the bright half of the month of Vaishak (April 23, 1396), when the victorious Padshah Nusrath was reigning at Yoginipura, when Sri Dafar (Zafar) Khan was ruling on his behalf in this land of Gujarat, and when here at Mangalpura (Mangrol) in Kathiawar, Thamim Malik Yakub, the son of Rai Multani, the pearl merchant, was carrying on the administration, doors fitted with iron were fixed into the gateway by the Kotwal Malik Musa'.[3]

Inscription about the city-walls of Mangrol, 1397-98

The important inscription about the construction of the town-walls of Mangrol is dated 1397–98 (H. 800) at the time when Northern India was in the throes of Timur's invasion. The slab bearing the epigraph is placed in the record room at Mangrol. The reigning Sultan at Delhi is not mentioned by name, but the epigraph states that 'In the reign of the Emperor who is the pivot of the world,' the great lord Zafar Khan Wajih-ul-Mulk was the absolute political officer of the Emperor in the province of Gujarat,—'in piety like Osman,

1. Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. trans., I, 350, 351, 359.
2. Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists* (1897), op. cit., 246.
3. See also Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 544.

in valour like Khalif Haidar, in wisdom like Asaf, in war like Rustom.' This Khan, the inscription goes on to add, had a deputy in Sorath by name Malik Badr Binjhal, and the officer in charge of Mangalor (Mangrol) was Malik Shaikh bin Taj owing to whose exertions a fortress (i.e. the town-wall) as strong as brass (*ru'in hisar*) was erected at Mangalor. The date of its construction was H. 800 (A.D. 1397–98).[1]

Significance of the omission of the Sultan's name in the epigraph

The fact that in the inscription dated H. 800 rendered above, the ruling Sultan at Delhi, though referred to as 'the Shah-i-Shah' and 'the pivot of the world', is not mentioned by name, is unusual. The significance of this omission may perhaps be explained by the complete collapse of the central authority at Delhi at this period, so that the officials in the distant provinces could hardly say who was exercising regal sway at the old capital. It was a sad position to which the once Imperial realm of the Tughluqs had fallen within the short period of ten years after the death of the Emperor Firuz Tughluq. In the civil strife that had become chronic in Hindustan ever since 1394 a few powerful nobles were seeking to accomplish their own ambitious designs while nominally acting in the interest of one or the other of the two phantom Sultans Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Shah who have been mentioned before. Moreover, in the latter part of this same year H. 800 (Sep. 24, 1397 to Sept. 12, 1398), Tatar Khan, the son of Zafar Khan bin Wajih-ul-Mulk, and the supporter of the cause of Sultan Nusrat Shah, had been worsted by his rival Mallu Khan who had captured all his baggage and elephants at Panipat. Tatar Khan, thereupon, fled from Delhi and joined his father Zafar Khan who had by this time established his practically independent authority in the province of Gujarat. These circumstances may also explain the absence of the Delhi ruler's name in the inscription connected with the city-walls at Mangrol.

Among the historical monuments belonging to the latter part of the fourteenth century at Mangrol may be mentioned the shrine, situated near the Bandar, of Saiyid Sikandar, the disciple of the famous divine Makhdum-i-Jahanian of Uchh in the Punjab and the patron saint of the town. This interesting

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari, 2-3.

Shrine of Saiyid Sikandar of Mangrol and its relics

person is said to have accompanied the expedition which was sent about 1375 for the conquest of Mangrol during the reign of Sultan Firuz Tughluq. The tradition goes that he took an active part in the action and was in command of a force and received in reward the grant of a village. As a local saint he secured in later times the credit for the conquest of Mangrol effected by Iz-ud-din Aram. Numerous sacred relics which Saiyid Sikandar is said to have collected, including some old banners and a miraculous bowl, are preserved by the Saiyid's descendants who wear some of them on the day of the *'Id,* and these relics are held in high veneration by the Muslim community at Mangrol.[1]

1. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 545. My thanks are due to H. H. the Shaikh Saheb of Mangrol and to Mr. Altaf Husain, the Diwan of the State, for supplying me with several important details in connection with the antiquities at Mangrol.

CHAPTER VIII

SULTAN AHMAD SHAH I (1411-1442) : HIS WARS AND CONQUESTS

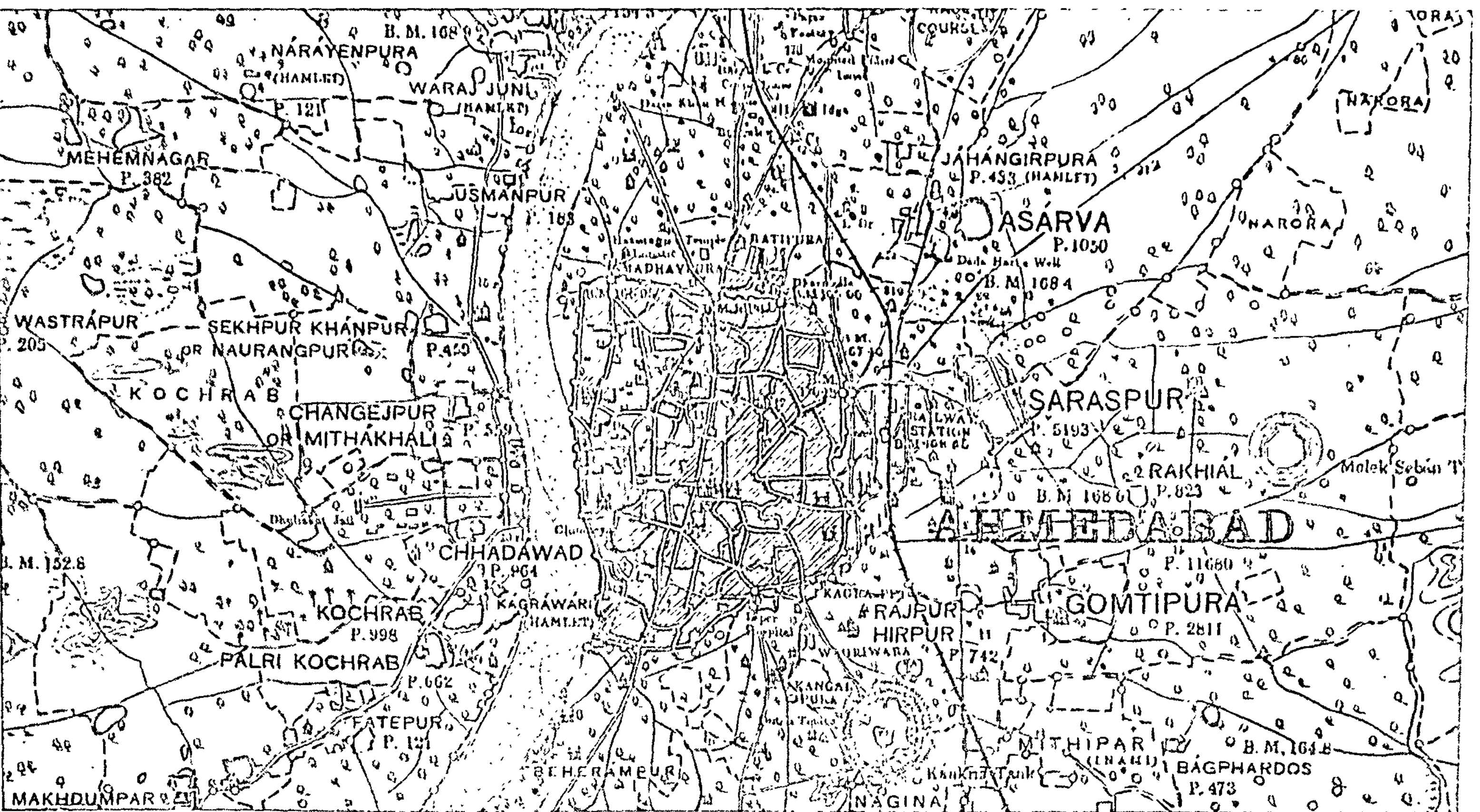
Eponymous fame of Sultan Ahmad I: Rise of the Malwa Saltanat: Ahmad's fierce iconoclasm: The 'grasias' and the 'mehwasis': Destruction of the Rudramala at Siddhpur (1415): Rajput confederacy (1416–18): War with Rao Punja of Idar (1426–28): Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar) on the Hathmati and its buildings: The Hill-Fort of Idargadh and its monuments: Ranmal's 'Choki': Magnificent Jain temples on Idargadh: War with Hoshang of Malwa: Gujarat generals capture Thana and recover Mahim from the Bahmanis.

Greatness of Ahmad Shah's reign

After the death of his grandfather, Prince Ahmad ascended the throne of Gujarat on January 10, 1411[1] at the early age of twenty and began that illustrious career the achievements of which have given him a place among the most famous rulers of Indian history. Though nominally the third Sultan of the dynasty, his long reign of thirty-two years, his successful expeditions against his Rajput and Muslim neighbours, and above all his foundation of the city of Ahmadabad as his new capital, all combined in the process of time to invest him with eponymic honours, so that, after him, the independent line of the Sultans of Gujarat came to be known by the name of Ahmad Shahi. He may, therefore, justly be regarded as the second founder of a dynasty which not only maintained a prosperous sway over Gujarat for well nigh two centuries but which has also left behind it a large number of architectural monuments of supreme beauty and perfection as its heritage for posterity to admire and to study.

The greater part of Sultan Ahmad's long reign of thirty-two years was spent in military operations carried out either against the independent Hindu Rajas of Gujarat or against

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 88.


AHMEDABAD
NARAYENPURA
(HAMLET)
B. M. 168
WARAJ JUNI
(HAMLET)
P. 121
MEHEMNAGAR
P. 382
USMANPUR
P. 168
JAHANGIRPURA
P. 453 (HAMLET)
ASARVA
P. 1050
B. M. 1684
NARORA
COURSES
WASTRAPUR
P. 205
SEKHPUR KHANPUR
OR NAURANGPUR
P. 450
KOCHRAB
CHANGEJPUR
OR MITHAKHALI
SARASPUR
P. 5193
RAILWAY
STATION
RAKHIAL
P. 823
B. M. 1686
Molek Sabán T
CHHADAWAD
P. 964
KAGRAWARI
(HAMLET)
B. M. 152.8
KOCHRAB
P. 998
PALRI KOCHRAB
P. 662
FATEPUR
P. 121
RAJPUR
HIRPUR
P. 742
P. 11680
GOMTIPURA
P. 2811
MITHIPAR
B. M. 164.8
BAGPHARDOS
P. 473
BEHERAMPUR
NAGINA
Kankria Tank
MAKHDUMPAR

the two Muslim rulers of Malwa and the Deccan whose kingdoms adjoined that of the Gujarat ruler.

Revolt of the King's uncle Firuz

Before entering into the history of these campaigns, we may mention that in the very first year of the reign young Ahmad had to face a conspiracy formed by the nobles against him with the object of placing his uncle Firuz Khan, or the latter's son Moid-ud-din, on the throne. It is rather surprising to find the names of two Hindus included in the list of these nobles: they were probably feudatory chiefs who had entered the royal service. The Amirs collected a large army and marched first to Cambay and then to the banks of the Narbada at Broach. Dissensions, however, broke out among them, many of their troops deserted to the king, and the league was broken up. The pretender Firuz, who had taken refuge in the fort of Broach, was besieged by the Sultan and at last threw himself on his clemency. But, shortly after, we find him again in revolt in alliance with Rao Ranmal of Idar. The insurgents entrenched themselves at the fort of Modasa, fifty-two miles north-east of Ahmadabad, and the Sultan marching by way of Prantij invested the place and took it by assault. Rao Ranmal now deserted his ally, and Firuz and his son fled to Nagor.[1]

The rise of the Malwa Saltanat

The rise of the independent kingdom of Malwa, with which the rulers of Gujarat were almost constantly at war for over a century, was coeval with that of the Gujarat Sultanate. In 1401, in the disruption of the Tughluq Empire after the terrible invasion of Timur Lang, Dilawar Khan Ghori, imperial governor of Malwa, declared his independence and proclaimed himself king at Dhar, the ancient capital of the province. He was succeeded by his more celebrated son Alp Khan, under the title of Sultan Hoshang Ghori (A.D. 1405–1435). Sultan Hoshang, a restless soldier, conducted many campaigns against his neighbours, and was an inveterate enemy of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. It has been said of him, however, that fortune never smiled on him. He built Hoshangabad on the Narbada, and transferred his capital from Dhar to the famous hill-fortress of Mandu, which he fortified and beautified with

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 11-12; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 12-16.

many public edifices. In the intervals of his wars he devoted himself to the completion and adornment of this new mountain-capital which remains, though ruined and deserted, a noble memorial of his greatness.[1]

Ahmad I's religious intolerance

The young Sultan of Gujarat had inherited not only the abilities but also the iconoclastic zeal of his grandfather Muzaffar I, and the keynote of his policy of unbending opposition to the Rajput chiefs and intolerance of their faith was struck very early during the reign. In the year 1414, says Firishta,[2] the Sultan gave to Malik Tuhfah, one of the royal officers, the title of Taj-ul-Mulk with a special commission to destroy all temples and to establish Muslim authority throughout Gujarat. This duty he performed with diligence. 'He overcame the infidels', adds the Persian historian, 'and placed the burden of the *jizyah*[3] and *kharaj*[4] on the necks of recusants and rebels. Some he brought into the fold of Islam, and he established such a firm hold upon Gujarat that the names of *gras* and *mehwas* were no longer heard of'.

The terms 'gras' and 'grasia' and their significance

The term *gras* (lit. a mouthful) has been used from time immemorial throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar to indicate the lands and villages given for their subsistence to junior members of the Rajput ruling families that came and settled down in the land, and these cadets came to be called 'grasias' or 'garasias'. In course of time *gras* came to mean an hereditary landed patrimony, large or small, and even to-day it is the commonest word in Kathiawar in connection with land administration.[5] In the decline of Mughal power during the eighteenth century, when the Maratha incursions were in operation, the term acquired for a time another connotation, and came to signify, under the form of *toda-gras,* the blackmail

1. An exhaustive description of Mandu and its remains will be found in G. Yazdani's '*Shadiabad* or the Hill-Fort of Mandu'.
2. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 18; Bayley's *Gujarat,* 98 *n.*
3. Jizyah is the capitation tax which is levied by Muslim rulers upon subjects who are of a different faith but claim protection (*aman*). It is founded upon a direct injunction of the Quran. (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam,* 248).
4. Kharaj originally meant a land tribute from non-Muslim tribes but it is now used for a tax or land-rent due to the State. (Hughes, op. cit., 269).
5. Bombay Gazetteer VIII, Kathiawar, 315-16; Desai and Clarke, Baroda Gazetteer, II, 102.

which turbulent robber chiefs levied from villages exposed to their attacks as the price of their protection and forbearance. 'Originally an honourable, title', says Mr. Kinloch Forbes, grasia became a term of opprobrium conveying the idea of a professional robber, 'a soldier of the night'.[1]

Meaning of the terms 'Mehwas' and 'Mehwasi'

According to the late Major J. W. Watson, the word Mehwasi in its original signification is merely a contraction of 'Mahiwasi', i.e., a dweller on the Mahi. Mehwas would thus mean literally an abode on the Mahi.[2] Both these terms are commonly used only in Gujarat and parts of Malwa, in which latter province the Mahi has its source. The wild and predatory character of the tribes inhabiting the Mahi valley has been a notorious fact from very early times. Hence the term Mehwas came to signify a holding in a country inhabited by turbulent tribes, or a natural stronghold, especially such as abounded in the rough and sparsely populated hills to the east of Gujarat. In these places many Koli and other chiefs maintained a quasi-independent authority and levied blackmail on peaceful towns and were termed Mehwasis.[3] The word Mehwas was taken up by the Persian historians of the province and often used in conjunction with the word 'Gras'.

Campaigns in Kathiawar, 1414-15

One of the earliest campaigns of Sultan Ahmad's reign was in 1414–15 directed against the Rajput centre at Junagadh in Kathiawar where the Chudasama chieftain Ra Melak was ruling at this time. A pitched battle was fought near Vanthali and the Ra being defeated fled to his capital whither the Sultan pursued him. Ahmad Shah managed with some difficulty to capture this town and the lower citadel of the Uparkot while the Ra took refuge in the upper hill-fortress of Girnar, but he was compelled at last to pay tribute. The final conquest of Junagadh was, however, reserved for the arms of Sultan Ahmad's grandson, the famous Mahmud Begada, in 1470. Ahmad Shah pressed the Jhalas hard and drove them from Patdi to Kuva. He also levied tribute regularly from the Gohels. From this time

1. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, II, 62 *n*, 275.
2. 'Note on the derivation of the word Mehwasi', by John W. Watson (Political Agent, Rewa Kantha), in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, 1877, pp. 79-80.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 99 *n*.

onward the Gujarat Sultans were bent upon extending their power into the central parts of Kathiawar beyond their existing possessions on the coast-belt in Old Sorath which contained many of the flourishing ports of the peninsula. They succeeded so far as to make the Rajput rulers of a large part of the country acknowledge their suzerain authority, and we find the names of the Sultans of Ahmadabad now taking the place of the Emperors of Delhi in several of the inscriptions found at various places in the peninsula.[1]

Confederacy of the Hindu Rajas, 1416

In 1415, Sultan Ahmad attacked the holy town of Siddhpur on the Sarasvati in North Gujarat where he broke the images in the celebrated temple of Rudramahalaya and turned the building into a mosque.[2] The ancient Rajput states of Eastern Gujarat were not slow in realising the fact that the young Sultan was not only ambitious of military glory but was also fired with a desire for the destruction of the shrines of the Hindu religion. In 1416, four powerful princes, viz., Rao Punja of Idar and the rulers of Champaner, Jhalawar,[3] and Nandod,[4] formed a confederacy against Ahmad Shah, and invited the help of Sultan Hoshang of Malwa, who, though a Musalman, was jealous of the rising greatness of the founder of Ahmadabad. The Malwa ruler advanced with an army as far as Modasa, but Ahmad Shah by forced marches arrived at this place, and Hoshang, not considering it expedient to risk a battle, retired to his capital, while the confederate Rajas were forced to disperse.[5] Two years later, in 1418, the Sultan marched against Champaner where he plundered the country and levied tribute. The following year he ravaged the district round the town of Sankheda-Bahadurpur,[6] built a mosque in the town, and appointed Qazis and preachers. He also built

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 98; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 17; Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 286.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 14.
3. Jhalawar is now a Native State in the south-east of Rajputana with Jhalrapatan as its chief town.
4. Nandod is the capital of the Rajpipla State in the Rewa Kantha Agency situated about 30 miles north-east of Surat on the Karjan river.
5. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 100-01; Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 15; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 19-20.
6. Sankheda and Bahadurpur are two towns, separated by the river Or, in the Sankheda taluka of the Baroda State, situated about ten miles from Dabhoi. In the ancient fort of Mankani a fine mosque may still be seen. (Gazetteer of the Baroda State, II, 521-22).

a fort at the village of Mankani near Sankheda, and left a garrison there.[1]

But of all the Rajput princes whom Sultan Ahmad brought to a feudatory position during his reign the opposition of none was so prolonged as that of Rao Punja of Idar. In 1426 the Sultan marched against the Rao's capital, drove him into the hills, and laid waste his country. The next year, Ahmad Shah founded the city of Ahmadnagar (now named Himatnagar) on the banks of the Hathmati, ten *kos* from Idar, and built a strong stone wall around it to overawe his refractory feudatory. Tradition says that he also built the fort of Sadra on the banks of the Sabarmati, about half way between Ahmadnagar and his capital. In 1428, during a skirmish in the hills with the royal troops, Rao Punja was entrapped in a precipitous defile and was killed by falling into an abyss. The next day a woodcutter cut off his head and brought it to the Sultan's court where it was identified. Ahmad Shah on this occasion laid waste the country of Vishalnagar.[2] Punja's son sought pardon and promised to pay an annual tribute, but he and his successors continued to maintain for many generations the same intermittent and guerilla warfare against the Muslim rulers of Gujarat and managed to retain their independent existence long after the Sultans of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty had passed away. The martial valour that distinguished the Rathor princes of Idar in the fifteenth century has remained undimmed to this day.

War against Rao Punja of Idar, 1426-28

The town of Ahmadnagar, the name of which has now been transformed into Himatnagar,[3] is the modern capital of Idar State and is situated on the road leading from Prantij to Idar. It was for centuries surrounded by an extensive wall of sandstone which is now mostly in ruins[4], its stones having been some years ago utilised in the construction of the new palace

Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar) and its monuments

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 17; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 105.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 111; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 26.
3. The ground for changing the name of the town was to prevent its being confused for postal purposes with the better known Nizam Shahi capital at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan. The town was renamed after Prince Himatsinghji then heir-apparent and now the Maharaja of Idar State.
4. The town-gates of Ahmadnagar have also now disappeared. Perhaps the most picturesquely situated of these was the Idar gate on the banks of the Hathmati.

buildings during the rule of Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh. The royal citadel built by Sultan Ahmad Shah on the banks of the Hathmati, and known like that at Ahmadabad as the Bhadra, still remains, but its character has now been transformed, for all the old structures within its enclosure have disappeared and their place has been taken by the extensive new palaces and other state buildings. Among the places of historical interest at Himatnagar we may mention what is known as the Qazi's Wav, an old step-well hewn out of the solid sandstone, which contains two inscription slabs on either side of the first landing, one in Arabic dated A.D. 1417 and the other in the Devnagari script dated A.D. 1522. The step-well differs in design in many respects from the later structures at Asarwa and Adalaj. Another old and interesting structure is the *Navlakh Kund*, being a subterranean rock-chamber, about 100 feet broad and 500 feet long, on the banks of the Hathmati, with a deep basin in the centre filled with water and with stone cloisters round two of its sides. According to tradition, the ladies from the palace in the citadel used, during the Muslim period, to go by an underground passage to this *Kund* on the riverside. The place must undoubtedly have provided a cool retreat in the summer months but it is now in a very neglected condition. A beautiful little masjid, standing at some distance from the citadel on the river-bank, is in excellent preservation and is said to have been built by a brother or son of Sultan Ahmad Shah. It is in the local Ahmadabad style, the frame of the windows being filled with carved stone-work representing trees with foliage. The fine range of hills which surround the old capital at Idar may be seen on the northern horizon from Himatnagar, and a straight road, eighteen miles long, now connects the two towns with each other. The flow of the river Hathmati has been checked by a weir or bund near Himatnagar and the waters of the river are carried through the Hathmati canal for irrigation purposes to the lands in the Prantij taluka of the Ahmadabad district.[1]

The ancient town of Idar (Ildurg), which stands 74 miles to the north of Ahmadabad, is picturesquely situated at the foot of a range of granite hills which connect the Aravallis with the Vindhya mountains. The enormous boulders and

1. Bombay Gazetteer, V., *Cutch, Palanpur and Mahi Kantha*, 430-31.

rocky hillocks which begin to be visible on all sides within a mile from Idar are a special feature of the country, and they so screen the town that nothing of its walls is visible until the very gates are reached. A visit to the fort of Idargadh, a rocky hill about 500 feet high which towers over the city, will explain the secret of the prolonged and on the whole successful resistance offered for centuries by its Rathor rulers to the Muslim power in Gujarat both during the period of the Saltanat and later under the Mughals.[1] The way into the fort is by a stone-paved pathway which leads to the plateau of the hill between, and much lower than, the two peaks. The fort was originally defended by five gates, all of which are now in ruins and have been dismantled.[2] The origin of this hill-fortress dates back to the pre-Rajput period of Idar history when the country is said to have been under the sway of the aboriginal Bhil chieftains. The hill is covered with brush-wood and its picturesque boulders remind the visitor of the scenery round about Mount Abu.

Idargadh and its general features

Idargadh contains a number of very ancient and interesting monuments which bear testimony to its religious as well as political importance. Among the oldest of these is the beautiful structure known as 'Ranmal's Choki' which stands on the top of one of the two highest peaks of the hill. It is evidently the remains of a small Jain temple with some exquisite carving and deserves to be preserved. There are niches all round the central chamber for the Tirthankars of the Jain pantheon. An extensive panoramic view of the cultivated plains of Idar State stretching as far as Himatnagar may be obtained from this site. On the other enormous peak of Idargadh, which is the highest in this range, stands another small monument, traditionally described as the Rudi (or Ruthi) Rani's Mahal, said to have been built by Rao Bhan of Idar in 1491 (Samvat 1548). The access to this spot is difficult if not dangerous, and the bold scarp of rock just beneath the

The monuments at Idargadh: *Ranmal's Choki and Rudi Ranino Mahal*

1. Idargadh, though not very lofty in elevation, is so steep, rocky and well-fortified that, according to a Gujarati saying, 'to take Idargadh' means to achieve some apparently hopeless task.

2. Adjoining the site of the fourth of these gates the late Maharaja of Idar has constructed a splendid new palace building.

Rani's Palace reminds one of the celebrated precipice known as the *Bhairav Jap* at Mount Girnar in Kathiawar.

It appears that both the well-known Svetambar and Digambar branches of the Jain community have been and still are well represented in the population of Idar town. Two beautiful temples, the origin of which must date from a very ancient period, have been erected on the plateau of the hill for the votaries of either denomination.

The temples of the Digambar and Svetambar Jains on the hill

The smaller of the two belongs to the Digambars and is dedicated to Shambhavnathji, the third Jain Tirthankar. From this spot may be had what is perhaps the finest view on the hill, the sheer scarp of the great granite peak on which the Rudi Rani's palace is situated standing out clear against the sky. The more magnificent temple of the Svetambars is dedicated to the sixteenth Jain Tirthankar Shantinathaji, and though the beautiful marble floors and images are all modern embellishments, the original structure is no doubt very ancient. The finely cut stone blocks on which this temple stands may be inspected by a walk round the monument. Immediately behind the shrine is a huge granite boulder with some cellars at its base. All pilgrims passing through Idar on their way to the holy Jain *tirtha* at Keshrinath in Udaipur territory are expected to offer their devotions at these Jain temples on the hill of Idargadh.

But the list of ancient monuments of interest on Idargadh is not yet exhausted. To the west of the hill within the limits of the fort is the sacred and hoary shrine of Vajra Mata, perhaps the oldest at this place, dating, according to legend, from the time of Veni Vacch Raj centuries before the Christian era.

The shrine of Vajra Mata and an ancient *Kund* on the hill

It is a natural cavern containing an image of the goddess which is worshipped by Hindus of all castes. Another interesting structure hardly less ancient is a huge *Kund* or reservoir which stands about half way up the hill and which is approached by a great many flights of steps reaching down to the water level.[1]

At a distance of about three miles from the town of Idar, and situated in the plain at the back of Idargadh hill, is a small

1. Bombay Gazetteer, V, *Cutch, Palanpur and Mahi Kantha*, 434-37.

village called Limbhoi near which stands a beautiful old wav or step-well of much interest and archæological value. Its date is unknown and it is somewhat inferior as a work of art to the well-known monuments of the same character at and near Ahmadabad which belong to Sultan Mahmud Begada's time. The wav appears to have been completely neglected for a long period but is nevertheless in good preservation and deserves to be conserved. On the slopes of the hill in front of the step-well is an ancient temple dedicated to Kalnath Mahadev which is visited annually by a large number of pilgrims from all parts of the State. Before passing on from Idar and its monuments we may refer to the large lake to the north-east of the town about half a mile distant, known as the Rani Talav, covering about 94 acres of land, which is said to have been constructed by the wife of Rao Bhan of Idar in 1488, *i.e.*, some 450 years ago.

The step-well at Limbhoi and the Rani Talav at Idar

Reverting to the career of Ahmad Shah, we may mention that in 1432 the Sultan conducted his last great campaign against the Hindu powers. After an interval of fourteen years, he marched for the second time against the ruler of Pavagadh, and the destruction of the town of Nandod is recorded on this occasion. This was followed by a victorious campaign in North Gujarat and Rajputana. Arriving at Siddhpur on the Sarasvati he laid waste towns and villages and destroyed idol-temples wherever he saw them. We next find him exacting tribute from the ruler of Dungarpur. Thence he entered the country of the Bhils and Kolis, who were subject to Rana Mokul of Chitor, and laid it waste. Carrying his victorious arms further into Rajputana he levied contributions from the rulers of Kotah and Bundi.[1]

Last campaigns of the Sultan against the Rajputs, 1432-33

We shall now turn to review the Sultan's wars against the powerful Muslim neighbours on his eastern and southern frontiers. Two such ambitious neighbours as Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat and the famous Sultan Hoshang Ghori of Malwa were not likely to be contemporaries for a generation without coming

War with Sultan Hoshang of Malwa

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 120-21 ; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 30-32.

into frequent conflicts with each other. We thus find that Sultan Hoshang twice penetrated into Gujarat and that his kingdom was, in turn, thrice invaded by Ahmad Shah. The most important military episode in these operations belongs to the year 1422 when, taking advantage of the absence of Sultan Hoshang in Orissa—where that ruler had gone disguised as a merchant to secure elephants at Jajnagar—[1] the Gujarat Sultan invaded Malwa, and, after capturing the fort of Maheshwar on the Narbada, invested the formidable hill-fortress of Mandu. Finding, after several months, that he had failed to prevent the entry of Hoshang into Mandu on his return from Orissa to his capital, and that the reduction of the fort was impossible in spite of the battering rams and siege engines that he had specially ordered from Gujarat, Ahmad Shah left the place and marched in the direction of Sarangpur.[2] Here he was encountered by Sultan Hoshang who had reached the place by a more direct route. After several inconclusive skirmishes, Ahmad defeated the Malwa ruler in a pitched battle, and, carrying off several of the much-prized elephants brought from Orissa, returned to Ahmadabad.[3]

War with the Bahmani Sultan

The relations of the Gujarat Sultan with his Muslim neighbour to the south became unfriendly after 1422 when his namesake Ahmad Shah (Wali) Bahmani of Gulburga usurped the throne of the Deccan. In 1431, on the death of Rai Qutb[4], who held the island of Mahim, near Bombay, on

1. In 1422 Sultan Hoshang of Malwa undertook a raid into Orissa, then under its Raja, to secure a number of elephants at Jajpur, the capital of that state, which was distant more than 700 miles from Mandu. He set out with only 1,000 horse, carrying with him some merchandise to enable him to pass off as a merchant. He attacked the Raja and made him prisoner. After he had disclosed his identity, the leading men of Jajpur supplied him with 75 elephants to secure their ruler's ransom. With these Hoshang returned to the fort of Mandu (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 178-9).

2. Sarangpur is now a town in the Dewas State, Central India, 74 miles from Indore on the Bombay-Agra road. It was a place of much importance in the 15th and 16th centuries. The town is best known as the scene of the death of the beautiful Rupmati, the famous Hindu wife of Baz Bahadur of Malwa, against whom Akbar sent a force in 1562 under Adham Khan. On the defeat and flight of Baz Bahadur, Rani Rupmati is said to have taken poison to escape falling into the hands of the conqueror.

3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 106-10; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 22-25; Cambridge History of India, III, 298.

4. The title of *Rai* Qutb is significant. We are also told that in 1432 the daughter of the Rai of Mahim was given in marriage to Prince Fateh Khan, the son of Ahmad Shah. He was probably one of the petty local

behalf of the Gujarat Sultan, the Bahmani ruler decided to capture the place. He sent his trusted general Khalf Hasan, who had the title of Malik-ut-Tujjar, to the island, and this officer took forcible possession of Mahim and the neighbouring districts. In order to repel this wanton attack from his Muslim neighbour, the Gujarat Sultan deputed his son with an army under the command of an able officer named Iftikhar Khan. At the same time, under the royal orders, Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Div, collected a considerable fleet at the ports of Veraval, Gogha, Cambay and Div, which sailed, with a part of the army on board, to the coast of the Konkan in order to co-operate with the land forces.

Capture of Thana and Mahim by the Gujaratis

It was decided by the Gujarat generals that Thana, which belonged to the Bahmani ruler, and which was at this time the chief town in the Northern Konkan, should first be invested both by land and by sea. Unable to maintain the defence for long, the commander of the fort at Thana had to withdraw and the town capitulated. The Gujarat troops next proceeded against the island of Mahim where Malik-ut-Tujjar had felled trees and put up a strong barricade on the shore to prevent their approach. Here again the ships co-operated with the land forces. The Deccani commander, after a fierce action, was forced to retreat to the adjacent island of Bombay, and ultimately escaped to the continent. Returning with a large army of sixty thousand troops and sixty elephants, which the Bahmani Sultan had sent under his sons in response to an appeal for reinforcements, Malik-ut-Tujjar attempted to recover Thana, but once again after a pitched battle the Gujaratis were victorious. The ships from Gujarat now returned home laden with muslins embroidered with gold and silver, as well as other precious stuffs, which were sent by the victorious generals to the Sultan at Ahmadabad.[1]

The historian Sikandar informs us that every year during the last decade of his reign, from 1432 to 1442, Sultan Ahmad

princes, former rulers of Mahim, who had embraced Islam and had been allowed by the Gujarat rulers to retain a modified independence under them (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 116 *n*, 120).

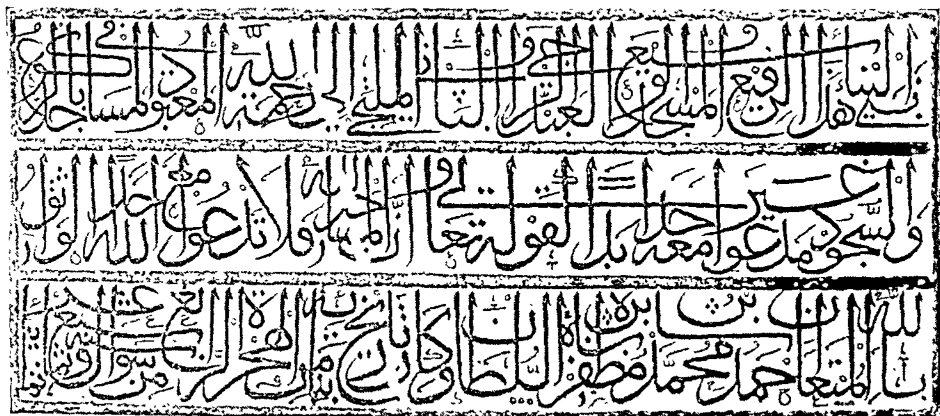
1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 116-18; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 28-30.

sent forth an army to chastise one or the other of his enemies, and at times he led the campaign in person, and he adds that throughout his reign victory always attended his arms and that he never suffered a defeat. Not more than twice or thrice during his long reign of three decades do we find a break of a couple of years during which no campaigns were undertaken, and this leisure was utilised by the Sultan in putting his kingdom in order and in settling the details about the administration of his territories.[1]

The reign a period of almost continuous warfare

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 112, 114.

Lord Irvin (now Viscount Halifax), Viceroy of India, at the Main Gate of the Bhadra Citadel, Ahmadabad



Arabic Inscription in Ahmad Shah's Masjid in the Bhadra Citadel at Ahmadabad, 1414 (p. 106)

CHAPTER IX

THE FOUNDATION OF AHMADABAD (A.D. 1411)

The four Ahmads and the twelve Babas: Tomb of Qazi Ahmad Jud at Patan: The 'Bhadra' Citadel described: Who built the City-Walls—Ahmad I or Mahmud I?: The Walls constitute a historic monument: Their later history: Proposals for their demolition: The City-gates: Accounts of Ahmadabad given in (1) the *Haft Iqlim*, (b) the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and (c) the *Ain-i-Akbari*: The Puras and suburbs in the Muslim period.

Foundation of Ahmadabad, 1411

More than on either his wars and conquests or his administrative system, the title of Ahmad Shah to immortal fame in the page of Indian history rests on his foundation of Ahmadabad, the great city on the banks of the Sabarmati which he made his new capital, and which has maintained, through the vicissitudes of more than five hundred years, its position as the metropolis of the province of Gujarat. It was early in 1411[1] that the Sultan, with the advice of his spiritual adviser Shaikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej, laid the foundation of Ahmadabad in an open and spacious area in the immediate vicinity of the old town of Asawal, and to the east of the river Sabarmati. The imposing river-bastion, called the *Manek Burj*, which stands at the head of the Ellis Bridge and measures fifty-three feet in height, is said to be the place where the foundation of the city was laid.[2]

The transfer of the capital of Gujarat from Anhilvad Patan, for six centuries the seat of Government, to a new

1. There is some discrepancy among historians as to the date of the foundation of Ahmadabad. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* gives it as the 3rd Zil Qa'da H. 813, i.e., 27th February, 1411 (*Supplt.* trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 2, 5). Blochmann in the *Ain*, on the authority of the *Khazinat-ul-Asfia*, mentions the 7th of the same Hijri month and year (*Ain*, Vol. I, 507 *n*). Firishta puts the date at the end of H. 815 and the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* gives the year H. 816, both of which work out as A.D. 1413. (Briggs' *Firishta*, 14; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 90).

2. H. G. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, 230.

locality was not to be undertaken without spiritual guidance.

The four Ahmads and the twelve Babas

Tradition says that the Sultan, with the aid of the saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, invoked the authority of the venerable and mysterious personage known as Al-Khizr,[1] who is identified by some Muslim divines with the prophet Elijah. From him permission was obtained to build a city provided its boundaries were lined by four Ahmads who were noted for their piety and righteousness. The Sultan and the Saint furnished half the number, and the other two were Qazi Ahmad Jud of Patan and a Malik.[2] The four Ahmads are said to have been helped by twelve Babas or Faqirs who took part in the foundation ceremony of the city. All of them are said to have been, directly or indirectly, the disciples of the famous saint Nizam-ud-din Aulia of Delhi, and their names with details of the places where they lie buried are given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi.*[3]

It is interesting to note that the mausoleum of Qazi Ahmad Jud, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu,

Inscription in the tomb of Qazi Ahmad Jud at Patan

who is said to have helped in the foundation of Ahmadabad, is still to be seen in the old town of Patan where he died in 1437.[4] The old structure appears to have been restored by a descendant of Qazi Ahmad early in the seventeenth century. An inscription on a marble tablet in this tomb, to which reference is also made by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,*[5] records the historic event connected with Qazi Ahmad's name, and it is rendered below:

'Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, out of kindness and favour,
granted the *khirqa*[6] of succession to the master Qazi

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1. According to Muslim hagiography, this mysterious person, reputed to be of the family of Noah and the son of a king, is supposed to have discovered and drunk of the fountain of life. In some Muslim books he seems to be identified with Elias and in others with St. George, the patron saint of England. (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 272-73).

2. Malik Ahmad is said to be buried at Pathanwada near the Kalupur gate of the city. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 1928, p. 3.)

3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 78-79.

4. *Ibid.*, 100.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

6. The *khirqa* is the patched cloak of the Sufi.

> Ahmad Jud, the austere, whose tomb at Patan is the light of saintliness. Ahmadabad was founded by four Ahmads one of whom was this master of guidance. His grandson is Humaid(?) bin Faqih who began the restoration of this mausoleum in Shaban 1025 H and it was completed in 1026 H (A.D. 1617)'.

The descendants of Qazi Ahmad Jud of Patan have been living at Ahmadabad for several centuries and Sir Mahbub Kadri and Sardar Shamsuddin Saiyedmian Kadri claim to be the present representatives of this historic family.[1]

Rauza of Baba Ali Sher at Sarkhej

The tomb of Baba Ali Sher, one of the above-mentioned twelve Babas or Qalandar Faqirs, is situated on the main road at Sarkhej a little away from the famous group of rauzas and buildings connected with this place. The mausoleum is a large one, square in shape, with a huge dome above it, and stands within its own walled enclosure. According to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* Baba Ali Sher was a mystic who wore no clothes, but if the saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu came to see him, the Baba would say in Hindi, 'Bring me clothing: for the Tower of Islamic Law cometh'.[2] When H. G. Briggs visited the place in 1848 he found the shrine was 'under a small and ill-shaped dome' and was undergoing repairs. He adds that the tomb of Ali Sher was regarded with peculiar veneration and that the rule was strictly enforced that no individual was to be allowed to sleep within its precincts.[3]

The 'Bhadra' Citadel and Towers

The imposing Bhadra Towers at Ahmadabad may be regarded as part of the oldest fortifications of the city, having been erected soon after 1411 when the foundation of the city was laid. They form a massive structure and may take rank with the same type of buildings as the Tower of London and

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1. Sir Mahbub Kadri, Kt., retired from Government service as District and Sessions Judge and Sardar K. B. Shamsuddin S. Kadri, I.S.O., retired as District Collector and Magistrate. The latter, who is the first graduate of the Gujarat College (1886), was also the first Muslim in the Provincial Service to be appointed Collector (1913). He was Oriental Translator under three successive Governors of the Bombay Presidency.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, by Nawab Ali and Seddon, p. 79.
3. H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 279-80.

the French Bastille. They are situated just behind the lofty east gate of the walled and bastioned royal enclosure, 43 acres in area, which is known as the 'Bhadra' Citadel. The Citadel of Ahmadabad derives this name from a similar fort at Patan Anhilvad—the ancient city which was for centuries before the foundation of Ahmadabad the metropolis of Gujarat, first under the Rajput dynasties and later under the Muslim governors of the Afghan Sultans of Delhi. Ali Muhammad Khan, the Persian historian, and author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* writes (c. 1750): 'The citadel of Patan, built by the ancient Hindu Rajas, has the same form and similar turrets; and contains a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhadra Kali. As that place was called the Bhadra from olden times, the people gave the same name to this citadel as well as to those of Champaner and Ahmadnagar (in Idar State).'[1]

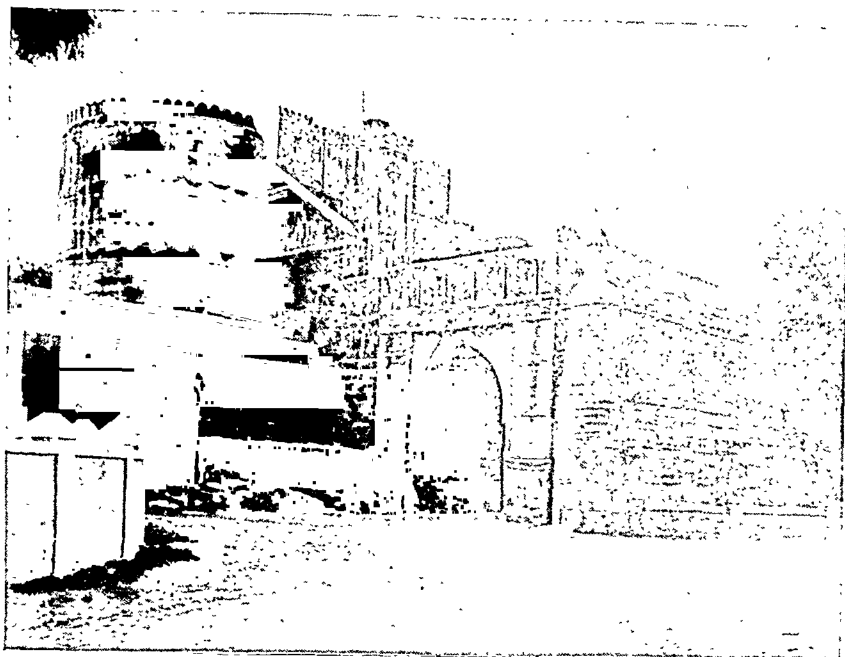
Popular tradition about the name

The above explanation is satisfactory and deserving of credit, and the popular belief that the citadel is so called from the location, near its east gate, of the small temple of Bhadra Kali Mata deserves to be definitely rejected. The existence of this temple in its present situation dates probably from the Maratha period or even later. It is not likely that the fierce religious spirit of the Sultans of Ahmadabad would have tolerated the presence of a Hindu temple in such close proximity to their great military Tower bristling with guns and men-at-arms. Moreover, the goddess is located in the lower rooms of the caravanserai built by the great Mughal viceroy Azam Khan during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan, and the temple cannot thus possibly be anterior in date to that building which was erected as late as 1637.

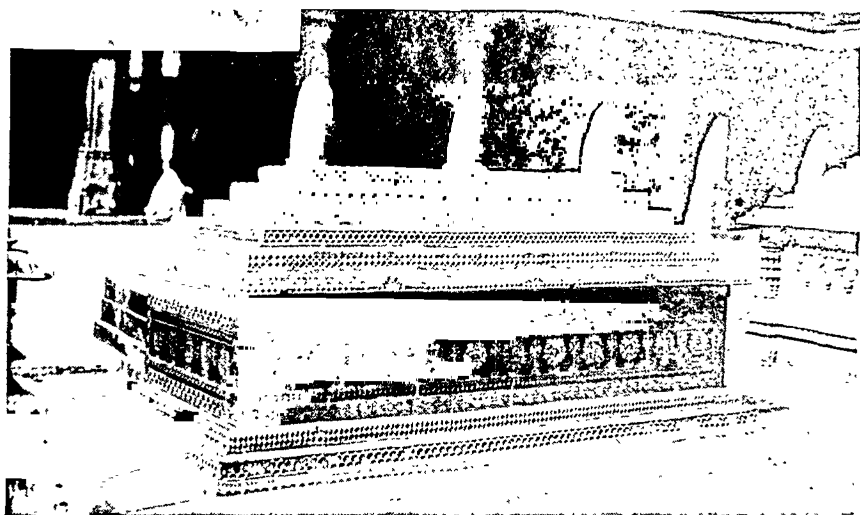
The Citadel described

The Bhadra Citadel or Castle is square in form and has several gates, the two oldest being the main gate to the east near the two Towers and the Lal or Diamond gate not far off which has long since been dismantled. To the west, along the river-bank, the castle rests on the outer city-wall, and on the remaining two sides it is surrounded by a

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl t.*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 1928, p. 6.



The Towers of the Bhadra Citadel at Ahmadabad, c. 1413 (Back View), (pp. 93-4)



Marble Tomb of Bibi Mirki, wife of Shah Alam, in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad

high brick wall which is fortified with several imposing bastions. This enclosure remained for centuries the royal headquarters where stood the palaces first of the Sultans and later of the Viceroys under the Mughals. Within it we may expect the royal elephants and other military strength of the rulers to have been concentrated. The majority of the old monuments in the Citadel have now disappeared, but among those that remain we may mention the private masjid of Ahmad Shah in the south-west corner and the beautiful mosque known as Sidi Said's near the north-east, the former dating from the foundation of the city while the latter was constructed in the year of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1573. Another old building in the Bhadra enclosure is the Rauza of Muhammad Amin Khan who was Viceroy of the province during the reign of Aurangzeb and who died at Ahmadabad.

Later history of the 'Bhadra'

Turning to the later history of the Citadel we may mention that in its south-west area stands to-day the Maratha quarter, consisting of a group of houses belonging to the descendants of the Maratha families which came with these invaders and settled here during the 18th century. The river-gates known as Manek, Ram and Ganesh also belong to this later period and it is said of the last that it was opened in one day by Appaji Ganesh in 1779.[1] A portion of the north wall of the Citadel and also a part of the south wall have been demolished during the last decade either to provide adequate playing grounds or for other purposes.

Ogilby's description of the 'Bhadra' Citadel

Some interesting remarks on the city-walls and on the Bhadra Citadel at Ahmadabad are available in Ogilby's *Asia*, a work published in England in 1673 when the province of Gujarat was under the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb. John Ogilby was 'cosmographer, geographic printer, and master of the revels in the Kingdom of Ireland' to His Majesty Charles II. In 1673 he produced in London, in a large folio volume, his work called 'Asia', being a description of Persia and of the provinces of the Empire of the Great Mughal and of other parts of India. The work was dedicated to Charles II and was

1. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmedabad, 275 and *n*.

described as the fifth volume of the publisher's *English Atlas.* Ogilby himself was not a traveller, nor does it appear that he ever visited India. But he tells us that his account was 'collected and translated from the most authentic authors and augmented with later observations.' In his survey of the province of Gujarat, and of its capital at Ahmadabad, he gives the following description of the Bhadra Citadel:

> 'This Castle, which is accounted the best and strongest fortress which the Mogul hath in all India, except that of Cabul and Candhar, is commonly fortified with eighteen great guns, besides many lesser, and hath a large square inward court in the middle whereof stands a high pole on which placing an arrow they shoot at it with a bow.'[1]

The fact that Sultan Ahmad fortified his new capital by building the strong walls of the Bhadra Citadel, as also the two formidable Towers near its east gate, can hardly be doubted. The question as to who built the city-walls of Ahmadabad presents more difficulty. Ali Muhammad Khan, writing in the middle of the 18th century, no doubt states explicitly that the city-walls were built during this reign.[2] But Firishta, in his account of the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada, says:

Who built the City-walls of Ahmadabad?

> "At this period he caused the city of Ahmadabad to be surrounded by a wall and bastions; and on its completion had the following sentence, commemorative of the date of that event, inscribed on one face of the fortifications: 'Whosoever is within is safe'." This chronogram gives the Hijri year 892 (or A.D. 1487).[3]

Firishta wrote his history a hundred and fifty years before the completion of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* and on historical grounds his statement must be preferred to that of the later historian. There are, besides, other grounds on which we may believe that the city-walls were constructed nearly seventy-five years later than the date generally ascribed to them. In the first place, we are told by the author of the

Reasons for accepting Firishta's statement

1. J. Ogilby, *Asia,* London, 1673, p. 209.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.,* op. cit., 3, 6.
3. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 70.

Ahmadi that the 'fortifications' were completed in 1413.[1] This date may apply well enough to the Citadel and the Towers within it, but appears to be quite inadequate for the completion of the extensive city-walls with their immense circumference. Moreover, we are told that at first the city was not thickly populated and that the population became large only about the time of Mahmud I's reign.[2] The very irregular contour of the city-walls, which is in striking contrast to the geometrical symmetry of the Bhadra walls, also supports the conclusion that Mahmud I adapted the city-walls to the uneven expansion of the city-wards and its inhabitants during the seventy-five years that had elapsed since the foundation of the capital. That the four pious Ahmads lined out the citadel-walls seems eminently acceptable: the tradition becomes rather absurd if applied to those of the city. It may also be noted that several of the city-gates, such as Daryapur, Kalupur, Sarangpur, and Jamalpur have been named after famous nobles who flourished during the long reign of Mahmud Begada. For all these reasons it appears more consistent with the principles of historical criticism to accept the account given so clearly by Firishta that the city-walls were built, or rather completed, in 1487. It may also be noted that Firishta had access to original sources of information on the history of Gujarat which have now been lost to us.

The walls a part of the historic monuments of Ahmadabad

The famous city-walls of Ahmadabad, now at least four hundred and fifty if not over five hundred years old, still remain in excellent preservation and justly take rank among the most important historical relics of the capital of Gujarat. They must also be included among the few secular monuments that have been handed down to us from the Muslim period of the history of the city. The walls describe a circumference of nearly six miles and contain, according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* 12 gates, 189 towers or bastions, and over 6,000 battlements.[3] Built of burnt brick

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 3. The author of the *Sikandari* mentions the year H. 820 (A.D. 1417) for the completion of the fortifications and gives the Chronogram *Khirak* for the same (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 90).
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 6, 10.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 3.

and mortar they are exceptionally strong and compare favourably with those of Delhi or Shahjahanabad in massive strength and height. Though their utility for political or military purposes is now negligible, they serve as a tangible bond of association between the present and the historic past.

Later history of the city-walls

It was not to be expected that a walled fortification covering a circumference of six miles should remain in tact for centuries without constant repairs necessitated by the vicissitudes of war and the lapse of time. It is not, however, till the latter half of the reign of Aurangzeb that we meet with specific historical references on the subject. During the period of about a quarter of a century between 1676 and 1702 we find the sanction of this Emperor secured on no less than four occasions for expenditure of money on repairs to these walls.[1] During the political disorders of the early part of the eighteenth century (1723–50), the walls suffered, and in 1756, on the eve of the last defence of Ahmadabad against the Marathas by Momin Khan, the rains were so heavy that they fell down in several places.[2] After the assault on the city in 1780 by the British under General Goddard, when the walls were breached near the Khan Jahan Gate, they appear not to have been put to rights, and gradually became so ruinous that carts and carriages could pass through the breaches, and the city became as unsafe as the suburbs, robberies and murders being common.[3] During the early years of British rule, after the city came into their hands in 1817, complaints about the bad state of the walls were constant. We find the Collector in 1825 and the Circuit Judge in 1828 urging the need of setting apart some part of the city revenues for their repair as the town was on all sides open to thieves and robbers.[4] In consequence of these representations, the Town Wall Fund Committee was formally constituted by the Bombay Government in 1831 and authorised to provide an annual revenue or fund for the repair of the city-walls by the levy of extra import and export town-duties on certain commodities such as spices,

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, 339.
3. H. G. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, 209.
4. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmadabad, 268 and *n*.

ghee, sugar, ivory, silk, etc. For nearly twelve years after this the work of restoration of the town-walls was carried on until in 1842 the Committee reported to Government the completion of the task assigned to it.[1] The total cost of restoration is said to have been £25,000 or two and a half lakh of rupees.[2] The walls were in excellent condition when H. G. Briggs saw them in 1848[3], and they have ever since been kept well preserved, the breaches made by the great floods in the Sabarmati in 1875 having been repaired.

Remarks on the proposals for the demolition of the city-walls

It is not many years since, in 1927, proposals for the demolition of a portion of the ancient city-walls of Ahmadabad, from the 'Delhi' to the 'Astodiya' gates, began seriously to be considered by the Municipal Council in the interest of urban improvement and expansion. But the scheme has met with a determined opposition from the Muhammadans of the city who no doubt regard these extensive walls as relics of the past greatness of Muslim rule in Gujarat. But the question is not one of sentiment only. The walls have always been regarded as an integral part of the historical monuments of this capital city and the problem is thus bound up with that of the preservation of these monuments.[4] Those who are against the scheme urge that the claims of urban expansion and of improved sanitation could be satisfied in a manner that would give less offence to an important section of the citizens and be less repugnant to the historical sense, and they suggest that new gates should be

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1. The Town Wall Fund Committee continued to function after 1842 by the transfer to it of some municipal functions, and the Fund at its disposal was utilised, after deducting the recurrent charges for maintaining the walls, for certain specific services and civic amenities such as the supply of water to the people and the watering of the principal thoroughfares. The Committee thus represents, especially after 1842, the origin and rise of municipal government in the capital of Gujarat. The Ahmadabad Municipality as a statutory body did not come into being till 1857-58, when Act XXVI of 1850 was applied to this city by Government notification and the Town Wall Fund Committee then ceased to exist (See Article on 'The Centenary of the Ahmedabad Municipality' by Mr. B. K. Boman-Behram in the *Times of India*, April 2, 1935).

2. Hope and Fergusson, 'Architecture of Ahmedabad', 58.

3. H. G. Briggs, op. cit., 209.

4. See Crawley-Boevey's 'Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Ahmedabad', where the city walls are specially mentioned among the very first of the monuments of this capital.

opened up in the walls and breaches made in the walls wherever required for supplying an outlet to congested areas. It has also been pointed out that the demolition of the walls would not necessarily or materially help forward the policy of inducing the people to go out and build in the open areas lying outside the city walls. The success of the 'Ellis-Bridge' and other recent town-planning schemes illustrates this argument. Moreover, the work of demolition of so large an extent of the walls is argued to be very expensive, so that it would be an extravagant policy to destroy the walls before everything possible had been done to improve the existing state of the city. We might conclude that it ought not to be difficult to reach a solution that would reconcile the claims of loyalty to the historic past on the one hand and of civic health and sanitation on the other.

City-gates of Ahmadabad

According to the 'Mirat-i-Ahmadi' (1750) there were originally twelve principal gates in the city walls, viz., in the *north,* Shahpur, Idaria or Delhi, and Daryapur; in the *east,* Kalupur, Sarangpur and Raipur; in the *south,* Astodya, Jamalpur and a closed gate which was called Dhediya; and in the *west,* on the banks of the river Sabar, Khan Jahan, Raykhad and Khanpur. Besides these, we find mentioned two passages which were opened between the Khanpur and Raykhad gates and were named 'Daricha Bagh' and 'Khirki' respectively.[1] Two gateways were added during the nineteenth century, viz., the 'Premabhai' in the north-east, Saracenic in style, built in 1864 at a cost of Rs. 9,140; and the 'Panchkuva' gate in the east, built in 1871, for easy access to the railway station, at a cost of Rs. 11,450.[2]

The Manek Chok why so named

According to local tradition, the great market-square called the Manek Chok, as also the Manek Burj or Bastion on the river, are named after an Hindu ascetic, Manek Bava, who lived on the banks of the Sabar and who had to be conciliated before the city-walls could be built. Everyday he made a cushion (*gadi*) and every night he picked it to pieces, and, as he picked, the day's work at the walls fell down. The Sultan found out

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement,* trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 5.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 268 *n.*

who was troubling him, and, asking him to give another proof of his power, got the magician into a small jar and kept him there till he promised to let the wall-building go on in peace! The tomb and shrine of Maneknath Godaria, who is said to have been buried alive during *samadhi,* are still to be seen.[1]

Account of Ahmadabad in the 'Haft Iqlim,' 1593

The new capital of Gujarat continued steadily to grow in size and population for nearly two centuries and the work of adorning it with architectural monuments worthy of its importance was carried out with unremitting energy both by the Sultans and their nobles. By the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, Ahmadabad came to be regarded as the finest and largest of the cities of India, 'or even perhaps of Asia.' The Muslim historians of the period are lavish in their praises which perhaps sound strange to modern ears. The author of the *Haft Iqlim,* a well-known geographical and biographical treatise in Persian completed in 1593, gives the following description of the city:

> 'Ahmadabad is unique in the whole of India in the matter of neatness and flourishing condition and it is superior to other cities in the excellence of its monuments. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the whole world there exists no town so grand and beautiful. Its streets are spacious and well-arranged unlike those in other towns; its shops, with two or three storeys each, are finely built; and its inhabitants, both men and women, are graceful and delicate'.[2]

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* on the glories of this capital

The local historian, Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* who wrote in the middle of the eighteenth century, after reproducing the eulogy of the *Haft Iqlim,* goes on to make the following addition to the same:

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1. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 276 *n.*
2. The *Haft Iqlim* ('The Seven Climes'), Ed. by Maulavi Adbul Muqtadir (Bibliotheca Indica), 86-87. The work was completed in 1593 by a Persian writer named Amin Ahmad Razi whose father held high office under Shah Tahmasp. The famous nobleman Itmad-ud-Daulah, the father of Nur Jahan, was the author's first cousin. The arrangement of the work is geographical and follows the customary division into seven climates. Under each country or town are found, after some geographical and historical account of the locality, a large number of biographical notices chiefly relating to poets and holy or learned men. (C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum,* I, 335-6.)

'And in truth a city with such beauties is rare whence it has been called the 'Beauty of Cities' (*Zinat-ul-Bilad*) and the 'Bride of the Kingdom'. Precious stuffs are manufactured here and exported to various parts of the world, and the merchants who traffic by land and by sea make a profitable trade. Mosques and markets abound, and round about the city there are 360 suburbs. Sultan Mahmud II (1537–54) during his reign made Mahmudabad, twelve *kos* off, his capital: but the road to that place from Ahmadabad was so covered by markets on both sides, as well as by houses of the people, that the two cities appeared one. In particular, the art of weaving golden and silken stuffs, such as kinkhab, velvet, gauze and embroidery, flourishes here owing to the suitable climate, and these stuffs are unequalled in India for colour and beauty. The fame of the art of Gujarat has spread to various parts of the world and to the distant cities of Iran, Turan, Rum and Syria.[1]

Abul Fazl on Ahmadabad

The historian Abul Fazl, in his statistical account of the Subahs of the Mughal Empire in the *Ain-i-Akbari,* thus describes the capital of Gujarat:

'Ahmadabad is a noble city in a high state of prosperity, which for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled. It has two forts, outside of which are 360 wards, which they call *puras,* in each of which all the requisites of a town are found. At the present time only 84 of these are flourishing. The city contains 1,000 stone masjids, each having two minarets and rare inscriptions.'[2]

We would, no doubt, with our modern notions of civic beauty and splendour, consider the praises lavished upon

1. *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, Baroda, 1928, p. 7. See also the Persian text of this work.
2. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. by Col. J. S. Jarrett, 1891, II, 240.

Ahmadabad by Abul Fazl, by Firishta,[1] and by the author of the *Haft Iqlim* to be absurd and extravagant eulogy. It must be noted, however, that the glories of Agra and Delhi were during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries yet incomplete, and Ahmadabad, not so insanitary and congested as it is now, stood out without a rival among the cities of Hindustan for the beauty of its monuments, its fine streets and spacious *mahallas*, and the wealth and numbers of its population. During the course of the seventeenth century, however, the splendour of its buildings began to pale before the rising greatness of the Mughal capitals of Northern India. The earliest and some of the most famous of the monuments of the city date from the reign of Sultan Ahmad, and we shall in the next chapter give a descriptive account of the buildings erected by him, the chief of which are the Triple Gateway, the great Jami Masjid of the city, the Sultan's private mosque in a corner of the Bhadra Citadel, and his mausoleum in the Manek Chok, the old business square of the city.

The city superior to Agra and Delhi in the 16th century

Some idea of the size and extent of Ahmadabad and its suburbs at the height of its medieval greatness may be obtained from the fact, which is attested by all our authorities, that in the palmy days of the Saltanat the city could boast of no less than 360 or 380 puras each of which was surrounded by a wall. These wards were originally areas assigned by the Sultans to their nobles who built therein their mansions and private masjids which came to be soon surrounded by the houses of their attendants and to be named after the noblemen who founded them. Several of these *puras* were within the city-walls, but in course of time the greater number of them grew up outside the walls as suburbs. 'A pura', says the historian Ali Muhammad Khan, 'is itself a considerable quarter, containing good buildings and bazars filled with everything valuable and rare so that each is almost a city'. According to the same authority, the now deserted suburb of Usmanpur, on the right bank of the Sabarmati, had at least one thousand

The *puras* and suburbs of Ahmadabad

1. Firishta says, 'This is, on the whole, the handsomest city in Hindustan and perhaps in the world' (Briggs, IV, 14).

shops, and was peopled by traders and artizans, as also by civil and military servants, both Hindu and Muslim. The decline of the suburbs was, however, already in operation before the end of the sixteenth century. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions by name 110 of these puras with details about their situation and their founders. Though the language is not very clear, it appears that in his time eighteen of these were deserted and eighty-nine were still suburbs though fast falling into ruin.[1]

The population of Ahmadabad under Muslim rule

Of the population of Ahmadabad under Muslim rule no definite information is available. Judging, however, from the large number of its suburbs and the accounts of the city given by historians, it must have been considerable and probably larger than that of any other capital city in Northern India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We cannot, however, accept the statements made by James Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* (1781)[2] and by the late Sir T. C. Hope in his *Architecture of Ahmedabad* (1866)[3] that the city had a population of two or three million souls. These figures are not supported by any historical references and appear to be pure guess work and grossly exaggerated. Turning to other details, we find that Firishta says that the principal streets of the city were sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast.[4] This would appear to be in striking contrast to the present sorry situation. But, as H. G. Briggs pointed out in 1848, the vehicles of the gentry of Hindustan, when of native make, were never so wide as three feet between the axles'.[5] The streets, however, were perhaps broad enough for the traffic of those days. Ahmadabad and its suburbs were, by the end of the sixteenth century, adorned with what we might correctly characterise as an immense number of masjids,

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, 11-17 ; Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 328*n*. At the time when the latter work was published in 1879, of the 110 puras mentioned in the *Mirat*, eight were suburbs, thirty were villages in the Daskroi sub-division, and seventy-two were deserted.
2. J. Forbes, 'Oriental Memoirs' (1813), Vol. III.
3. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 27.
4. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 14.
5. H. G. Briggs' *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 247.

though it appears that Abul Fazl was either misinformed or was guilty of exaggeration when he says in the *Ain* that there were a thousand stone masjids in this capital.[1] The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* puts the number at 450 or 500 and adds that government used to look after their repairs till the reign of Aurangzeb, after which they were left to themselves.[2]

1. *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, trans. by Jarrett, II, 240.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 10.

CHAPTER X

THE MONUMENTS OF SULTAN AHMAD SHAH I AT HIS NEW CAPITAL

The royal mosque in the Bhadra Citadel (1414): The Jami Masjid and its inscription (1424): Col. M. Williams (1809) and Mr. Cousens (1905) on 'the shaking minarets': Ahmad Shah's Rauza in the Manek Chok: The Queens' Tombs: The Triple Gateway and the Maidan Shah: Genesis of Ahmadabad architecture: Spoliation of Hindu temples: Features of the local style—(a) the Clerestory, (b) the Minars, (c) the delicate Tracery.

Ahmad Shah's masjid in the Bhadra 1414

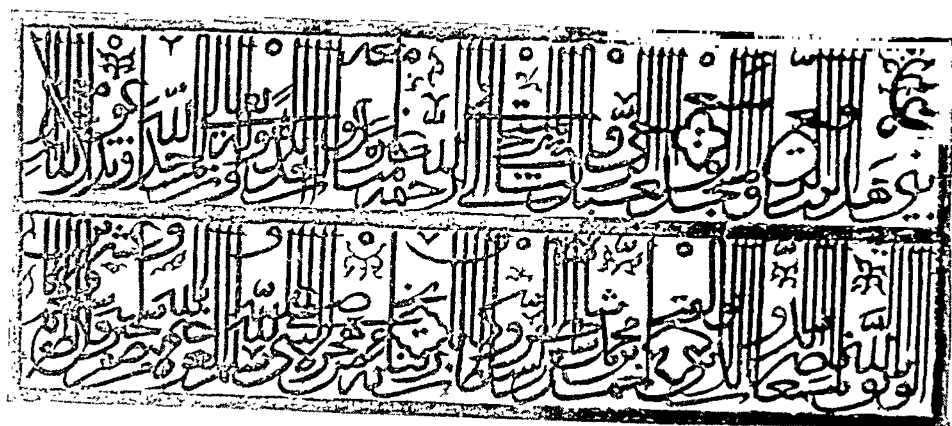
Perhaps the oldest Muhammadan architectural monument in Ahmadabad is the building still known as Ahmad Shah's Mosque,[1] abutting against the south wall of the Bhadra citadel and facing the present Gujarat Club. The inscription in Arabic, above the central mihrab, thus records the foundation of the mosque:

> 'This lofty edifice and extensive masjid was built by the slave who hopes and the builder who takes refuge in the mercy of Allah—who is worshipped in masjids with bows and prostrations, who alone is to be worshipped according to the Quranic verse: 'Verily the masjids belong to Allah, worship no one else with him'—by the slave who trusts in the helping Allah, Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar, the King, and the date of its erection is the 4th Shawwal, H. 817 (17th December 1414)'.[2]

Inside the mosque, in the north-west corner, raised on 25 pillars, is the *Muluk Khana* or the Royal Gallery (popularly known as the zanana gallery), curtained to the east and south by perforated screen-work. On the floor of this royal chapel

1. Also popularly known under the name of the Chhota Juma Masjid.
2. Jas. Burgess, 'The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad,' Part I, 17.

The Jami Masjid at Ahmadabad completed by Sultan Ahmad I in 1424 (pp. 107-10)



Arabic Inscription at the Jami Masjid in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad, 1424 (p. 108)

is a small low platform, over which was formerly a magnificent canopy, where, it is said, Ahmad Shah used to recite his daily prayers. 'It may be remarked', says the late Dr. Jas. Burgess, 'that it is only in the Gujarat mosques of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century that these royal or zanana galleries appear. In the later masjids they are wanting, and the reason of this marked change is almost certainly that, in mosques built by courtiers and private individuals, no such separate chapel was required by the builders, nor perhaps would such an imitation of royalty have been tolerated'.[1]

Pillar with inscription dated 1252

Most of the materials used for the construction of this mosque appear to have been borrowed from some Hindu or Jain temples, which must have been pulled down for the purpose. The pillars inside are largely taken from these temples, as some of them still bear reliefs depicting mythical figures but little defaced, and one of them has an inscription written in old Gujarati and dated A.D. 1252.[2] The pillars supporting the Royal Gallery are richly wrought and appear to have been all taken from a single temple. It is recorded that during the Maratha occupation of Ahmadabad in 1758 the mosque of Sultan Ahmad Shah was utilised as a storehouse for wood and grass, and it has been but little used for worship since that time. When H. G. Briggs visited the mosque in 1848 he found the courtyard abounded with tombs. No traces of these are now to be seen.[3]

The great Jami Masjid of the City, 1424

The Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad, however, remains the most extensive and splendid of the religious edifices of the city and was erected by Ahmad Shah at a short distance from the Triple Gateway. The building was commenced in 1412[4] and was completed some twelve years later in 1424. The mosque is one of the largest in India and has been considered by com-

1. Jas. Burgess, 'The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad,' Part I, 18.

2. The inscription belongs to the reign of Vishaldev Vaghela and is dated Samvat 1308 (A.D. 1251-2). It records the gift of a trellis-window (*Jali*) in the temple of Uttareshwar at a place called Mahimsaka (*Epigraphia Indica*, V., 1898-99, pp. 102-03).

3. H. G. Briggs, 'The Cities of Gujarashtra', 230.

4. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 92 and *n*.

petent critics to be one of the most beautiful in the East.[1] The fact that owing to the industrial growth of the city it has now been practically hemmed in on all sides by houses and shops, low and mean for such surroundings, has considerably detracted from the pristine splendour of the monument. Sir John Marshall has, in a recent work, described the Jami Masjid as 'one of the most superb as it is also one of the most imposing structures of its class in the world'.[2]

The Arabic inscription in the same

Above the central and principal mihrab of the masjid is a marble slab bearing an Arabic inscription in two lines of elaborately interlaced letters. The opening words of the epigraph are in language almost similar to what we have quoted in connection with the inscription in Ahmad Shah's private mosque in the Bhadra citadel, and the building is stated to have been erected by him 'who trusts in the helping Allah, Nasir-ud-dunya wad-din Abul Fath Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar, the King.' 'The date of its erection from the flight of the Prophet—Allah's blessings be on him—is the first day of Safar—may the month end successfully and victoriously—of the year 827 (4th January 1424)'.[3]

Col. Monier-Williams on the shaking minarets of Ahmadabad, 1809

The drawing of this mosque, made by James Forbes in 1781,[4] gives a fairly accurate idea of its former appearance. It was originally adorned with two lofty minarets, elegantly proportioned and richly decorated, but these were unfortunately destroyed during the great earthquake in Gujarat in June 1819. The building has thus been shorn of a prominent architectural feature, though, in the opinion of an art critic, it is a question whether the minars ever added materially to its beauty.[5] They consisted of four storeys and possessed the peculiarity, in common with some others at Ahmadabad, that when one was shaken it communicated a

1. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, II, 230.
2. Cambridge History of India, III, 610.
3. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 35.
4. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813, Vol. III.
5. Sir John Marshall in *The Cambridge History of India*, III, 610.

vibratory motion to the other, though not the slightest tremor or agitation was perceptible in the intervening roof. The following record about the shaking minarets of Ahmadabad made in his *Journal* by Col. Monier-Williams, Surveyor-General, in which he describes the results of his personal observations, is quoted by Captain Robert Grindlay in his illustrated folio volume on Western India published in 1826:

> '31st May, 1809. We found, on examination today, that the minarets of the Jumma Masjid shook just as much, or even more, than any of the others, and that one communicated the motion to the other fully to as great a degree as those of the Beebee Sahib's. Indeed, we tried the experiment upon every perfect pair of stone minarets within and about the town today, and the effect was just the same with them all.
>
> 'As the motion that one of the minarets receives from the shaking of the other might be supposed to be communicated to the whole intermediate building, I lay down on the terraced roof, equidistant between the two minarets, while people above were shaking them; but I was not sensible of the smallest motion or agitation whatever in the building under me.'[1]

Mr. H. Cousens on the shaking minars

The phenomenon of the shaking minarets has since been abundantly verified, though no scientific explanation of this remarkable feature of some of the Ahmadabad mosques has yet been forthcoming. Mr. Henry Cousens, late Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India, in his Progress Report for the year ending 30th June 1905, confirms the fact and refers as follows to his observations in connection with the minarets of what is known as Sidi Bashir's Masjid in this city:

> 'When at Ahmadabad on the 31st of May last, nearly a hundred years after Colonel Monier-Williams made his experiment, my attention was called to the fact that Sidi Basar's minarets, near the railway station,

1. Capt. Robert Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes, etc., chiefly on the Western Side of India*, London, 1826.

possessed the same peculiarity. I ascended to the topmost balcony of one, while two or three men ascended the other. Putting their hands together against their minaret, they began to throw their weight against it. For a few seconds I felt nothing on mine; but, as I was about to put the thing down to imagination, it began to swing with a soft, noiseless, and resilient motion, which gradually increased, until I was, perforce, obliged to call out to them to stop it'.[1]

The facade and other features of the Jami Mosque

The Jami Masjid stands at one end of a very extensive courtyard, which has a reservoir in the centre, and is surrounded on three sides by a covered corridor. It has fifteen principal domes with about 260 graceful pillars. Its façade is 'so admirably composed, so diversified and so well-proportioned in its parts, that its vastness only serves to enhance the beauty and impressiveness of the whole'.[2] The great majority of pillars in the mosque appear to have been specially hewn for the purpose. The material used in the building is the usual fine sandstone, but the pavement is of coarse white marble. One corner of the mosque is occupied by the *Muluk Khana*, or Royal Gallery, which is shut off from the rest by perforated screen-work and is approached from the outside as in the Sultan's private mosque. At the very threshold of the lofty central entrance of the Jami Masjid we find embedded in the floor a large slab of black marble which is popularly believed to be the inverted plinth of an image imported from some Jain temple.[3]

Ahmad Shah's mausoleum in the Manek Chok

A porch on the east side of the Jami Masjid leads to an enclosure containing the mausoleum of Ahmad Shah. The Rauza is a massive domed building containing a central hall with four square rooms at the corners and four deep pillared verandahs between them. In the centre of the main hall is

1. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, 1904-1905, p. 43.
2. Camb. Hist. of India, III, 610.
3. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I 30-35.

the tomb of the great Sultan, and on either side are those of his son Muhammad II and his grandson Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah II, all of white marble beautifully carved. Here rest, in their last sleep, these three early Sultans of Ahmadabad, unheeded by the thousands who daily gather in the Manek Chok, the largest business quarter of the city. The identity of the persons in the tombs in the adjoining rooms is not so definitely established, though there can be but little doubt that they are descendants of the royal house. The area surrounding the mausoleum is occupied by graves, and on one side there is a tiny Rauza put up in memory of some children of General Ballantyne, a political officer in the service of the East India Company. The Mausoleum of Ahmad Shah is popularly known as *Badshah ka Hazira*—'haziri' being an offering of food to certain Muslim saints, which is then distributed to the poor who attend. It was in all probability erected by Ahmad Shah himself soon after the Jami Masjid. There is no original inscription in it, but the slab over the door leading to the central hall records that the tomb was repaired about a century later, in 1538, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud III by one Farhat-ul-Mulk. The following is the full rendering of the inscription:

> 'The lofty tomb of Ahmad Shah, the King—whose dome rivals the vault of heaven for height—though it had many servants, and though they always strove to keep it in order, yet no one has repaired it in so splendid a manner as the perfect mind of that respected and exalted man, the benefactor of the present generation, Farhat-ul-Mulk, who is pious, God-fearing, liberal and faithful. The date-line of his office-tenure has, with Allah's help, been shown by the poet Yahya in the words 'Farhatu'l Mulk' (giving the year A.H. 944, or A.D. 1537–8). This writing is the work of Ahmad Chhajju'.[1]

Passing to the east from Ahmad Shah's mausoleum, and crossing the crowded Manek Chok street, we reach the enclosure which contains the Tombs of the Queens, or the *Rani ka Hazira* as it is popularly called, where rest the remains of

1. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 38.

The Tombs of the Queens at Ahmadabad

the Ahmad Shahi queens on a stone pavement raised ten feet above the ground. The principal tomb is one elaborately carved in white marble and surrounded by a Persian inscription in low relief. It is that of Bibi Mughali, the wife of Sultan Muhammad Shah II and mother of Mahmud Begada. She was, after her husband's death, married to the famous Saint Shah Alam. Near this is another tomb in black marble, once inlaid with mother-o'-pearl, and ascribed to Mirki or Murki Bibi, the sister of the former lady and the first wife of Shah Alam. Both the ladies were daughters of the Jam of Sind, and their tombs are beautiful works of art exquisitely finished to the minutest detail. There are here several other tombs in marble, finely carved, but no evidence of their identity remains.[1]

The Royal Palace and the Triple Gateway

We have so far reviewed the principal religious edifices and mausoleums of the reign of Sultan Ahmad I. Of the palace of the Sultans and their successors no vestige remains. It probably occupied the site within the Bhadra citadel, facing the river Sabarmati, where stood for a hundred years the office of the District Collector before it was destroyed by fire during the political riots of 1919. The Triple Gateway thus remains the sole memorial of the secular buildings erected in this reign and it ranks with the Jami Masjid as the most imposing of the monuments of Ahmad Shah. Its beauty arises from its perfectly proportioned archways set off against highly ornate buttresses on the faces of the intervening piers. The gateway is 37 feet in thickness, and the arches are a little over 24 feet in height, with a terrace at the top having three balcony windows on each side.[2] The *Tin Darwaza*, as it is popularly known, was a magnificent entrance to the great courtyard which was called the *Maidan Shah* and which covered a vast area from the Triple Gateway to the main entrance of the Citadel near the Towers. The general character of this extensive square or courtyard, with its rows

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1. J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 39-40.
2. J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 25; Sir J. Marshall in *The Cambridge History of India*, III, 610.

The Triple Gateway, or *Tin Darvaza*, at Ahmadabad (p. 112)

The Tombs of the Queens (*Rani-ka-Hazira*) in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad (p. 112)

of palm trees and citron trees, as seen at a later period, has been described by Mandelslo, Thevenot and other European travellers of the seventeenth century.[1] Here, it is believed, the great feudatories and foreign ambassadors assembled with their retinues before being admitted to the royal presence. At a later date, the newly appointed Maratha governors of the city used to aim five arrows at one of the beams of the *Tin Darwaza,* and to augur good or ill to their administration in accordance with their success in striking it.[2]

Genesis of the architecture of Ahmadabad

As the Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad holds an important place in the history of Fine Art in India, it is necessary to say a few words about its genesis and character. From the time when Vimal Sha, the devout Jain minister of the Solanki Raja Bhim Dev I, erected his superb temple on Mount Abū in 1032 to the final conquest of Gujarat by the Muslims at the end of the thirteenth century, the wealthy community of the Jains had by its patronage exercised a powerful influence on the architecture of Western India. Hence it is that in the history of Indian Art the monuments of this early period in Gujarat are sometimes designated as belonging to the Jain or the Western Hindu style. The Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad owes its peculiarly elegant and pleasing character to the fact that it is essentially derived from the local forms which it replaced. As Sir T. C. Hope says: 'As to style, it was the singular fortune of the Muhammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries, and the rich surface ornaments of their despised and frostrate foe'.[3] This combination of styles explains why the Muslim architecture assumed in Gujarat a distinct local form, as it did in other places, such as Mandu, Jaunpur and Bijapur.

1. See my *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India,* 1931, p. 22. Also my *Studies in the History of Gujarat,* 1935, pp. 112-13.

2. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad,* 42.

3. *Ibid.,* 28.

Not less important, it must be acknowledged, was the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered in respect of the materials and the builders, so that the spoliation of Hindu shrines, which began under the Nazims of the Delhi Sultans during the fourteenth century, continued apace. When Ahmad Shah decided to establish his new capital near the city of Asawal he found in the old Hindu towns of North Gujarat sufficient building material for his purpose. In the Jami Masjid, in the Sultan's private mosque in the Bhadra, and in several of the earlier masjids of the city, pillars and ceilings are to be found that have been transferred bodily from the Jain temples, and many a delicately sculptured work of art, scornfully cast into walls and foundations, has been brought to light during the last fifty years.[1] Apart from the ruins of the city of Karnavati, whose location has not been definitely traced, the finest edifices of the old capital at Anhilvad and of the remoter city of Chandravati, by this time already ruined and deserted, appear to have been put under contribution for material throughout the period of the Saltanat. For fresh material the conquerors resorted to the sandstone quarries of Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar) and Dhrangadhra or to the marble hills of the Ajmer district. The architects and craftsmen employed by Ahmad Shah and his successors were also probably Hindus and hereditary masters of their trade, though no specific reference on this point can be traced.

Spoliation of Hindu cities and temples for materials

Some reference to Chandravati will not be out of place here in view of the fact that its ruins are believed to have helped in the construction of the new capital of Gujarat. The site of this capital city, which is said to have once been eighteen miles in circuit, is to be found about four miles south-west of Abu Road station in the Sirohi State in Rajputana and close to the left bank of the Western Banas. The prosperity of the city seems to have lasted from the seventh to the beginning of the fifteenth century. After

The old city of Chandravati and its remains

1. 'In 1875, among some foundations dug up inside of the Bhadra, were several large stone blocks with Hindu carving. One of them had a short inscription dated A.D. 1303 (Samvat 1359).' (Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 275 *n.*)

the foundation of the town of Sirohi in 1405, Chandravati ceased to be the capital of the Deora Rajputs and a few years later its buildings and skilled craftsmen were carried off to enrich the city of Ahmadabad. Since then the place has remained forsaken and desolate, and even its ruins, which were sold and removed as building materials, have now all but disappeared. In 1824 Sir Charles Colville and his party, the first European visitors to Chandravati, found twenty marble edifices of different sizes at this site. But when the place was visited by Mr. Jas. Burgess in 1874, of these twenty buildings not more than three or four were left. Col. James Tod appears not to have actually visited the spot during his famous tour in Rajputana.[1]

Special features of the local style—the clerestory

The principal architectural beauty of the Ahmadabad mosques is said to rest on three features, *viz.*, the exquisite device by which light is introduced into the body of the building; the graceful minarets; and the delicate tracery. The mosques normally consist of three domes resting on squares of twelve pillars each. But the central dome is higher than the other two, the additional height being obtained by introducing two pillars in front twice as high as those of the side domes, and by two rows of dwarf columns standing on the roof of the side squares. In the interspaces of these columns is generally built a low balustrade, richly ornamented by carving, or a beautiful screen of perforated stone-work. A clerestory is thus formed, through which a subdued reflected light is introduced into the central apartment of the mosque in the most artistic manner, while at the same time perfect ventilation is secured. So far as is known this most pleasing method of illumination is found only in the Ahmadabad mosques, where it was early employed and remained constant and unchanged throughout. Whether the mode was invented by the Ahmadabad architects, or was borrowed from some other source, it is difficult to determine,

1. Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A: 'Western Rajputana States Residency, Sirohi State', 298-99. See also Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, 96 *f*.

though, as Fergusson says, 'like all good things in art, it is evidently the result of long experience, and the residue of many trials.'[1]

The minarets of the mosques

Turning next to the minarets, it appears that the architecture of Ahmadabad was the first of the Indo-Saracenic styles which systematically employed the minaret as an essential part of the mosque. Beginning with the first rude attempt in Sultan Ahmad Shah's mosque, where 'the minarets are hardly more than pinnacles', the architects of Ahmadabad attained, in the course of a century, a degree of perfection in this respect which is unsurpassed by any other country, and produced examples which surpass those of Cairo in beauty of outline and richness of detail. The Ahmadabad minaret is a part of the mosque and not merely a tower built on its roof. Except in the worst examples, it 'stands out buttress-like from the ground to the mosque roof, relieving its flat front wall. Above the roof it rises a round, slightly-tapering tower, relieved by galleries supported by most richly carved brackets and surrounded by delicately cut balustrades, and ending in a conical top of varied design'.[2] It is owing to this fact that we can still admire the rich and elaborate ornamentation of the minars, though the upper towers of several of them have been destroyed by the great earthquake of June 1819.

Are the minars in harmony with the design of the buildings?

The graceful minarets of many of the Ahmadabad mosques have always been admired for their delicacy of outline and rightly so. But, unlike the earlier architectural critics, Sir John Marshall finds them heavy and cumbersome in relation to the rest of the structure, and considers this feature of Islamic art as one which the Gujarati architect never managed to handle with complete success. In his opinion, whether the towering minars were placed on either side of the central archway—as in the Jami Mosque or in Bibi Achut

1. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 80. 'The mode of lighting and ventilating the interior, which was an invention of the Gujarat architects, is a specially happy solution of a well-known problem, but one, strangely enough, that has never found favour in other parts of India....The advantage of this arrangement is that all the light and air required can be admitted, while the direct rays of the sun and the rain are effectually excluded'. (Sir J. Marshall in *The Cambridge History of India*, III, 610, 611).
2. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, *Ahmedabad*, 265.

Kuki's—or were transferred to the front corners of the building—as in Saiyid Usman's—they were bound to overpower the rest of the structure. 'Minars of such dimensions', he says, 'could not by any conceivable means be brought into harmony with the design of the prayer chamber. This is the reason why in some of the later mosques, such as that of Muhafiz Khan, we find the height of the minarets reduced and that of the prayer chamber increased—much to the advantage of the composition as a whole. It was not, however, until the minaret was transformed into a merely ornamental and symbolic appendage (as in Rani Sipari's) that the problem from an aesthetic standpoint was successfully solved and then only at the expense of utility'.[1]

The delicate tracery

Turning now to the third and last of the special features of the Indo-Saracenic style of Ahmadabad architecture, we may point out that the delicate and elaborate tracery of the Ahmadabad mosques has been admired by all who have seen it. It is found in rich profusion in arches, windows, and screens between the pillars. It is also employed to fill the niches in the minarets, and takes the place of the images which the Muslim could not tolerate. 'We can follow the progress of the development of this form,' says Fergusson, 'from the first attempt in the Jami Masjid, through all its stages to the exquisite patterns of the Queen's Mosque at Mirzapur. After a century's experience they produced forms which as architectural ornaments will, in their own class, stand comparison with any employed in any age or in any part of the world'.[2] We need only add that the exquisite designs in the windows at the back of the world-famous Sidi Sa'id Mosque are one of the glories of India.

1. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 615.
2. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 236.

CHAPTER XI

SULTAN AHMAD I AS A RULER: ORIGIN OF THE *WANTA* ESTATES : MINTS AND COINAGE : INSCRIPTIONS.

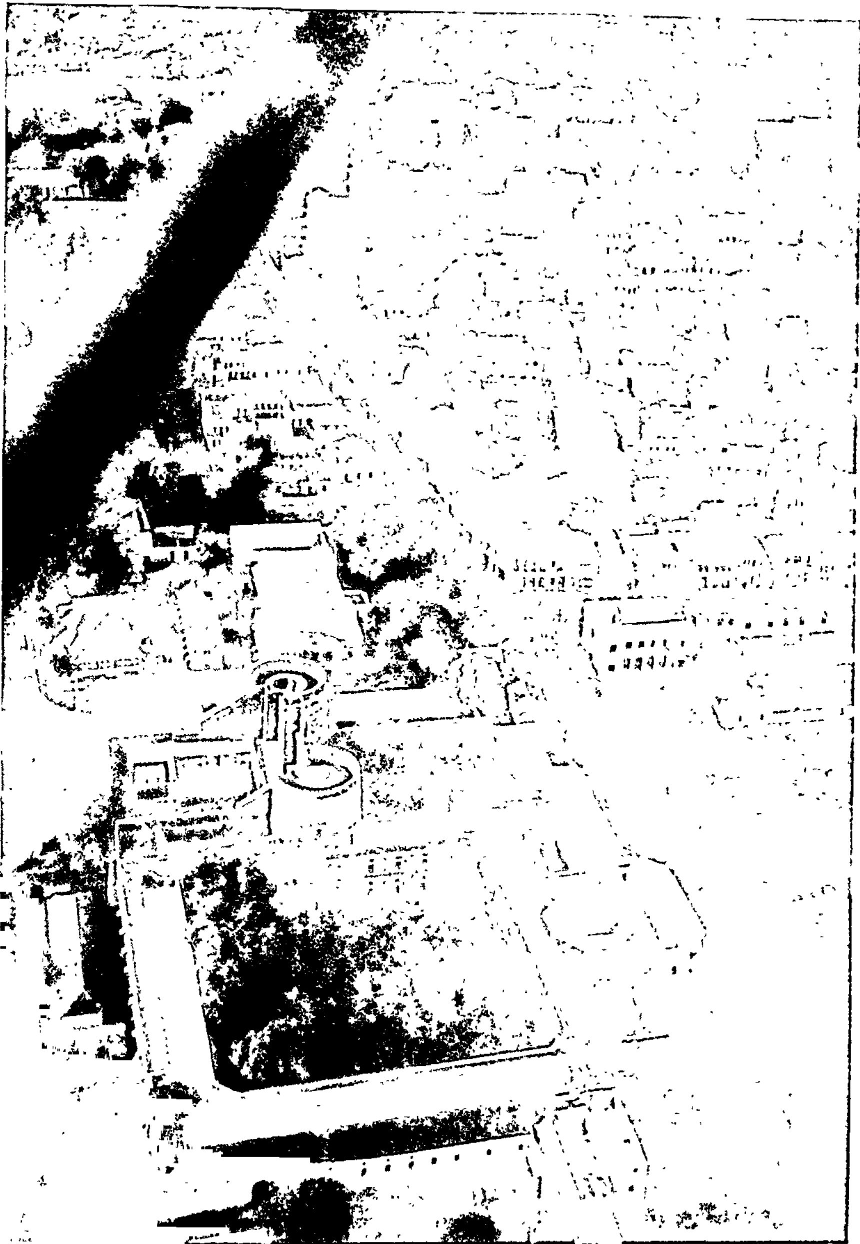
The *Wanta* system and its history: Dr. Taylor on the coins struck at the capital: Ahmadnagar (Idar) as a mint-town (1427–42): Honorific mint-epithets of Ahmadabad: *Zinat-ul-Bilad* ('The Beauty of Cities'): Epigraph of this reign at Patan (1419): Inscriptions at Mahuva and Wadhavan in Kathiawar: Remarks on the antiquity of Wadhwan and its importance in the Solanki period: Ahmad Shah's stern justice: Hostile relations with the Rajput chiefs: Estimate of the reign.

Scope of the chapter

Sultan Ahmad Shah I died at Ahmadabad on August 12, 1442, after a long reign of thirty-two years and six months, but in the prime of life, for he was only fifty-two years of age. He was buried in the royal mausoleum at the Manek Chok in his capital. Before we pass on to the next reign, we shall attempt to put together all the available information, scanty though it is, about his administration, his coinage, his private life and character, and his relations with his subjects.

Origin of the *wanta* estates of Gujarat

To the reign of Sultan Ahmad I may be traced the origin of the so-called *wanta* estates of Gujarat which still hold an important place in the system of land tenures and revenue settlement in this province. We are told by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that the system arose out of the Sultan's operations against the minor Rajput landholders of Gujarat who rose in rebellion against him but who were punished by being completely dispossessed of their estates. As a consequence they began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations. The measures that followed to reconcile them may be described in the words of the Persian historian;



Aerial View of the Bhadra Towers (c. 1413) and of Azam Khan's Serai (1736) at Ahmadabad

'Those whose duty it was to advise, in their foresight put an end to these calamities, and exacted from the zamindar of every village security to discontinue his opposition. Three parts of the land of each village, under the denomination of *talpat*, were acknowledged as the property of the king, and one portion was given to the zamindars under the denomination of *wanta*, and they were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own villages and were to hold themselves in readiness for the service of the king whenever called upon. As these people, without paying obedience to the prince, did not see it possible to establish themselves, they attended to make their submission and engaged to pay the crown a *salami* from their *wanta*. From this time 'salami', and 'peshkash' became established against them.'[1]

Later history of these *wanta* estates

The Hindu landholders of Gujarat appear to have retained as hereditary possessions this *wanta* or one-fourth share of their former village lands till the year 1545 when it was forcibly resumed by the feeble Sultan Muhmud III on the advice of his minister Asaf Khan. This measure caused much discontent and disorder and a general persecution of the Hindus followed. It was reversed by the Emperor Akbar, who, as part of the settlement of the province in 1583, restored their one-fourth share to the landholders, and the arrangements then made have since continued in force with some modifications.[2]

The Mint at the Capital

As capital of the kingdom, Ahmadabad remained the first of the mint-towns of the Gujarat Saltanat throughout the period of its independence. The mint name of the city appears to have been *Shahr Muazzam*, 'the great city'; but no known silver coin of the period bears this legend, and only four copper coins of the whole series can, from their legends, be definitely declared to have been struck at the Ahmadabad mint. The conclusion to be drawn from this absence of the name of Ahmadabad on the coins, is best stated in the words of the

1. Forbes' *Ras Mala*, Oxford Ed., II, 270-71.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 439; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 215-16.

late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, an authority on Muhammadan coins, to whose scholarly monograph on *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat* all students of the history of the period are deeply indebted. He says, 'It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarat Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years H. 970, 977, 978 and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarat coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Ahmadabad mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarat, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarat would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town'.[1]

Coins struck at Ahmadnagar (Idar State)

Sixteen years after the foundation of his new capital, Sultan Ahmad founded in 1427 a second city in Gujarat which was also named after himself—Ahmadnagar (now styled Himatnagar). It was the outcome of his long wars with the gallant Hindu ruler of Idar, to overawe whom the Sultan erected a stone fortress on the banks of the Hathmati river, round which the new city rapidly grew up. During this reign, the city of Ahmadnagar rose to the dignity of a second mint-town, and a large number of Ahmad Shah's coins bear an inscription to the effect that they were struck at this place. From the founding of the new city right on till Ahmad Shah's death, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Ahmadnagar mint, whereas not a single coin, dated or otherwise, appears to have issued from it subsequent to the Sultan's death. The period of activity of the mint in this town thus coincides with the last sixteen years of the reign of Ahmad I.[2]

It is interesting to refer to some of the later honorific mint-epithets of Ahmadabad, especially to those connected with the Mughal period of its history, which have been

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1. Taylor, Geo. P., *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, J. B. B. R. A. S., 1902, XXI, 315.
2. Taylor, Geo. P., *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, op. cit., 315-16.

brought to light by numismatists. The city is described as the *Dar-al-Darb,* i.e., 'the seat of the mint' on several of the coins struck by Akbar at Ahmadabad after his conquest of Gujarat in 1573, as also on the few surviving coins of Muzaffar III, the last of the Sultans of Gujarat, minted during the few months of his second reign (1583–84). On other coins issued during Akbar's reign we find that Ahmadabad is variously styled as *Dar-ul-Khilafat,* i.e., 'the Seat of the Khalifate', and *Dar-us-Saltanat.* But what is perhaps the most gratifying fact about the honorific mint-names of this capital city is that, on a rupee of the phantom Mughal Emperor Rafi-al-Darajat (1719), we find Ahmadabad described under the proud title of *Zinat-ul-Bilad,* 'the Beauty of Cities'.[1]

Honorific mint-epithets of Ahmadabad

The credit of identifying the mint-epithet, just mentioned, with the city of Ahmadabad belongs to the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, one of the ablest and most graceful writers on the history and coinage of Gujarat. "Numismatists", he says, "have for some time been familiar with the fact that coins had been struck at a mint bearing the charming epithet *Zinat-ul-Bilad,* 'the Beauty of Towns'. Rodgers writes: 'The *Zinat-ul-Bilad* has no town's name attached to it, so it is not known'.[2] Judge then of my delight when one day I picked up in the bazar a quite ordinary looking rupee, and read on its reverse this very title, while in the line above stood out, in letters each one perfectly clear and distinct, the word Ahmadabad. So the mystery was thus in a moment cleared up, and the good old city, so unsparingly defamed by Jahangir,[3] can after all lay claim to the proud title of 'the Beauty of Towns'. Indeed,

Ahmadabad called 'the Beauty of Cities'

1. Taylor, Geo. P., *Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat,* op. cit., 314-315 and *n.*

2. Rodgers, *Coins of the Emperors of India* (Lahore Museum Catalogue), 17.

3. The Emperor Jahangir, during his visit to Ahmadabad in 1618 tormented by the heat, peevish from fever, and altogether 'down' by abstention from his usual potations of wine, gave various opprobrious epithets to the city in his *Memoirs,* such as Gardabad (dust-town), Samumistan (the home of the hot winds), Bimaristan (the abode of sickness), Zaqqumdar (thorn-brake), and Jahannamabad (Hell-town). See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Ed. by Rogers and Beveridge, II, 13.

this claim is now proven for all time, and established beyond possibility of appeal, by the mute evidence of this single unpretentious silver coin".[1]

Inscriptions of Ahmad's reign: epigraph in a well at Patan, 1419

Reference has been made in the preceding chapter to two royal inscriptions at Ahmadabad relating to Sultan Ahmad Shah, one of which is located in the great Jami Masjid of the city built during this reign and the other in what is known as the Sultan's private mosque in the south-west corner of the Bhadra citadel. A third inscription bearing the name of this Sultan has been discovered in very recent years on a slab fixed in a well at the old capital of Patan Anhilvad, but it has not yet been published. This epigraph, which consists of eight lines inscribed in the *naskh* script, gives some interesting details about the construction of the well in 1419. In common with the practice of the Persian historians of the period, the city of Patan is referred to as Nahrvala. We give below a translation of the inscription:

> 'The construction of this flowing bounty (*khair-i-jari*) took place, by the grace of the Almighty Creator, in the auspicious reign of the King, the asylum of the world, with the heaven-like court, the king of kings, the shadow of God in this world, chosen by the grace of God, distinguished for justice and kindness, trusting in God whose help is sought, Nasir-ud-dunya wa'd din (the defender of the world and the faith) Abul Fath Ahmad Shah bin Muhammad Shah bin Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority and magnify his dignity and glory.
>
> 'The devoted slave of this court, Abdullah-us-Sultani, the Kotwal of the city of Nahrwala, laid the foundation of this structure, so that the servants of God—to whom belongs might and glory in accordance with the Quranic verse, 'With water we gave everything life'—might derive benefit from this place, and find comfort, and remember the founder of this well with prayer, so that he might obtain forgiveness and his

1. Article by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor entitled 'On Some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat', in The Gujarat College Magazine, No. 3, January 1919, pp. 93-94.

faith might remain secure. All praise is due to Allah the lord of the creation. On the second Friday of Zil-Hijjah in the year eight hundred and twenty-one (January 6, 1419)'.[1]

Inscriptions of the reign in Kathiawar

Some inscriptions bearing the name of Sultan Ahmad Shah and found at various places in Kathiawar bear testimony to the sway established by the Sultans over peninsular Gujarat at this period. One of these epigraphs has been found at the old seaport of Mahuva on the south-east coast of Kathiawar about fifty-five miles distant from Bhavnagar. An old mosque to the north of the town outside the Bhadrod gate contains an inscription in Arabic dated *Sursan* 826 (A.D. 1425) in the reign of Sultan Ahmad stating that the masjid was built by one Malik Asar-ul-Mulk bin Malik Jauhar.[2] Two more interesting Persian epigraphs of this reign have been found in a mosque in the ancient town of Wadhwan in the north-east of the peninsula. One of these bears the date *Sursan* 840 corresponding to A.D. 1439 and mentions that the builder of the mosque was Malik Muhammad bin Malik Musa in the reign of Nasir-ud-dunya wa'd din Abul Fath Ahmad Shah. The other, similarly located, merely states that a masjid was built in Ahmad Shah's reign. There is also a third epigraph in the same mosque which is dated *Sursan* 849, corresponding to A.D. 1448, and which refers to the reign of 'Sultan Muhamad II Ghias-ud-dunya wa'd din, son of Sultan Ahmad I'.[3]

Ancient military road of the Solankis in Kathiawar

The city of Wadhwan, situated on the northern branch of the Bhogavo river, is one of the most ancient places in Gujarat and Kathiawar as may be seen from a popular local tradition which speaks of 'Vala and Wadhwan: Patan city was afterwards founded'.[4] It stands on the great military road constructed by the Solanki rulers, then Lords paramount of Gujarat and the peninsula, from Patan Anhilvad in the north to Junagadh in the south in order to overawe the Chudasama chiefs of Sorath and at the same time to make the

1. The text of the inscription has kindly been transcribed and translated by my friend Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 537.
3. *Ibid.*, 693.
4. Forbes' *Ras Mala*, Oxford Ed., I, 164.

journey shorter to the sacred fane of Somnath. This famous trunk road passed through Munjpur, Jhinjhuvada, Viramgam, Wadhwan, Saela, Dhandhalpur, Chobari, Anandpur, Sardhar, Gondal, Virpur and Jetpur to Junagadh. It appears that Wadhwan was an important centre on this route both for the supply of water and to serve as a fortified camp, for remains of *kunds* or water-receptacles have been discovered in the river-bed which are attributed to Siddhraj Jayasingh. This military road later became the regular highway for travellers, and the old coast routes were gradually neglected save for religious pilgrimages. The Vaghelas who held Wadhwan at a later date were dispossessed by the Muslims early in the fourteenth century, and from the time of Ahmad Shah a strong *thana* or military post was always kept here as being an important point from which to dominate the peninsula. In the decline of Muslim rule, Wadhwan fell into the hands of the Jhalas of Halvad who have retained it ever since.[1]

Memorial of Ranak Devi's sacrifice at Wadhwan

Wadhwan is famous for all time in the history of Gujarat as being the place where the beautiful Ranak Devi, queen of Ra Khengar of Junagadh, became *sati* after the death of her husband and of her two sons. The bardic story goes that Siddhraj Jayasingh of Patan Anhilvad, who had sought Ranak Devi in marriage before she was espoused by Ra Khengar, marched with an army against Junagadh where he was admitted into the Uparkot through a stratagen by Desal and Visal, the Ra's nephews, who had taken his side to satisfy a private revenge and had invited him to this invasion. Khengar came out to meet the invader but was defeated and slain. Siddhraj was next taken to meet Ranak Devi in the palace on Mount Girnar where she lived, and the Solanki ruler seeing her two young sons with her is said to have ordered them to be put to death. Siddhraj next brought away Ranak Devi to his capital at Patan, and offered to make her his queen, but she refused to marry him. The victor treated her with great respect, but finding her inconsolable, asked her where she would be pleased to reside, and on her desiring to go to Wadhwan escorted her thither. She then informed him that

1. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 282 ; 693-94.

she had decided upon becoming a *sati,* and the lord of Anhilpur was afraid to deny her request. Ranak Devi immolated herself on the funeral pile prepared for her on the bank of the Bhogavo river and Siddhraj had a temple erected on the spot. Her *paliyo* or memorial-stone still stands on the southern bank of the river in a temple of some architectural pretensions which is evidently a renovation of the ancient shrine.[1]

Turning now to Ahmad Shah's system of civil and military organisation, we find that some account has been given us by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* who says that the arrangements were made under the advice of ministers of experience and integrity. The soldiers were paid half in cash from the treasury and half by grants of land. This served the purpose of attaching them to the soil, while the money allowance, paid monthly, enabled them to equip themselves for a campaign without getting into debt. When on active service the soldier also felt at ease regarding his family, which could subsist during his absence on the jagir.[2]

Ahmad I's military system

As regards financial officers it was arranged that two persons were to have joint charge of each office. But, in order that they might act as checks on each other, they were to be selected from different classes: one from the personal followers of the Sultan, the other from the local nobility. Thus peculation was prevented. The *amils,* or revenue officers, of the districts were appointed on the same principle. All these arrangements are said to have been made by the Sultan Ahmad during the two years following the last campaign against Idar, in 1428, when he remained in his capital, occupied in bringing his own country into order, and did not concern himself with any foreign matters. The system thus introduced continued in operation until the end of the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II, son of Sultan Mahmud Begada.[3]

Financial checks

1. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 494; Forbes' *Ras Mala,* Oxford Ed., I, 163-64.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 112-3.
3. *Ibid.,* 113.

Of the strict and impartial administration of justice during the whole of Sultan Ahmad's reign two instances are recorded. His own son-in-law, 'in the arrogance of youth and the pride of his royal alliance,' committed murder. The *Qazi*, to whom the Sultan referred the case, compromised the offence with the heirs of the murdered person for forty camels as the price of blood. The Sultan declined to allow this decision, declaring that it might encourage persons powerful at court to commit similar offences, and he ordered the *Qazi* to hang the young man in the market place. The salutary effect of this punishment lasted through the whole of the reign. There is another story. One day the Sultan, sitting in the upper part of his palace watching the Sabarmati in flood, saw a black object tossing about. He ordered the same to be brought in, and it proved to be a large earthen jar, which contained the body of a murdered man wrapped in a blanket. The potters of the city being summoned, one of them identified the jar as made by himself and sold to the headman of a certain village. The headman was arrested, and, on enquiry and trial, it was proved that he had killed a grain merchant and set him adrift in the jar. He was sentenced to death.[1]

Stern justice of the Sultan

In spite of all his successful campaigns, it cannot be denied that the hand of Ahmad Shah was heavy on his Hindu subjects. His vocation was to destroy as much as to build, and throughout his reign his efforts were directed towards breaking down the liberties, the temples, and the faith of the Hindu chieftains of Gujarat. The appointment, as stated in a former chapter, of a special officer commissioned to destroy all idol temples in Gujarat, and the demands made by the Sultan for the daughters of the Hindu chiefs for his harem, provoked, however, the most determined resistance. The late Mr. Kinloch Forbes has, in that delightful symposium of the bardic chronicles of Gujarat—the *Ras Mala*—given us a vivid idea of the spirit in which the Sultan's demands were

Religious persecution of the Hindus

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 126-27.

received by his Rajput feudatories, still proud of their lineage and their race. Two illustrations will suffice. Sumant Singh, Chief of Behol(?), had a beautiful daughter whom the Sultan wished to espouse. Feigning pleasure at the demand, the chief fixed a day for the marriage, and invited the Sultan to his territory. But when Ahmad Shah arrived at Behol he was attacked and had to carry out a long campaign, at the end of which the Rajput chief escaped with his daughter and married her to the Rao of Idar, the inveterate foe of Ahmad Shah. The gallant chief of Matar[1] was less fortunate. He was invited to the court and was thrown into prison on refusing to stain the honour of his house by marrying his daughter to the Sultan. His wife secured his liberation by surrendering the beauty, named Raniba, to the Sultan without her husband's knowledge. On his return home the Rajput asked to see his daughter and would not touch food until she had been presented. His wife at last confessed what she had done in order to end his imprisonment. The result was tragic, for 'the Rajput rose, quick as thought, and seized his sword; his wife cast her arms round him, but he dashed her from him to the ground, plunged his sword into his breast, and expired.'[2]

Private life of Ahmad I

Like unto the remorse of Mulraj, the founder of the Solanki or Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat, for the ruthless slaughter of the members of the Chavada family, was the long and bitter repentance of Sultan Ahmad I for the dark deed compassed in his youth to hasten his elevation to the throne.[3] His piety is the constant theme of the Muslim historians, who point out that from his youth to the last day of his life he never neglected to say his morning prayers.[4] This scrupulous observance of religious ritual finds perhaps an explanation in the assumption that he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. Tradition also tells us that his home life was severely simple. We learn from the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that after his death he was usually mentioned as *Khudayagan-i-Maghfur*, i.e., 'the Great Lord

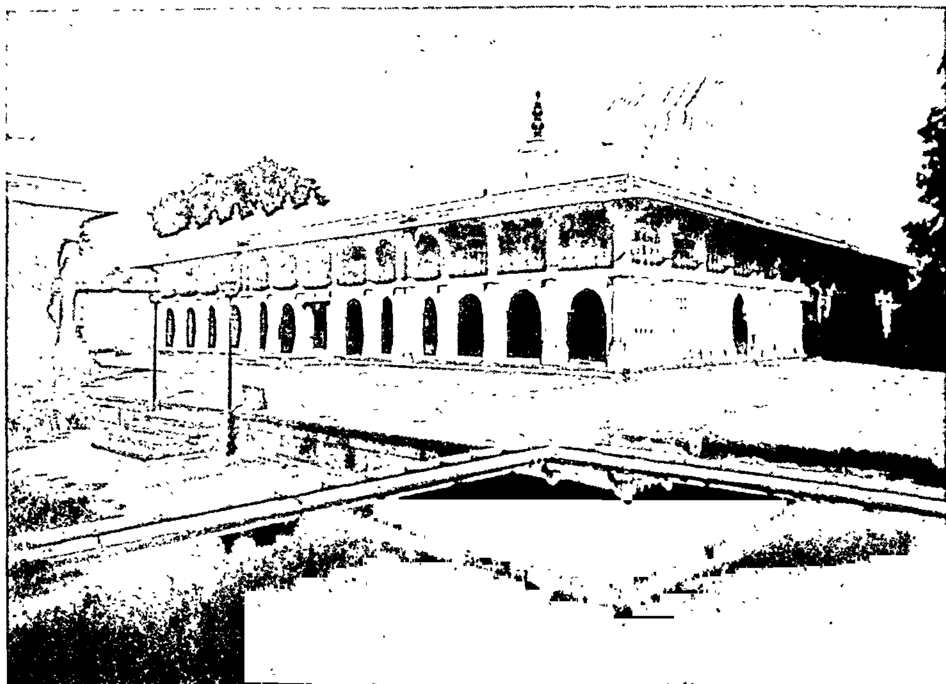
1. Matar is now the chief town in the taluka of the same name in the Kaira District with a population of about 4,000.
2. Forbes' *Ras Mala* (Oxford Press), I, 320-25.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 87.
4. *Ibid.*, 126.

Forgiven', thus betokening that Allah the Merciful had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmad's youth.[1]

Estimate of Ahmad's reign

If constructive statesmanship be the test of greatness, the claim of Ahmad Shah to high place among the rulers of India in the fifteenth century cannot be denied. Among the Sultans of Gujarat there is only one name which challenges comparison with his, but the fame of Mahmud Begada equals, though it does not surpass, that of the founder of Ahmadabad. Sultan Ahmad was a disciple of the three great religious teachers of Islam who flourished in Gujarat at this time, *viz.*, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, a descendant of the great Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmir; Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, who lies at Sarkhej; and the Bukharan Shaikh Burhan-ud-din, surnamed Qutb-ul-Alam (the father of the more famous Shah Alam), who lived at Vatva and is interred there. Ahmad Shah was a wise administrator, and justly enforced the laws on all his subjects, and the country prospered during his reign, as is amply shown by the increase of the revenues of the state which continued up to the time of Muzaffar II. He was also an active and successful soldier, 'ready for the most part to assist a Muhammadan friend; ready, also, with or without pretence, to attack an idolatrous neighbour, and to extirpate idol-worship whenever he could'. The Hindu chiefs, no doubt, bitterly resented his demands for their daughters in marriage; but it must be remembered that these marriages were insisted upon everywhere in India by the Muslim rulers, in a great measure from motives of policy. If he be forgiven for his iconoclasm and relentless warfare against the Hindus, it must be confessed that he was a sovereign far above the average, who has been rightly regarded as the virtual founder of his dynasty. The foundation of Ahmadabad has set the seal on his fame, and, as long as the metropolis of Gujarat continues to flourish, and to advance along the path of wealth and prosperity, so long will the name of its founder survive in the memories of its citizens.

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 128 *n*.



Mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, 1451 (p. 132)

Marble Tomb of Bibi Mughali, wife of Sultan Muhammad II, in the *Rani-ka-Hazira* at Ahmadabad (p. 130)

CHAPTER XII

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH II (1442-1451): SARKHEJ AND ITS EARLY MONUMENTS

Wars of the reign: Marriage of Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali, daughters of the Jam of Sind: Career of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu: He settles at Sarkhej: His famous mausoleum at that place (c. 1451): The great masjid at Sarkhej: Origin and early history of the Imam-Shahi sect of Pirana near Ahmadabad: Career of its founder: Secession from the Nizari Ismalis under his son Nar Muhammad: The institution of the *kakas*: The shrines at Navsari and Burhanpur: Religious tenets and social customs of the sect: Its present position and future prospects.

Wars with Idar and Champaner

Sultan Ahmad Shah was succeeded in 1442 by his eldest son who came to the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah and ruled for the next nine years. He had neither the character nor the military genius of his great father, and was of a pleasure-loving disposition, and his prodigality earned for him the epithet of *zar-bakhsh* or the 'gold-giver'. Early in 1446, in continuation of his father's policy, he led an army against the Rao of Idar, the son of the late Punja. The Rao sought submission by offering to the Sultan his beautiful daughter in marriage and was restored to his kingdom. In 1449 the Sultan marched against Raval Gangadas of Champaner who being defeated in open battle took refuge in the hill-fortress of Pavagadh which was invested. Finding himself in straits, the Raval, by the offer of a handsome payment, invited the help of his neighbour Sultan Mahmud I Khalji[1] of Malwa,

1. Sultan Mahmud I Khalji of Malwa was the son of Khan Jahan Khalji (styled Malik Mughis and Azim Humayun), the kinsman and prime minister of Sultan Hoshang Ghori of Mandu. After the latter's death, Mahmud, in conjunction with his father, succeeded in poisoning his sovereign, the weak and dissolute son of Hoshang, and ascended the throne of Malwa in 1436. A brave soldier and an equally good administrator, he enjoyed a long reign from 1436 to 1475 and under him the kingdom rose to its greatest strength. He and his successors were almost constantly at war with the Gujarat Sultans till 1531 when the kingdom of Malwa was incorporated with that of Gujarat by Sultan Bahadur.

and the latter accepted the terms. When the ruler of Mandu reached Dohad, which belonged to Gujarat, and was the frontier town between the two Muslim kingdoms, the Gujarat Sultan thought it expedient to raise the siege of the fort of Champaner and to retire. On his return journey to his capital he fell seriously ill and died at Ahmadabad on 12th February 1451. There are other accounts of his death by poison at the hands of his nobles recorded by our authorities, but they are probably without much historical foundation.[1]

Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali

Sultan Muhammad II thus perished in 1451 at the early age of twenty-eight, and was buried in the Manek Chok by the side of his great father. The mildness of his disposition earned for him, after his death, the title of *Karim* or Merciful. His eldest son Jalal Khan succeeded him under the title of Qutb-ud-din, Ahmad Shah II. But in 1445, Muhammad's wife, Bibi Mughali, had given birth to 'a fortunate and glorious son,' who was named Fateh Khan, and who was destined to succeed his brother on the throne of Gujarat as Mahmud Begada. It is related that the Jam of Thatta in Sind had two daughters, Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali: the first he betrothed to Sultan Muhammad, and the other to Shah Alam, the son of the famous Saint Burhan-ud-din Qutb-ul-Alam. But the Sultan, hearing of the greater beauty of Bibi Mughali, partly by force and partly by gold, persuaded the Jam's envoys to bestow her on him and to give Bibi Mirki, who was less comely, to Shah Alam. When Shah Alam, with a sad heart, complained of this to his father, the latter replied, 'My son, it is destined that you shall marry both of them'. This prophecy, as we shall see, eventually proved true, for, after the death of his wife, Shah Alam married Bibi Mughali, the widow of Sultan Muhammad, who had for several years been living, together with her son, at the house of her sister in order to protect the boy from the evil designs of his brother the Sultan Qutb-ud-din.[2] The tombs of Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali, the one in black and the other in white marble, beautifully carved, are situated without any dome or canopy above them

1. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 129-31 ; Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 35-36.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 156.

in the royal enclosure in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad known as *Rani-ka-Hazira,* as already mentioned.

In January 1446, the fourth year of the reign of Sultan Muhammad II, the saintly Shaikh Ahmad Khattu died at the venerable age of one hundred and eight years at his chosen retreat at Sarkhej, and we must say a few words about the career of this remarkable person whose eminent virtues have given him a high place in India among the saints of Islam. He was born at Delhi in 1337–8 of a noble family in the city and is said to have squandered his patrimony in his youth. At the age of thirty he attached himself as a disciple to Baba Ishaq Maghrabi,[1] a well-known divine who had settled at Khattu, a village to the east of Nagor in the Jodhpur State. On the death of his preceptor in 1374, Shaikh Ahmad, now known by the cognomen of Khattu, decided on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. He travelled to Arabia by way of Patan Anhilvad and the port of Cambay, being well entertained at the former town by the father of Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan who was at the time governor of Gujarat under the court of Delhi.

Career of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu

Many years later, Shaikh Ahmad returned to India landing at Thatta in Sind, and in 1399 we find him at Delhi where, as already related, he boldly interceded with the terrible conqueror Timur for the lives and liberties of the citizens of the capital. He now elected to settle down in Gujarat and in 1400 arrived in this province at the time when Muzaffar Khan was the nominal governor on behalf of the tottering Tughluq Empire of Delhi. He made the village of Sarkhej, not far from Asawal, and about six miles south-west of the later city of Ahmadabad, the place of his residence. The honoured part which the saint played in the foundation of the new capital of the Saltanat in 1411 has already been mentioned. In fact, the suggestion in this connection appears to have been made by the saint himself to the young Sultan. Shaikh Ahmad was

He settles at Sarkhej, 1400-1446

1. Shaikh Ishaq initiated the neophyte into the doctrines of the Silsila Maghrabi, the Western or African sect, in which Ahmad attained such distinction that he was given the title of 'the Lamp.' His surpassing learning and piety also secured for him the designation of *Qutb-al-Aqtab,* 'the pole-star of pole-stars.'

by this time over 70 years of age, but he was destined to live on for a whole generation more. The mutual regard between him and the Sultan is said to have continued undisturbed till the latter's death in 1442. Four years later, on January 13, 1446, the saint bade farewell to this world, having attained the patriarchal age of 108 solar or 111 lunar years. Among other honorific epithets, Shaikh Ahmad also bore the title of *Ganj Bakhsh,* i.e., the treasure-giver, probably in reference to his generous character, and it is still commonly associated with his name.[1]

The mausoleum of Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej, 1451

To commemorate the fame of his family's spiritual preceptor, and of a saint so famous and so pious, the Sultan Muhammad II began in 1446 to erect a splendid mausoleum at the place where Shaikh Ahmad had resided for well-nigh half a century, and the work was completed during the reign of his son and successor Sultan Qutb-ud-din Ahmad. The imposing Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu is the largest of its kind in Gujarat and measures a hundred feet square. Over the main entrance is a quatrain in Persian inscribed on marble.[2] The sarcophagus in the centre of the building is divided off from the rest of the interior by a screen of brass panels worked in beautiful patterns. The exterior walls of the mausoleum are also panelled with trellised windows of perforated stone-work in every variety of design. The Rauza is surmounted by a large central dome which supports as its finial a brass *pipal* leaf as in other royal buildings of the Ahmad Shahi rulers. The great monument stands on an elevated platform which is approached on one side by an exquisite little pavilion raised on sixteen pillars.[3]

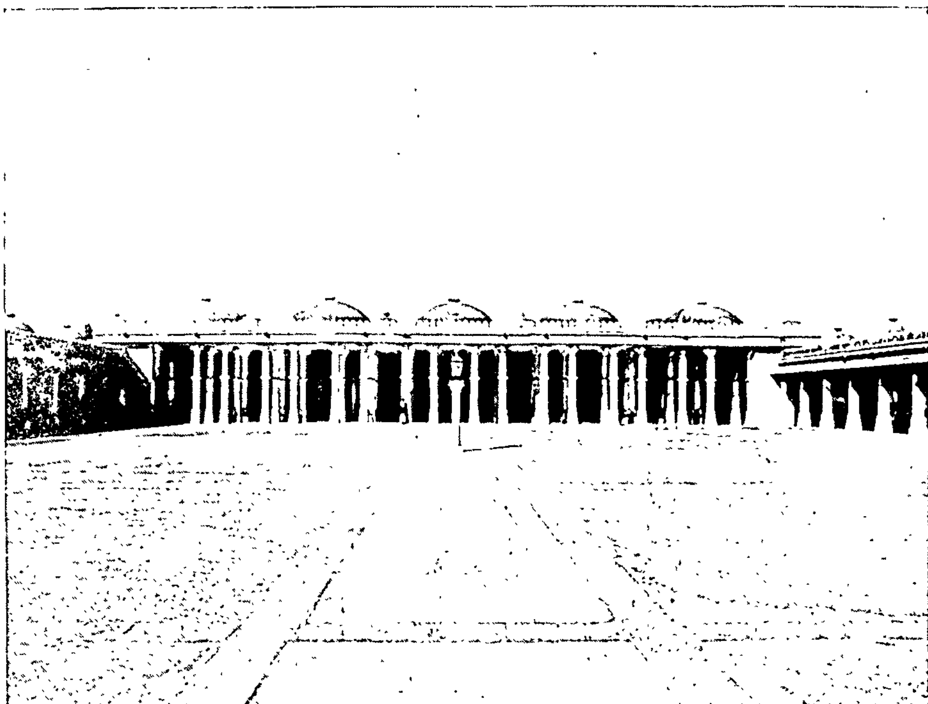
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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl̇t.*, op. cit., 32-33; Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 507 *n*; Jarrett's *Ain*, III, 371; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 357-8; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 90-91.

2. The quatrain has been rendered thus:
'When the ocean of Ahmad's palm pours forth its pearls,
The skirt of hope becomes the treasure of Parviz;
No wonder if, in order to bend before his shrine,
The whole surface of the earth raises its head.'

Two Persian words in the last line, viz., *Sar Khez*, form a paronomasia or play upon the name Sarkhej. (J. Burgess, *Muhn. Archr. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 48).

3. *Ibid.*, 46-48.



The Masjid at Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, *c.* 1450 (p. 133)



Corridor on one side of the courtyard of the Masjid at Sarkhej



The Masjid at Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, *c.* 1450 (p. 133)

Corridor on one side of the courtyard of the Masjid at Sarkhej

The great mosque at Sarkhej, adjoining the Rauza of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, has an area about half that of the Jami Masjid at Ahmadabad, and was probably built about the same time as the Tomb, though its erection is traditionally ascribed to the Saint himself. It differs from those of an earlier date in having no arched façade and in the roof being of uniform height throughout and without minarets. But the mosque is 'the perfection of architectural design', and we can hardly dispute the statement of a competent critic that, except the Moti Masjid at Agra, there is probably no mosque in India that surpasses this in simple elegance.[1] The atmosphere of reverent repose which pervades this beautiful House of Prayer in the solitudes of Sarkhej still makes it a charming place of retreat to many. No wonder then that, at a later date, Sarkhej became a favourite resort of the great Sultan Mahmud Begada, who, as we shall record, excavated the great tank, and erected on its sides a magnificent palace and a mausoleum for himself and his family, thus completing the noble group of monuments which have given to this spot so prominent a place for so many centuries in the history of Gujarat. The undying fame of the Saint of Sarkhej has survived the lapse of five centuries, and is attested by the thousands of pilgrims who flock to his tomb annually from the neighbouring city.

The masjid at Sarkhej and its style

To the second half of the fifteenth century belongs the origin of the well-known religious sect of the Imam-Shahis in Gujarat and the establishment of the headquarters of their *Pirs* at the place called Pirana near the village of Giramtha about nine miles south of Ahmadabad in a well-wooded country. The information hitherto available to scholars on the subject, found in the volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer,[2] has now been supplemented by an excellent historical monograph, entitled *The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat,*

Origin of the Imam-Shahi sect of Pirana near Ahmadabad

1. Jas. Burgess, op. cit., 49. In the opinion of Sir John Marshall, 'its beauty is due to its chaste simplicity and classic restraint; and indeed, considered on its merits as a pillared hall, it is difficult to imagine how it could have been improved upon. But whether a hall such as this, constructed on purely Hindu principles, fulfils the Muslim ideal of a *Masjid*, is open to question.' (*Cambridge History of India*, III, 611).
2. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmedabad, 287-90; also IX, Gujarat Population, Part I, 167-72.

written by Mr. Ivanow and published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1936.[1] The learned author of this paper has laid under contribution most of the available literature, generally of a religious character, bearing on this subject, and has given a complete short survey of the origin, the history and the doctrines of the Pirana Saiyids and their half-Hindu, half-Muslim, followers.[2]

The sect an off-shoot of the Nizari Ismaili creed in India

It is now generally known that Shiah missionaries of the Nizari or Persian Ismaili creed began to appear in various parts of Western and Northern India in the thirteenth century, and even much earlier, for the purpose of propagating the faith of Islam, and the name under which the new religious doctrines which they preached came to be known in India was the *Satpanth*, i.e., 'The True Path'. Imam Shah, the eponymous founder of the Pirana sect, was descended from Pir Sadr-ud-din, the head of the Ismaili missionaries in India, and the tombs of his father and grandfather may still be seen in and near Uchh in the Bhawalpur State. Our principal authority for the career of Imam Shah and his successors is the *Manazil-ul-Aqtab*, the only work written in Persian which can be relied upon for its historical details and chronology to some extent. It was compiled, soon after 1822, probably under the patronage of Saiyid Bara Miya (Saiyid Badr-ud-din) of Pirana who flourished in the first quarter of the 19th century.[3]

Career of Imam Shah: he settles at Giramtha near Ahmadabad

The Ahmadabad volume of the Bombay Gazetteer, on the basis of tradition, dates the arrival of Imam Shah in Gujarat about 1449 during the reign of Sultan Muhammad II. We learn on the more reliable authority of the *Manazil-ul-Aqtab* that he was the son of Pir Hasan Kabir-ud-din of Uchh and that he was born at that town in H. 856, i.e., A.D. 1452. After his father's death he went to Persia and appears to have been sent back by his superiors, the Ismaili

1. *Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XII, 1936.
2. This literature consists partly of the old religious works written by the early Pirs or Imams in the Middle Ages, and partly of a new body which has sprung up in Gujarati attempting to clear up the history and doctrines of the Khojas and the Imam-Shahis.
3. W. Ivanow, *The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat*, 26-27.

Imams, to preach in Gujarat where he acquired great success with the rural population (c. 1471). He settled at the village of Giramtha, about nine miles from Ahmadabad, some time during the early period of the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada, and, by the force of his preaching and his miracles,[1] succeeded in attaching to Islam a very large following from the Leva and Kadva Kunbis, the Shekhdas, and other sections of the Hindu agricultural population of those parts. The descendants of these converts are now generally known as Momnas and Matia Kunbis. Imam Shah died at the seat of his labours about 1513 or 1520, and was buried in a fine mausoleum[2] which he is said to have erected at considerable cost during his lifetime at Pirana—the seat of the *Pirs*—as the place came to be called. It may be mentioned that during his lifetime he and also the converted community remained faithful to the headship of the Ismaili Imams in Persia.[3]

Nar Muhammad Shah succeeds at Pirana—his important reforms

Imam Shah was succeeded by his son Nar or Nur Muhammad, who was born about 1470. He was the author of a work written in Sindhi and entitled *Satveni-ji Vel* ('Creeper of the True Religion'), a treatise on rituals and Imams, which is of considerable value to the student of the history of this sect[4]. It is not clear when he introduced the reform which had very serious consequences. But it is certain that under his orders the practice of sending a part of the tithe or religious tax, known as *dasondh,* which was paid by his followers, to the Ismaili Imam in Persia was discontinued, and with it the claims to headship of that pontiff over the Pirana sect were automatically dissolved. Nar Muhammad thus stood out as the Imam of the community in Gujarat. The consequences of this split between the local

1. Imam Shah is said to have brought down rain to the starving agriculturists after two years of drought. Another story is that a number of pilgrims were passing by Giramtha on their way to Benares and Imam Shah offered to take them there. They agreed, and in a trice found themselves in the holy city, where they paid their vows and bathed in the Ganges. Recovering from the trance they awoke to find themselves at Pirana! (Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmedabad, 287).

2. There is a legend to the effect that at its foundation was laid a golden brick which Imam Shah had brought when he visited paradise during his stay in Persia!

3. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 39-42.

4. *Ibid.*, 23-4; 29.

sect in Gujarat and their cultured and progressive co-religionists in Persia may be described in the words of Mr. Ivanow, whose judgment deserves to be respected:

> 'The split, caused by Nar Muhammad's pretensions, has done incalculable harm to his sect. Instead of being followers of Ismailism, the ancient and highly philosophical branch of Islam, with its great cultural traditions and the mentality of a world religion, they have become nothing but a petty community of "Piranawallas," a kind of inferior Hindus, and very doubtful Muslims. Anyhow, orthodox Muslims do not regard them as Muslims, and orthodox Hindus do not regard them as Hindus. Such a position of utter isolation can only be endured in the primitive conditions of village life, illiteracy and ignorance. As soon as the standard of living, education, etc., rises, the followers cease to find satisfaction in the faith of their forefathers, and turn to the religion of the more cultured strata. Thus the sect automatically loses all its cultural elements, and rapidly sinks deeper and deeper, with no prospect of early regeneration. So it is at present, and most probably so it always was in the past.'[1]

Nar Muhammad Shah died, according to the *Manazil*, about the year 1533–4 and he was buried near his father in the mausoleum at Pirana. Within the strong walled enclosure at this place may be seen, besides the central Rauza of Imam Shah, other shrines known as Nurshah's, Surabhai's, Bala Muhammad's, Baqir Ali's, etc., from the names of various *Pirs* or Saiyids who were at different periods the heads of the sect, and these shrines are worshipped by their special followers, who are known as the *Athiyas*, the *Satiyas* and the *Panchyas*. The significance of these designations will be discussed later. Hardly any of these monuments has a claim to architectural beauty.

The various shrines at Pirana

It is not necessary to trace further the history of the Imam Shahi sect at this place. A passing reference may,

1. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 45.

however, be made to two or three features of its organisation. One of these is in connection with the function and the power of the *kakas*, an institution apparently quite unique among Muslim religious organisations. According to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, a *kaka* was originally the headman of a converted Hindu community appointed by the *Pir*, or his missionary, from amongst his fellow-converts. His duty was to give instruction, to settle disputes, and above all to collect the religious dues which he had to forward to the *Pir*. Thus the original *kakas* played a prominent role in bringing about mutual understanding between the missionaries and their converts. In course of time the institution penetrated into the centre when the quarrels and rivalries of the sons of Nar Muhammad Shah for *pirship* brought about the final legalisation of the position of the *kakas*. According to the disposition made by Nar Muhammad, a specially appointed head *kaka* was to function at Pirana to collect the taxes and offerings and to distribute them among the various members of his family. He was appointed for life and had to take a vow of celibacy, receiving for himself only his food and his clothes. In course of time, and under several of the feeble successors of Imam Shah, the *kakas* not only increased in numbers but became all-powerful, and the religious and financial control of the various shrines and Rauzas at Pirana, of which they were appointed guardians, passed largely into their hands so that they were often able to challenge the powers of the head Pirs or Saiyids. They have proved an inexhaustible source of intrigue, misery and litigation to the community. A large number of the houses at Pirana belong to these *kakas* or devotees.[1]

The institution of the *kakas*: their origin and powers

Another important feature of the Imam Shahi organisation is the distinction between the *Athiyas*, the *Satiyas* and the *Panchyas*, referred to above, which comes gradually into existence in later centuries to designate various groups of devotees who are the followers of successive or rival Saiyids at Pirana. The exact significance of the terms at the time of their origin is open to question. It has been stated that the

The distinction between *Athiyas*, *Satiyas* and *Panchyas*

1. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 38-9.

term *Athiya* was applied to the descendants of Sa'id Khan, the younger son of Nur Muhammad Shah, as opposed to the descendants of his elder brothers, and that it means 'the party of eight,' because the *pirs* who were the successors of Sa'id Khan were followed by eight different castes and sub-castes. The group of *Satiyas,* 'the party of seven castes', comes into existence later on; and the last and latest of the sections are the *Panchyas,* 'the party of five.' In addition to these groups, the *Manazil* always refers to the party of those who were 'faithful to the tomb of Imam Shah', the denotation of which is not very clear.[1]

The shrines of the Satpanthi sect at Navsari and Burhanpur

The Imam-Shahis, or Satpanthis, are found at present in large numbers in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, as also in Birar and Khandesh. Besides the principal headquarters at Pirana, there are two other important centres frequented by the followers of the creed. One of these is at Navsari, near Surat, where stands the shrine of Sat Gur Nur, a saint who is believed to have been contemporary with, if not much anterior to, Imam Shah, and about whose arrival and proselytising activities in these parts hardly any reliable information is available. According to tradition, however, the shrine is of very considerable antiquity and it is also held in veneration by other communities besides the Imam-Shahis. The other centre is at Burhanpur in the Central Provinces, or rather at Bahadurpur, a village four miles distant from Burhanpur. This was the place selected for his residence by Saiyid Muhammad Shahi Dula who left Pirana early in the 17th century and went to settle near Burhanpur, then situated in the Khandesh Subah, and a very large, populous and flourishing capital town. Saiyid Muhammad Shah is said to have worked many miracles which led to the conversion of large numbers of Hindus in the valley of the Tapti. He died in 1067 H. or A. D. 1657, and was buried at the village of Bahadurpur where his shrine is still the centre for pilgrimage among the Satpanthis of the districts of Khandesh, Birar and Nimar. His descendants who now, strangely enough, accept the Sunnite tradition, and have only local influence, have been

1. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 48.

designated as the 'independent Eastern branch of the Satpanthi sect'.[1]

The religious tenets of the Imam-Shahis

As regards their fundamental religious doctrines, the Imam-Shahis acknowledge the unity of the one Supreme Being who is Allah and accept Muhammad as his Apostle and Prophet, and this essential creed marks them out as faithful Muslims. They attach, however, little importance to the *namaz* or daily prayers and in their ritual they have not departed much from the usual practices of their caste. They believe in the theory of incarnation (*avatar*) and consider their Imam as a divinely inspired leader and participating in the Substance of God. The sect accepts the principal cosmogonical beliefs of the Hindus as regards the original scheme of the creation of the world. The Prophet is called *Pir* or *Gur* and in the course of speculation the difference between him and the Imams is hardly recognised. The Quran is regarded as a Divine revelation and it is allegorically interpreted or explained by the Imams by the method which is known as *alankar*. These allegories are to be found in their religious texts written by the early *pirs* and which are known as *gnans*,[2] the recitation of which generally takes the place of the reading of the Quran, for the *kakas* are rarely familiar with the Arabic alphabet.

The dominating influence of Hindu caste customs and taboos

Imam Shah and his successors, like the early Ismaili missionaries, deliberately left the theological and moral system of their converts undisturbed in order to put as little obstacle as possible in the way of their proselytizing activities. The result has been that the spirit of caste and its regulations still dominate the customs, the ideas, the prejudices and practically the whole life of the members of the community who are thus in their manners and dress hardly distinguishable from the Hindus. Marriage and other ceremonials are largely regulated by the customs of the caste to

1. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 49-50; 69-70.

2. The *Gnans* (from Sanskrit *gnanam*, knowledge) are sacred hymns or versified didactic or ecstatic treatises, written in the form of *slokas*, in various vernaculars. They vary in their contents from almost pure Sufism to pure Hinduism. In the earliest times they were not written, but committed to memory by the faithful. Many of them are in old Sindhi. (W. Ivanow, op. cit., 29).

which the devotees belong. Among the Matias the dead are cremated but the bones which remain are buried. Those who can afford it, pay large amounts for permission to bury these bones in the courtyard in front of Imam Shah's mausoleum at Pirana which is paved with scores of small slabs bearing the names of the deceased in Gujarati. Every visitor to Pirana is struck with this special feature of this interesting place. The *kakas*, however, are buried without being cremated.

Mr. Ivanow on the present and the future position of the sect

The present not very satisfactory position of the Imam-Shahi community and its future prospects have been summed up as follows by a scholarly and independent investigator who has made a closer study of the sect and its history and institutions than has been done before by any other writer on the subject in English:

> 'The necropolis of Pirana undoubtedly is an extremely interesting relic of Mediaeval India. At present it is rapidly declining not only due to the unceasing quarrels and litigation between the rival parties of Sayyids and the *kakas*, but also, in a greater degree, owing to the 'modern spirit' in India. This brings rapidly growing religious indifference, political agitation, and aggressive propaganda of various Hindu organisations, especially the Arya Samaj, which draw a great number of the followers of Imam Shah back to Hinduism, while, on the other side, the Sayyids have neither energy, nor money, nor education to carry on missionary work. Some of them are very learned in their *gnans*, but know nothing besides this'.[1]

1. W. Ivanow, op. cit., 59.

Inscription, dated 1452, in Malik Shaban's Rauza at Rakhyal near Ahmadabad (pp. 151-2)

CHAPTER XIII

SULTAN QUTB-UD-DIN AHMAD SHAH II, 1451-1458: MONUMENTS OF THE REIGN AT KANKARIA, RAKHYAL AND VATVA

Wars with Malwa and with Kumbha Rana of Chitor: Strained relations between the Sultan and Saint Shah Alam: The *Vasanta Vilas*, an old Gujarati poem (1452): The *Hauz-i-Qutb* or Kankaria Tank (1451): Accounts of the tank by Mandelslo (1638) and by J. Forbes (1781): Career of Malik Shaban: His Rauza at Rakhyal and its inscription (1452): The *Bagh-i-Shaban* and the lake near it: Shaban's Masjid in the city (1452): Career of Saint Burhan-ud-din, Qutb-ul-Alam (d. 1453): His great mausoleum at Vatva: The famous lithoxyl at the shrine: Saiyid Usman, the *Sham-i-Burhani*: The masjid at Usmanpur: Bibiji's Mosque at Rajpur-Hirpur (1454): The Rauza of Darya Khan.

Remarks on the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*

On being raised to the throne by the nobles on February 13, 1451, Prince Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad II, then a youth about twenty years of age, assumed the style and title of Qutb-ud-dunya wa'd-din, 'the Pole-star of the World and of the Faith,' Ahmad Shah II, and ruled for the next eight years and a quarter. In his account of this reign, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* so ingeniously combines the facts of history with the popular traditions of the political influence and the supernatural powers of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat, that it is difficult to attempt to separate the two elements without marring the harmonious effect of the whole narrative. The partiality of our foremost authority for the holy saints is evidently sincere; many of his stories are in themselves pretty or ennobling; but the critical reader, while interested, is in no danger of being misled.[1]

The young ruler was at the very outset of his reign faced with the formidable task of defending his kingdom against

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1. Sikandar bin Muhammad (*alias* Manjhu), the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, dwells, throughout his work, with evident fondness on the acts of

the invasion of Mahmud I Khalji who entered Gujarat with a huge army including a large force of elephants. The Malwa ruler, having crossed the frontier, took the fort of Sultanpur,[1] threatened the fort of Broach, plundered Baroda, and marched as far as Kapadvanj on his way to the capital of Gujarat. Sultan Qutb-ud-din took the field against the invader, and, advancing up to the ford of Khanpur-Vankaner on the Mahi river, turned to meet the Malwa Sultan in the vicinity of Kapadvanj.[2] Here a great battle was fought in March or April 1451, and though for a time one wing of the Gujarat army gave way, the struggle ended in victory for Qutb-ud-din. We are told that Mahmud Khalji's army suffered heavily at the hands of the Kolis of the district during his retreat to Mandu.[3]

Battle of Kapadvanj, 1451

After the battle of Kapadvanj, Sultan Qutb-ud-din returned triumphant to Ahmadabad, and abandoned himself to his passion for wine and sensuality. At the same time he kept up the traditions of his house for architectural works. He completed the mausoleum of the holy Shaikh Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh at Sarkhej, which his father had begun, and constructed the great lake called the Hauz-i-Qutb, with the Nagina Bagh in its centre, and the palace of Ghattamandal. We shall give a full description of this famous reservoir and its accompaniments when we turn to review the monuments of this reign. Sikandar bin Muhammad, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, writing about 1611, says that he saw them all, and that they

The Sultan's love or building

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the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat. Indeed, it appears to be one main object of his history to glorify the connexion of the saints of this family with the successive kings of the Gujarat Saltanat from the time of Zafar Khan right on to the last monarch's reign. The reason for this partiality may be found in the fact that both the historian and his father (Manjhu) were disciples of and attached to Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari, a nobleman who played a very prominent part in the history of Gujarat during the reigns of Sultans Bahadur and Mahmud III. We must note, however, that this Saiyid Mubarak does not appear to have belonged to that particular branch of the Bukhari Saiyids who first settled in Gujarat, and who were represented by Qutb-ul-Alam, his son Shah Alam, and their descendants.

1. Sultanpur is now a small place in the Shahada taluka of the British district of West Khandesh. It was till 1804 a place of consequence.

2. Kapadvanj is the chief town in the sub-division of that name in the district of Kaira.

3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 26-33.

appeared to him 'as magnificent as the mansions of Paradise, and as lovely as the gardens of Eden.'[1]

The next war of Sultan Qutb-ud-din was with Rana Kumbha,[2] the celebrated poet-king of Chitor, whose warlike spirit made him a formidable neighbour to the Sultans of both Malwa and Gujarat. The immediate cause of the war, which continued to the end of the reign, was the help solicited by Shams Khan of Nagor, a kinsman of Qutb-ud-din, who had given the Sultan his daughter in marriage. On one occasion, when the Sultan was on his way towards Chitor, the Raja of Sirohi attended his camp, and prayed for help to recover the fortress of Abu, which had always belonged to his ancestors, and of which he had been deprived by Kumbha Rana. The Sultan deputed Malik Shaban, Imad-ul-Mulk, one of his generals, to take possession of Abu and hand it over to the Raja. Malik Shaban, however, being unacquainted with warfare in a mountainous country, was entangled in the defiles near Abu and defeated by Kumbha's troops with great slaughter. At a later date, Qutb-ud-din was himself able to capture Abu, and to restore it to its former chief, and this famous hill-fortress still forms part of the territories of the Deora Rajputs of Sirohi. About 1457, Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent envoys to say that strife between the followers of Islam resulted in peace and security to the 'infidels,' and suggested that the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat should enter into an alliance jointly to wage war on the Rana of Chitor and to divide his dominions equally between them. His proposition was accepted and a treaty concluded.[3] We may mention that the objective of Sultan Qutb-ud-din's successive campaigns against the Rana was the conquest or destruction of the great fort of Kumbhalgarh, on

Wars with Rana Kumbha of Chitor

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 33.
2. Rana Kumbha of Chitor was one of the most powerful of the kings of the Mewar dynasty. His reign extended from 1428 to 1468, and it is to him that we owe the later of the two towers which still adorn the brow of the deserted capital of Chitor. It was erected to commemorate Kumbha's victory over Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, in the year 1440. Mr. Fergusson observes, "It is in Indian phraseology a *Kirti* or *Jaya Stambha* or Pillar of Victory, like that of Trajan at Rome, but in infinitely better taste as an architectural object than the Roman example, though in sculpture it may be inferior. It is nine storeys in height, each of which is distinctly marked on the exterior." (*History of Indn. and Eastn. Archr.*, II, 59-60).
3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 34-36.

the western border of Udaipur State, which was named after his great opponent who built it between 1443 and 1458 on the site of a still more ancient castle. The fort stands on a rocky hill, 3,500 feet above sea-level, and commands a fine view of the wild and rugged scenery of the Aravallis and the sandy deserts of Marwar.[1]

We learn from the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* that, shortly after he came to the throne, the relations between the Sultan and the Saint Shah Alam, once very cordial, became strained. This was partly due to the fact that Bibi Mughali, the king's step-mother, went to live after her husband's death with her sister Bibi Mirgi in the house of Shah Alam, there to give her son Prince Fateh Khan (the future Sultan Mahmud I), against whom his half-brother Qutb-ud-din cherished sinister designs, the benefit of the holy man's protection. The estrangement between the Saint and the Sultan became wider a little later when, on the death of Bibi Mirgi, her sister married Shah Alam. The rancour of the Sultan at the alliance between the saint and his father's widow, we are told, was intense.[2]

Sultan Qutb-ud-din and Saint Shah Alam

The same historian gives a number of stories in connection with Qutb-ud-din's designs against Prince Fateh Khan. To the open demand of the Sultan that Shah Alam should hand over the Prince, the Saint replied that the young man had for fear of his life sought refuge with the darveshes, and it would ill become the latter to give him up to the Sultan. Foiled in this attempt, Qutb-ud-din determined to possess himself of his brother's person by stratagem. He employed spies to watch the lad, and himself moved out to the palace of Khedpur, near Rasulabad, where the Saint lived, in order to be near at hand for action. On one occasion, he sent Rani Rup-Manjari, his favourite wife, who was a disciple of Shah Alam, to visit the Saint with a party of eunuchs, and instructed her to enquire for Fateh Khan, and to seize him and carry him away. The Rani saw the boy sitting near Shah Alam, and attempted to take him with her. The Saint smiled and said, 'To-day, Bibi, you take Fateh Khan by the hand, but one day he shall take you by the hand.' Eventually the Saint's prediction was fulfilled, for Fateh

The Sultan's designs against Fateh Khan

1. Imp. Gazr., XVI, 21-22. 2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 153, 156.

Khan, when he succeeded his brother as Sultan, married Rani Rup Manjari. On hearing the Saint's words, the Rani dropped the boy's hand, and returning to the Sultan excused herself by saying that however much she searched she could not find Fateh Khan. Another day the spies brought intelligence to Qutb-ud-din that Fateh Khan was at his lessons with Shah Alam. The Sultan at once mounted a fleet horse and galloping up was about to enter the house when he was stopped by one of the porters. 'Do you stop me from paying my respects to the Saint?', cried the Sultan in a loud voice. When Shah Alam heard this, he called out to the porter to let the Sultan pass, and said to Fateh Khan, 'Read on, *old* man': and the boy of ten at once assumed the appearance of an old man, with grey hair and brows and a bent back. Sultan Qutb-ud-din sat down on the carpet for a few minutes, but seeing no one but the Saint and the old man he got up and went away and vented his wrath on his spies.[1] These interesting stories are related by the historian Sikandar to exalt the Bukhari Saiyids and their supernatural powers and have thus no great historical value.

Death of the Sultan in 1458

On his return to his capital after the last campaign against the Rana of Mewar, Sultan Qutb-ud-din fell ill and died in May, 1458. As he had hitherto enjoyed good health, his sudden illness and death aroused suspicions of poison. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*[2] says that the Sultan was poisoned by his wife, the daughter of Shams Khan of Nagor, in order that her father might succeed to the throne of Gujarat. When the Sultan was in his last agony, the nobles put Shams Khan to death and the Sultan's mother ordered her slave-girls to tear the unsuspecting queen to pieces.[3] The Sultan was cut off in the prime of life, being not yet twenty-nine years of age.

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 153-55.

2. The *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, a work giving an account of the reign of Sultan Bahadur of Gujàrat (1526-1536), was written by a nobleman hereditarily connected with the court of Ahmadabad. When the Emperor Humayun invaded Gujarat and defeated Bahadur in 1535, the author of this work was with the Sultan's army. Sikandar says that his father Manjhu, the librarian of the Emperor, on this occasion saved the life of this author, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, by concealing him in his own tent. The 'Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi,' which served as one of the sources on which Sikandar based his work, is now lost.

3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 40; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 43-44; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 303.

His personal valour is praised by all, but he was of a violent temper, and, when under the influence of drink, he was absolutely reckless in shedding blood. His abandonment to profligacy is acknowledged by all writers and probably sent him to an early grave. He was buried in the royal mausoleum in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad, by the side of his father and his illustrious grandfather.[1]

Brief reign of Daud

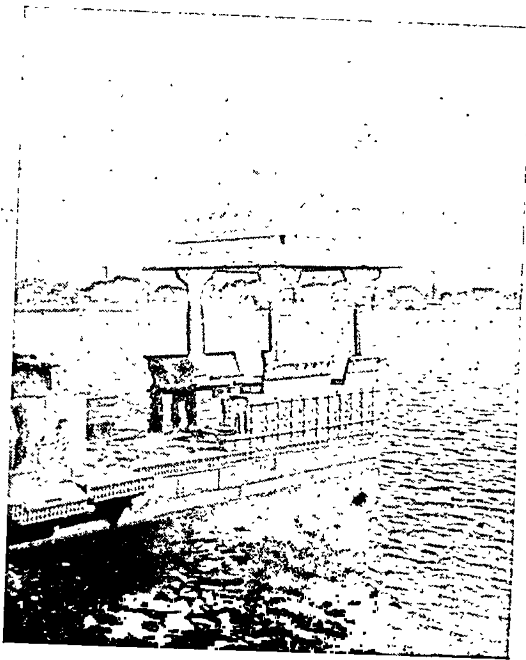
On the death of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, the *amirs* placed on the throne Daud, the uncle of the late ruler, and a son of Ahmad Shah I. Before, however, he had been properly invested as a ruler, he raised a carpet-spreader to the dignity of a noble and began petty economies in the royal household. Such acts of imbecility led to his deposition, after he had reigned only seven, or, according to other accounts, twenty-seven days, 1458. The nobles led by Malik Shaban then approached Bibi Mughali and persuaded her to allow them to raise Fateh Khan, then only thirteen years old, to the throne of his fathers; and, thereafter, taking him to the Bhadra Citadel, proclaimed him sovereign with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah.

The *Vasanta Vilasa,* an illustrated poem

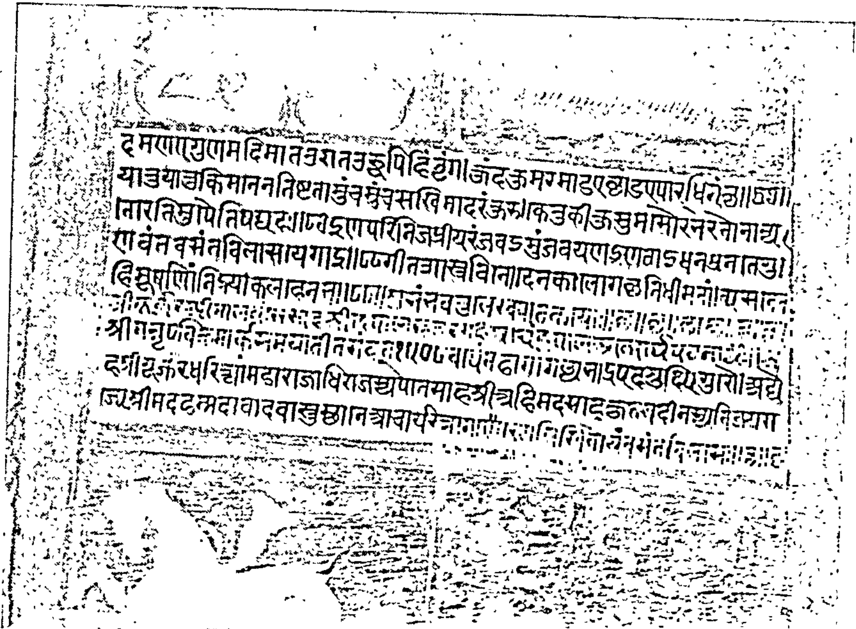
The second year of the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, Ahmad Shah II is of interest to the student of old Gujarati literature because of the composition, in 1452, of a lyrical poem known as the *Vasanta Vilasa,* the illustrated manuscript of which was discovered some thirty years ago at Ahmadabad.[2] It is one of the oldest known documents in the Gujarati language and the colophon to it makes very interesting reading:

> 'Blessed be the writer and the reader. This *Vasanta Vilasa* is copied for the perusal of Shri Saha Chandrapal, son of Shri Saha Depal, of the blessed Gurjara Shrimala (Jain) line, by the Acharya Ratnagar, in prosperous Ahmadabad, the place of residence, in the

1. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 158 *n* ; Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 44.
2. The credit of discovering this unique old manuscript, nearly 450 years after it was written, belongs to the veteran Gujarati scholar Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva, who secured it at the sale of some books belonging to a Shastri living in the Khijda Pol in Sankdi Seri at Ahmadabad. The poem has been recently published in the *Prachin Gurjar Sanghra* by the G. V. Society.



The *Hauz-i-Qutb*, or Kankaria Tank, near Ahmadabad (p. 147)



Colophon of the *Vasanta Vilasa*, a manuscript in Old Gujarati written in 1451 (pp. 146–7)

victorious reign of Badshah Ahmad Shah Qutb-ud-din, the sovereign ruler (*Maharajadhiraja*) of the happy soil of Gujarat, on Thursday, the 5th of the bright fortnight of the highly auspicious month of Bhadrapada, in the year 1508 of the era of the glorious Emperor Vikramaditya (August 19, 1452).'

The manuscript described

The *Vasanta Vilasa* is inscribed on cloth in the shape of a long roll which contains 84 separate panels on which the verses are written in red or black ink on white ground, or at times in golden ink on a crimson background. Each Gujarati verse is followed by some *slokas* in Sanskrit or Prakrit. There are 79 coloured pictures which alternate with the verses in the poem. But the art of the painter must be admitted to be extremely primitive and undeveloped, for the figures of human beings, birds and beasts exhibit but little grace or elegance.[1] The language of the lyric is Old Gujarati of the age of Narsinha Mehta. The name of the author remains unknown.

The *Hauz-i-Qutb* or Kankaria Tank, 1451

The Hauz-i-Qutb, or Kankaria Tank, situated less than a mile to the south-east of the Raypur gate at Ahmadabad, still perpetuates the memory of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. It was begun by this ruler during the lifetime of his father and was completed in 1451. The reservoir, probably the largest of its kind in India, is a regular polygon of thirty-four sides, and encloses an area of 76 acres having a circumference of nearly a mile and a quarter. It is entirely surrounded by many tiers of cut stone steps, with six sloping approaches to the water flanked by square cupolas each raised on twelve pillars. In the centre of the lake is an island connected with the bank by a viaduct which was once supported on forty-eight narrow arches. On it is a garden, formerly called the Bagh-i-Nagina, or the Jewel, 'which appeared like a precious stone on a ring formed by the Kankaria Tank,' and there is also a pleasure-house known as Ghattamandal.[2] The present garden is enclosed by a beauti-

1. For the pictures see *Studies in Indian Painting* by N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., 15-28.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl t.*, op. cit., 17-18; Bird's *Gujarat*, 199.

ful square parapet, on one side of which is a fine old well which supplies the garden with water.

Carved supply-sluice at the lake

The supply-sluice to the east of the Kankaria lake is exquisitely carved. In almost every other country, and with other people, a mechanical adjunct of this kind would be considered so distinctly a piece of engineering detail that the builder would scarcely dream of making it a pleasing architectural feature. But the architects of Ahmadabad thought differently and their genius has transformed the sluices at Kankaria and later at Sarkhej into exquisite works of art.[1] At each end of the sluice at the Hauz-i-Qutb is a buttress which resembles the bases of the minarets of the Ahmadabad mosques of the period. The screen between the buttresses or jambs, which is over six feet thick, is carefully carved and pierced by three large circular openings, each six feet in diameter with ornamental margins.[2]

References by European travellers

Throughout the period of the Saltanat and of Mughal rule, as is the case to-day, the Kankaria lake with its Nagina Bagh were the favourite resort of the rulers and the people and were among the sights of Ahmadabad. The European travellers of the seventeenth century, Della Valle (1623), Mandelslo (1638), Thevenot (1666), all appear to have visited it and they give enthusiastic accounts of the place. We shall reproduce the description given by J. Albert de Mandelslo, a traveller from Holstein, who visited Gujarat during the reign of Shah Jahan :

Mandelslo on the Nagina Bag, 1638

> 'I went,' writes Mandelslo in 1638, 'along a stone bridge, which is four hundred paces in length, to another garden, called *Niccinabag* (Nagina Bagh), that is to say, the Jewel, and they say it was planted by a beautiful and rich young lady. The garden is not

1. 'Another object of architectural beauty (at Ahmadabad) is found in the inflow and outflow sluices of the great tanks which abound everywhere around the city. Nowhere did the inhabitants of Ahmadabad show how essentially they were an architectural people as in these utilitarian works. It was a necessity of their nature that every object should be made ornamental, and their success was as great in these as in their mosques or palaces'. (Fergusson, *Hist. of Indn. and Eastern Architr.*, II, 241).

2. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad,* Pt. I, 52.

very great, no more than the house within it. But both are very advantageously seated in a place high enough to discover all the adjacent champion, and, upon the avenues of the Bridge, to make the noblest prospect that ever I saw. The rain which falls in the winter-time supplies a great fish-pond or pool in the middle of the garden. But in summer they make use of certain engines wherewith many oxen put together draw up the water out of wells which are so deep that they are never dry. A man can seldom go to this garden, but he shall find some young women bathing themselves; they will not permit the Indians should see them, but suffered us to come in and speak to them.'[1]

J. Forbes on the Kankaria Tank, 1781

When, however, after the fall of the Mughal power in Gujarat, James Forbes visited Ahmadabad in 1781, at the time when it was under Maratha rule, he found the summer-palace in ruins and the garden neglected, while the bridge of forty-eight arches which connected the island with the bank was in a state of dilapidation. Forbes specially noted a very uncommon species of the palmyra which may still be seen in the garden. After growing up in a straight stem to a considerable height, like others of that genus, it shot forth upwards of forty branches with a tuft of spreading leaves at the extremity of each branch. The tree was esteemed a curiosity and was visited, we are told, by most travellers who, like Forbes, had never seen any but the usual palmyra.[2]

Restoration of the Tank by Mr. Borradaile in 1872

In the dilapidated condition mentioned by Forbes the Kankaria lake and its approaches remained apparently for well nigh a century till, in 1872, the Collector of the district, Mr. Borradaile, undertook its restoration. A well-made road was built from the Raypur gate of the city to the tank, and the high banks of the lake were put in order and

1. Mandelslo's *Travels into the East Indies*, trans. by J. Davies, 1662, p. 33.
2. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1813, III, 130-31.

planted with trees. A flight of steps was built from the top of the viaduct down to the embanked causeway leading to the island. Of the original arched masonry causeway a small portion was restored, and for the rest of the distance an earthen bank was thrown up. In the island within the lake steps were made on all the four sides, a new pierced parapet-wall was built, the ancient well cleared out, the central fountain put in order, and the pleasure house restored. In 1879 it was proposed to connect the Kankaria lake with the Khari river by a canal eleven miles long and to use its waters to supply the Chandola lake, but the idea appears to have been dropped.[1]

Meaning of the term 'Kankaria'

To explain the name Kankaria, by which the tank is generally known, several stories are told. One is that the tank was so called from the large quantity of limestone (*kankar*) dug out of it during the excavations. Another, less credible, says that the Sultan Qutb-ud-din requested the Saint Shah Alam to select a site for the tank and the garden, and then scattered some pebbles at the spot selected, which was then excavated and named Kankaria. A third version is that one day Hazrat-i-Shah Alam passed through the excavations and cut his foot on a pebble. 'What a pebble!' said the holy man, and so it was called Kankaria (pebbly).[2]

The career of Malik Shaban

Reference has already been made to the name of Malik Shaban in connection with the wars of Qutb-ud-din. He was one of the principal nobles at the Gujarat court and was ennobled with the titles of Imad-ul-Mulk and Malik-us-Sharq ('the Lord of the East'). His father was Malik Tuhfa-i-Sultani, who received from the great Sultan Ahmed Shah the title of Taj-ul-Mulk in 1415, and was commissioned by him to destroy all idol-temples in the province. During the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, Malik Shaban constructed some important works which we shall presently describe, including a garden—called the *Bagh-i-Shaban*—, a Rauza and a lake at the village of Rakhyal, and a mosque in the city. During the early years of the reign of

1. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, *Ahmedabad*, 17-18.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 18.

Rauza of Malik Shaban at the village of Rakhyal to the East of Ahmadabad, 1452
(p. 151)

The Kankaria Tank near Ahmadabad showing the viaduct leading to the Nagina Bagh

Sultan Mahmud I, Malik Shaban rose to still higher honours, and was elevated to the dignity of vazir. We are told that he was of a very gentle disposition and kept all the people contented with his administration. In 1461, however, he retired from the vazirate into privacy and became a religious devotee, and, in spite of pressing requests from Sultan Mahmud, he declined to resume his office, saying that 'in one day in his garden and in his retirement he had more rest than in all his life before'. He never stirred out of the garden which he had made and died there shortly after.[1]

Malik Shaban's Rauza at Rakhyal, 1452

The Rauza of Malik Shaban, situated in the village lands of Rakhyal, about two miles to the east of the city of Ahmadabad, was built by this great nobleman on the extensive lands bestowed upon him and his descendants by the Sultan for his public services. The mausoleum, which is in good preservation, is enclosed by a wall with little square kiosks at each corner, now in ruins. Besides the central tomb under the dome, which is the Malik's, the whole area inside the Rauza is covered with tombs. The inscriptions in this mausoleum are carved in relief on two beautiful marble slabs set in the walls on either side of the entrance door on the west side. Both the inscriptions exhibit the text of a royal Farman with only slight verbal variations. The language is Persian with an intermixture of Arabic words and the script is *naskh*. The epigraphs record the grant of six 'ploughs' of land in perpetuity to Malik Shaban and his descendants by Sultan Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah. The Malik's name and titles are given in full. The translation of the inscription on the north side of the door as made by Ch. Mohammad Ismail in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* is given below:

Inscription at the Rauza

'He who is confident in the help of the Merciful, Qutb-ud-Dunya wa'd-Din, Abul-Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, the King.

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1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 236; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, op. cit., 19-20; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, I, 13-17.

'Upon a petition being made in our august kingly court by our faithful servant and special well-wisher, Malik Shaban, entitled by the high royalty Malik-us-Sharq, Imad-ul-Mulk, and Aziz-ul-Mamalik, the son of Malik Tuhfa-i-Sultani, who was entitled by royalty. Taj-ul-Mulk, we, in compliance with the request of the said Malik, through the plenitude of our royal bounty and abundance of Imperial favours, endow upon him, his children, and descendants, to their remotest generation, six ploughs (*juftwar*) of land, out of Mauza Rakhyal, a dependency of the circuit of the renowned city of Ahmadabad, in which the said Malik has caused wells to be dug, trees to be planted, and channels to be made—aforesaid being included in the endowment. Consequently it is incumbent upon the officers in charge of the circuit of the renowned city that they leave the said land together with the gardens, the wells and the trees, to the posterity and progeny of the said Malik, and make no change or variation in the grant so that they fall not under the condemnation of the verse—'*And he who changes it after he has heard it, the wrong of this shall be on those who change it*'. (Quran, II, 177). On the second day of Jumada I in the year 856 H. (Sunday, 21st May, 1452 A.D.).'[1]

The 'Bagh-i-Shaban' at Rakhyal

The fine garden with wells and trees and irrigation channels mentioned in the inscriptions at the Rauza was long known under the name of the *Bagh-i-Shaban*. According to the *Mirat*, it was surrounded by a wall of brick and contained beautiful buildings, a mosque, a tank with stone steps and a step-well. The historian adds that the Malik, having resigned his post in the reign of Sultan Mahmud I, passed his time here as a recluse devoted to the service of God till his death. At a later date, in the decline of the Mughal power, the

1. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1921-22, pp. 4, 5. An earlier translation by Sir Charles Lyall will be found in J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part I, 55, 56.

Nazims incorporated this garden within the jagir lands of Rakhyal.[1] All traces of the garden have now disappeared.

Not far from the Rauza is Malik Shaban's tank, which was excavated at his orders and expense and adorned with steps of hewn stone all round. This lake at Rakhyal, now dry and but little known, is octagonal in shape and inferior in size to that at Kankaria, covering about thirty-five acres. Though built at about the same time as the Hauz-i-Qutb, the Shaban lake presents by comparison a very dilapidated appearance. As the result of generations of neglect the stone steps have mostly disappeared and the cupolas are in utter ruin. The bed of the lake holds no water during the dry season and a large part of it was at one time overgrown with babul trees.

The Shaban Lake at Rakhyal

It appears from the works of European travellers of the seventeenth century that during the period of the Saltanat, and even later, the road leading from the city of Ahmadabad to Malik Shaban's garden and to the monuments which he had erected near the village of Rakhyal was one long avenue covered with shady trees on both sides. Mandelslo, who visited the capital in 1638, evidently refers to the same,[2] and we quote below a somewhat fuller reference given in John Ogilby's *Asia,* a work on Eastern lands, especially on Persia and India, published in folio in London in 1673:

J. Ogilby on the Bagh Shaban road

> 'On one side of the city (of Ahmadabad) runs a way which is six leagues long, called Bag Shaban, to a great and pleasant village, and being planted on both sides with standing trees hath many crossways all which are as cool and shady as a wood.'[3]

Within the city of Ahmadabad, Malik Shaban's name is commemorated by a mosque which he erected in 1452, the same year that the Rauza at Rakhyal was built. It stands at a short distance from the main Bhadra gate, near the Khas Bazar, and is popularly known as 'Hazurishah's mosque'. Apart from the inscription on a marble slab over the central

Malik Shaban's mosque in the city

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, op. cit., 19-20.
2. See my *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, 29 and *n*.
3. John Ogilby's *Asia*, London, 1673, p. 210.

mihrab, the mosque does not call for any special notice. Its plan is that of the *mandap* of a Hindu temple and the interior arrangements make it plain that a Hindu temple was fitted up as a masjid. The inscription, in three lines of good calligraphy, reads thus:

> "God Almighty says, 'Verily the mosques belong to Allah; worship no one else with Him'. And the Prophet (God's blessing be upon him) says, 'He who builds a mosque for God will have a house built for him by God in Paradise'. The edifice of this mosque was built during the reign of the King of Kings Qutb-ud-dunya wa'd din Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, the King, by the slave who has need of God the helper, namely, Shaban, son of Tuhfah Sultani, who has the title of Imad-ul-Mulk, from a desire to obtain the favour of God and to get his great reward. This was done the 2nd of Jumada I, 856 (21st May 1452)."[1]

Saint Burhan-ud-din of Vatva

During the early years of the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din there passed away, in 1453, at the village of Vatva, a saint who traced his descent from the Bukhari Saiyids (a sect held in high esteem among the followers of the Prophet), to whose piety and influence reference has been frequently made in the preceding pages. This was Saiyid Burhan-ud-din, surnamed Qutb-ul-Alam, whose fame for sanctity among the Musalmans of Gujarat is only inferior to that of the Saint of Sarkhej. He was the grandson of the famous Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, to whom Saharan and his son Zafar Khan attached themselves at the court of Sultan Firuz Tughluk at Delhi; and the same saint as is said to have prophetically promised Zafar Khan the country of Gujarat in return for an act of kindness towards

1. It is interesting to note that the date given here coincides exactly with that given in the inscriptions on the western wall of Malik Shaban's Rauza at the village of *Rakhyal*. See Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 57.

the poor.[1] Our authorities are not in agreement as regards the early career of Saiyid Burhan-ud-din, but according to all accounts he was born in 1388. His father died when he was only ten years old, so his uncle Shah Raju Qattal became his guardian and taught him for two years. In 1400 the young Saiyid was sent to Gujarat where he came to Patan Anhilvad with his mother. It is said that Muzaffar I, who was a disciple of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, hearing of the arrival of that saint's grandson, went out to receive him with due honour. At a later date, when Sultan Ahmad founded the new city of Ahmadabad, Saiyid Burhan-ud-din was asked to come to his capital. The young Sultan composed an ode in the Saiyid's honour and having recited it standing before the saint asked for his reward. 'My father's father', said Burhan-ud-din, 'hath already blessed thee.' 'But,' replied the Sultan, 'that blessing is for the kingdom and my family. I now want a blessing for this my new city'. Thereupon the saint blessed the capital saying, 'the city will last for ever by favour of God the Merciful.' For some time the Saiyid resided in old Asawal by the river-side where a mosque was built for him. But later he shifted to the village of Vatva which was bestowed upon him by the Sultan. He died on December 10, 1453, at the age of sixty-seven lunar years, and left behind him twelve sons and seventeen daughters.[2]

The great mausoleum at Vatva

On the death of Qutb-ul-Alam in 1453, the nobles of the court of Sultan Qutb-ud-din first erected a small shrine over his remains; and the piety of the next Sultan, Mahmud Begada, subsequently reared over them a vast mausoleum, which in magnitude and design may be compared with that erected at Sojali near

1. Saiyid Jalal Bukhari (1308-84), universally known as Hazrat Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, was a famous Saiyid from Bukhara who settled in the Punjab, and his tomb at Uchh, on the banks of the Satlej, near Bhavalpur, still attracts many devotees. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, he was highly honoured at the court of Delhi at the time when the Prince Firuz Tughluq returned to his capital with his Rajput wife and her two brothers (see ante p. 48). Both the latter became the disciples of the saint, and so also did Zafar Khan, the son of Saharan (Wajih-ul-Mulk), who later founded the independent kingdom of Gujarat under the title of Muzaffar Shah I. Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan was always regarded as the patron saint of the Gujarat dynasty. (Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 3, 27).

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, op. cit., 24-27; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 128 *n*.

Mahmudabad by Saiyid Mubarak who was killed in battle about 1557 during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah III. The mausoleum of the Saint at Vatva shows a further step in the development of Ahmadabad architecture, for it is essentially in the foreign or arcuate style. The arch is used consistently throughout—it is not a screen of arches hiding a columnar interior, but one design uniform in all its parts. It supplies the place of the beam, and gives, in consequence, immensely increased dimensions to the building, and, it must be admitted, with considerable beauty and propriety of effect.[1] The aisles are arched and vaulted throughout, and the dome is raised high in the air by a second tier of arches. But the whole of the outer row of piers, with their arches, have fallen, and the entire mausoleum is at present in a somewhat dilapidated condition.[2]

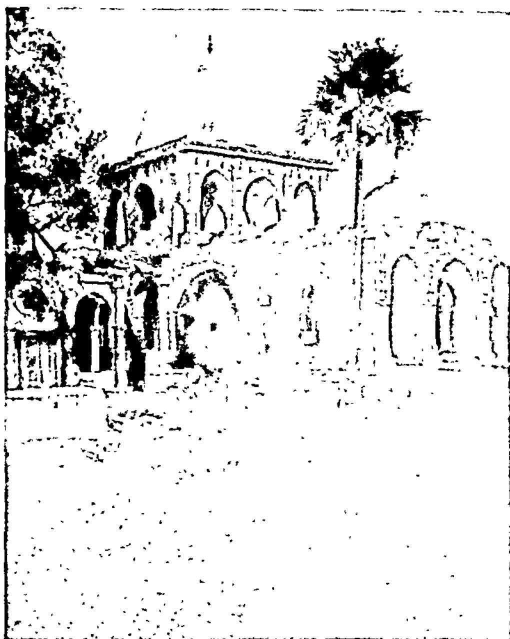
The famous lithoxyl at Vatva

Before passing from the subject of Vatva and its Saint, we must say a few words about the famous lithoxyl (petrified wood) which has been reverently preserved by the descendants of Burhan-ud-din and is still exhibited to visitors as a proof of the Saint's miraculous powers. We learn from the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* that the Emperor Humayun, during his temporary occupation of Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Bahadur, arrived at Ahmadabad after the conquest of Champaner. He pitched his camp at the village of Ghiathpur, two *kos* to the south of the city, and paid a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Qutb-al-Aqtab Saiyid Burhan-ud-din at Vatva, where he was shown this *Lohlakkar*, which he pronounced a marvel such as he had never seen before. It is related of this stone that, on one occasion, when the Saint was proceeding from his house to the masjid at the time of the *tahajjud* or midnight prayers, his foot struck something which pained him. Picking it up, he exclaimed: 'What can this be—is it stone or wood or iron?'

1. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 89.
2. On a pillar in the great mausoleum are two bombastic Persian distichs which read :

'Qutb Alam, who is sovereign of the spheres,
Has by this Rauza augmented the glory of the spheres.
'Ere this the vault of the sky had no crown ;
His Gumbaz became the crown of the spheres.'

'Composed by the born slave of the family—Jalal bin Muhammad bin Jalal Shahi.'—J. Burgess, *Muham. Architr. of Ahmedabad*, Pt. I, 62.



The Mausoleum of Qutb-ul-Alam at Vatva, near Ahmadabad (pp. 155-6)



The sacred Lithoxyl, or *loh-lakkar*, preserved by the Saiyids at Vatva, near Ahmadabad (p. 156)

And lo!, 'the divine force of his words transformed the material into what the Saint fancied it to be, and God in one night joined the three things into one.' When, on the next day, the people gathered to see it, the Saint ordered it to be concealed deep in the earth, and pronounced the penalty that whosoever dug it up should be issueless. After some years a merchant brought it to light, saying that he was content to be issueless if only he could make manifest the miracle of the Saint. Since then the lithoxyl has been exhibited to all, high and low. When the great Emperor Akbar visited Ahmadabad, he took away half of it to Agra and left the other half in its place where it is still preserved as an auspicious relic.[1]

Briggs' account of the sacred relic

H. G. Briggs, who saw Vatva and its monuments in 1848, quotes an extract from a letter written to him by another visitor who had shortly preceded him: 'The size mentioned by Abul Fazl is correct;[2] the stone is not now on the sepulchre but deposited in the chief Saiyid's house. Great reverence is paid it, and upon such occasions as visitors desire to see it, it is produced under a covering of brocade and shown with considerable ostentation. It appears to be petrified wood: the barky part gives it the appearance of iron oxydised; that portion where it has been chipped by the hand of Akbar himself when he visited Vatva, shows the fibre or vein of the wood; and upon the opposite side, where it seems to have been ground crosswise, it bears the appearance of stone'. Briggs himself proceeds to add: 'I deemed it a lithoxyl, of which numbers might be discovered in private and public collections, but the poor Saiyids laboured under the belief that this was the isolated exception in the universe, and with fond garrulity remarked that its chief merit was the value set upon it by the religious fanatic whose name and fame cast their effulgence over the hamlet of Vatva'.[3]

Reference may here be made to Saiyid Usman, the chosen vicegerent and successor of Hazrat-i-Qutb, who received from

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 196-7, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, 26.
2. Abul Fazl says: 'Over the tomb is suspended a covering (?) of about the measure of a cubit, partly of wood, partly of stone and a part also of iron, regarding which they relate wonderful stories.' (Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 241).
3. H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 295.

his master the title of *Sham-i-Burhani,* i.e., 'the Lamp of Burhan', and whose tomb and masjid at the once famous suburb of Usmanpur may still be seen. Saiyid Usman became the disciple of Burhan-ud-din when quite young, and came to rank among the foremost Sufis of his time, expounding Sufiistic doctrines to the devotees who came to the saint at Vatva. When Hazrat-i-Qutb saw that the Saiyid was attended by admirers of his learning and piety who wished to become his disciples, he advised Usman to live alone and teach them. The latter, therefore, left Vatva and first settled at a village called Baha-ud-dinpur, and later pitched his tent on the other side of the river at the place which is still called Usmanpur to the north-west of the city of Ahmadabad near the village now known as Vadej. Here a *pura* grew up in course of time, and reference has already been made to its once very populous and flourishing condition.[1]

Saiyid Usman, the successor of Qutb-ul-Alam

The masjid and tomb of Saiyid Usman on the road to Sabarmati are all that remains of the former suburb of Usmanpur, the rest being waste or cultivated land. The Saiyid is said to have died in 1459,[2] and, immediately after, Sultan Mahmud Begada built this mosque and rauza to his memory. The masjid is one of the first in Ahmadabad in which the minarets are transferred from the middle portion of the façade to its extremities. The style is, however, strictly Hindu, without any arch, as in the mosque at Sarkhej, but with the advantage of possessing minars, the want of which is according to some critics the great defect in that group. The minars still remain nearly entire, and are ornamented by a profusion of mouldings, with panels on three sides carved in that endless variety of beautiful patterns for which the masons of Ahmadabad were so famous. The amount of Rs. 7,500 spent by Major Cole on repairs and restorations at this single mosque gives some idea of the lavish expenditure incurred on the monuments of India in the spacious days of Indian finance. The Rauza adjoining the mosque is somewhat

The masjid and tomb at Usmanpur

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 29-31 ; Bayley's *Gujarat,* 440.
2. *Arabic History of Gujarat,* ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, I, 32.

dilapidated, and, like the interior of the masjid, it has been despoiled of its carved work—the perforated screens that formerly surrounded the tomb having been removed. The central grave in the mausoleum is undoubtedly the Saiyid's, but the carved marble over it has disappeared. The suburb of Usmanpur was the site of the encampment of Sultan Muzaffar III in 1583 during his second and final conflict with the troops of the Emperor Akbar for the recovery of his throne.[1]

Qutb-ud-din Shah's Masjid, 1449

Turning now to other monuments of this reign at Ahmadabad, we may mention the mosque generally known as Qutb-ud-din's, situated to the north of the city near the Delhi gate, which has been described as 'a dull soulless affair without any claim to distinction.'[2] Though it is said to have been built by the king during his father's lifetime, the inscription slab mentions its erection, in October, 1449, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah, by one Nizam, the son of Hallal-us-Sultani, who had the title of Mukhlis-ul-Mulk.[3]

Bibiji's mosque and tomb at Rajpur

Far more splendid and imposing than the above is the mosque built by the Sultan in the suburb of Rajpur to the south-east of the city to the memory of Bibiji, the wife of Saiyid Buddha bin Saiyid Yaqut and the mother of the Sufi saint Khondmir. The masjid is one of the largest in the suburbs though the long low wings are perhaps not in the best of taste.[4] The inscription over the central mihrab in this masjid, after giving the well-known introductory verses, says:

> 'This noble Jami Masjid, (named) 'Mistress of the World' (*Makhdumat Jahan*), was built by the great Sultan Qutb-ud-dunya wa'd-din Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad

1. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 54. J. Burgess, *Muham. Architr. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 67-69.
2. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 612.
3. For the text of the inscription see Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, 1897, p. 291. H. G. Briggs visited the masjid in 1847 and also gives the Hijri date of the epigraph in his *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 221. The theory has been advanced that the slab belongs to another mosque and has been inserted here. (Burgess, *Muham. Architr. of Ahmadabad*, I, 45).
4. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 612.

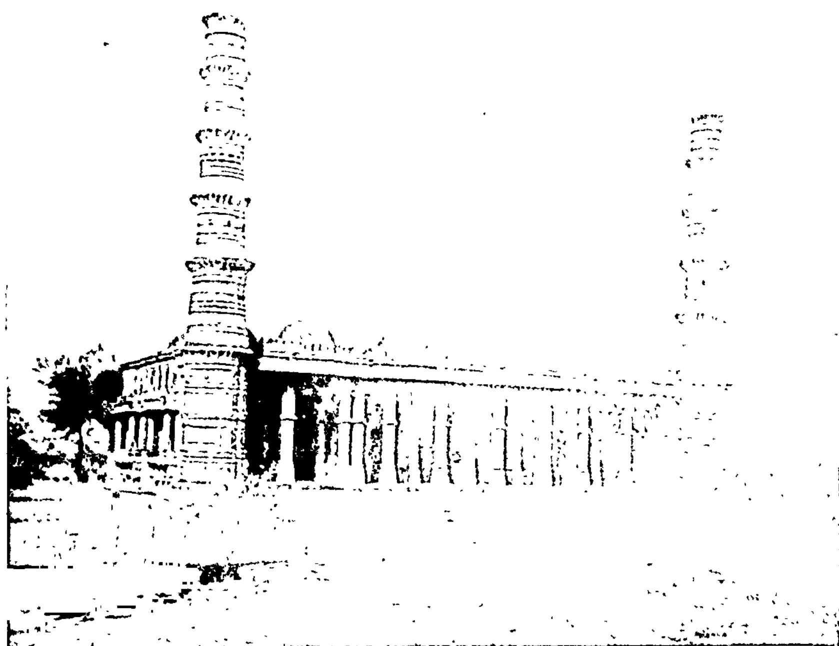
Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar, the Sultan: and the Hijri date of the building of the mosque is Rabi Akhir in the year eight hundred fifty-eight (April, 1454).'[1]

The Rauza of Bibiji adjoins the masjid and its construction is also ascribed to Sultan Qutb-ud-din. The lady belonged to the family of the Uraizi Saiyids and with her young son Khondamir came and settled at Ahmadabad from Patan when the boy was twelve years old. Here he was taught Sufiism by the great saint Burhan-ud-din of Vatva. It is also said that Malik Shaban, the minister, had great faith in him. He died in October 1469 and was buried by the side of his mother at Bibipur, which is the old name of the suburb of Rajpur-Hirpur.[2]

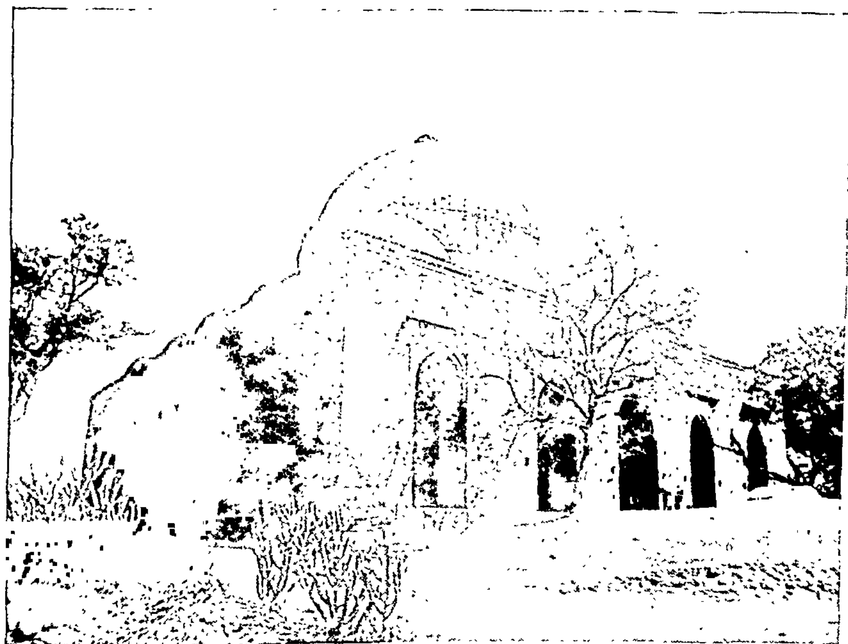
To the early years of the next reign, viz., that of Sultan Mahmud I, may be ascribed the construction of the Rauza known as Darya Khan's at Ahmadabad, a massive brick monument, the largest of its kind in Gujarat, situated about a mile to the north of the Delhi Gate on the way leading to the Shahi Bagh. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* it was built by a noble man named Darya Khan in the old suburb of Daryapur which had been founded by him and where he was buried. This noble was, along with Alaf Khan Bhukai, a companion of Sultan Mahmud I's youth, and both of them were raised to high rank by this ruler who gave them the title of Khan and advanced them to the rank of *Panj Hazari.*[3] The Tomb, which can be seen from a great distance, is an imposing square structure with a lofty central dome and broad domed verandahs on all sides with five arched entrances on each face. The great solidity of its walls (which are fully ten feet thick in the main hall) is in keeping with the rest of the building. The Rauza is constructed throughout on the arcuate principle, the arch being employed deliberately as a structural expedient. In

Darya Khan's Rauza at Ahmadabad

1. Burgess and Cousens, *Lists,* op. cit., 292.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.* 58-59; Burgess, *Muh. Arch. of Ahmadabad,* I, 71-73.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 228, 237. The traditional date of this Rauza, given by H. G. Briggs (*Cities of Gujarashtra,* p. 318) as 1453, is evidently too early.



Masjid of Saiyid Usman at Usmanpur, on the road to Sabarmati, near Ahmadabad (p. 158)



Tomb of Darya Khan, on the road to the Shahi Bagh, Ahmadabad (p. 160)

composition it resembles the large brick masjid of Alaf Khan Bhukai at Dholka, which was probably built nearly at the same period and by the same architect, but which is now deserted and in ruins.[1]

Darya Khan's monument belongs to a style as different from the special Indo-Saracenic style of Ahmadabad architecture as Gothic is from Roman. Mr. Fergusson observes:

Fergusson's remarks on the monument

'There are hundreds, perhaps it would be safe to say thousands, of such tombs scattered over the plains of Hindustan. They are solid, massive buildings, unmistakably appropriate to the purpose to which they are dedicated, and capable of an expression of sublimity—as we see at Bijapur—to which the more elegant style of Ahmadabad could not attain. If gloom is to be associated with the grave, this is the more appropriate style of the two; but this was not *the manner in which death presented itself to the* sovereigns of Ahmadabad in the great age, and the cheerful elegance with which they surrounded their burying places shadowed forth a happier philosophy.'[2]

H. G. Briggs, who visited the Tomb in 1847, relates some interesting popular traditions connected with Darya Khan and his Rauza. The building is now not much frequented except by the superstitions, and owing to the atmosphere of gloomy darkness that pervades it, the tomb has long been popularly believed to be haunted.[3]

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1. J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka*, etc. (1896), pp. 34-36 ; and *The Muham. Archr. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 58-9.
2. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, pp. 93, 94.
3. H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 318.

CHAPTER XIV

SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH I, BEGADA, 1458-1511
(1) EARLY HISTORY UP TO 1480

Greatness of the reign: Religious wars of Mahmud I: The lure of Kathiawar: Impregnable defences of Junagadh: The Uparkot and its ancient remains: The Junagadh War, 1467–70: Fall of Girnar and the conversion of Ra Mandalik: Memorials of the Muslim conquest—Mustafabad: The *Raizadahs* of Sorath: War with the Jhalas of Kuva (1486): Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad: Capture and sack of Dwarka (1473): Conquest of Bet-Sankhodhar and fate of Raja Bhim (1473): Ancient monuments at Bet: Foundation of Mahmudabad (Mehmdabad) on the Vatrak (1479): Malik Usman as ruler of Jalor: He accepts the 'Mahdavi' creed: The *Ras Mala* on the capture of Ranpur from the Gohels: Sack of Sanjan by the Muslims and its defence by the Parsis: Changa Asha of Navsari as the leader of the Parsis in Gujarat: The first of the *Revayats* (1478) and its place in the early history of the Parsis in India.

Greatness of the reign in the history of Gujarat

Sultan Mahmud I ascended the throne of his fathers on May 25, 1458, and reigned for the next fifty-four years in uninterrupted glory and prosperity. He is perhaps the greatest, as he is certainly the most popular, of the Sultans of Gujarat, and to this day the glory of his name remains enshrined in native tradition throughout the province as a zealous Musalman sovereign. 'He is to the Muslim as Siddh Raj is to the Hindu—a nucleus around which gathers romance and tale.' Himself a great patron of architecture, there is hardly a monument of Muslim art in the country which popular legend does not connect with his name. The Persian historians represent Mahmud as the hero-king of Gujarat. They linger with evident fondness on the many virtues of his character, and on the greatness of his exploits, and part with him at last with unfeigned regret. Sikandar bin Muhammad says: 'He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him: and whether for abounding justice and generosity; for success in religious

war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour and victory—he was a pattern of excellence.'[1]

The Sultan was only thirteen years of age when he was placed on the throne, but in dealing with a rather formidable conspiracy by the leading nobles to raise his brother to royal power, he gave early proof of personal bravery and capacity for decisive action. Four of the principal courtiers came to him and informed him that the minister Malik Shaban, who had the title of Imad-ul-Mulk, was intriguing to depose him. Mahmud, new to such treason, gave them permission to arrest the minister and to put him under guard on the roof of one of the Bhadra gates. During the night, Malik Abdulla, a loyal servant, who was master of the elephant stables, had access to the king and informed him privately of the true state of affairs. The Sultan consulted his mother and decided on a course of action. In the early morning he proceeded to the place where the minister was confined, and stamping his foot, demanded in a loud and angry tone the surrender of the traitor that he might take condign action against him. In this way he beguiled and overawed the guards whom the conspirators had placed in charge of Malik Shaban. They complied with the royal orders in the expectation that their masters' designs were on the point of being fulfilled.

Conspiracy of the nobles, 1458

As soon as the young king had secured the person of his loyal vazir, he ordered his fetters to be removed and begged his pardon for the harm inadvertently done to him and restored him to his office and power. When the rebel amirs realised the unexpected turn taken by events, they assembled a large army to offer battle and to carry out their purpose. But here again the Sultan showed his courage and judgment. He ordered the royal elephants to be assembled, and, surrounded by only three hundred adherents, issued from the Bhadra citadel with bow in hand and quiver at the back. The cavalcade marched through the Tin Darvaza along the principal street of the city to meet the host of the insurgents. But the

The young ruler's courage and judgment

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 161.

rebel nobles were unable to operate in the narrow streets of the city and their troops dispersed in large numbers while others tendered their submission. The Sultan's rare energy and personal bravery won the day. The four amirs who had led the conspiracy met with various fates. One of them, named Burhan-ul-Mulk, fled towards Sarkhej in the vicinity of which, at a place afterwards known as Fatehpur, he tried to conceal himself, but being immensely corpulent he could not succeed and was arrested and brought over to Ahmadabad where he was trampled to death by an elephant under royal orders.[1]

Mahmud's religious wars

The military annals of the reign of Mahmud Begada[2] constitute a record of uninterrupted successes extending over a period of half a century. We have seen how the three foremost Hindu principalities in Gujarat—Junagadh, Champaner and Idar—had managed to survive the religious wars of Ahmad Shah and to retain their semi-independent existence as feudatory states. The first two of these, however, were destined, after a long and heroic resistance, to succumb to the arms of Mahmud, and were, at different periods during this reign, incorporated with the crown territories. The Sultan had inherited not only the military genius but also the ambition and the religious bigotry of his grandfather Ahmad Shah. To him, indeed, it appeared intolerable that what he considered 'infidelity' should continue to flourish in the heart of the Gujarat kingdom, and in 1467, within a year of his attaining his majority, we see him advancing on his first expedition against the ancient capital of the Chudasama princes of Junagadh.

The lure of Kathiawar

The peninsula of Kathiawar, known to the ancient Hindus as Saurashtra and to the Muhammadans as Sorath,[3] had been the object of Muslim desire ever since the first establisment of their power in Gujarat during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji of Delhi. The glowing eulogy of this province, re-

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 163-66; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 47-49; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 303-04.
2. For the derivation of the nickname Begada under which Mahmud I is known in history, see end of Chap. XVII.
3. The name Sorath was employed during the last century to designate only one of the four divisions or *prants* in which Kathiavad was divided for administrative purposes, *viz.*, Halar, Sorath, Jahlawad and Gohelwad.

corded by Sikandar, will, perhaps, furnish the secret of this desire:

> 'And what a country is Sorath! As if the hand of heaven had selected the cream and essence of Malwa, Khandesh, and Gujarat, and had made a compendium of all the good people of the world, and had picked out the noblest and most vigorous of men from the three countries named, and collected them together unto one standard, as a touchstone of the countries of the world.'[1]

As the rulers of Junagadh, generally styled the Mandalik rajas,[2] held sway over a large part of the peninsula, their capital was naturally the object of every Musalman attempt for the conquest of Sorath. The names of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlaq and of Sultan Ahmad Shah are connected with successive attempts for the capture of Junagadh. Though their capital was often occupied by the enemy, the power of the Ravs was never completely broken, and they managed to reassert their independence as soon as the tide of invasion had rolled away. The credit of annexing the kingdom of Junagadh to the Gujarat Saltanat was reserved for the arms of Ahmad's famous grandson.

The formidable defences of Junagadh

But the conquest of Junagadh was not a task to be lightly undertaken, for there are few places in Gujarat so well protected by nature and fortified by art as this city. The ancient capital of Kathiavad is situated at the foot of a range of granite hills which guard its approaches, and it was at this period encircled by a belt of deep forest so closely interwoven as to admit of no ingress except by two or three avenues cut through it to lead to the adjacent towns.[3] While adding to the security, this dense jungle must have increased the insalubrity

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 180.
2. 'Rav Mandalik' appears to have been the official title of the Hindu rulers of Junagadh. It means a feudatory prince—one of the petty rulers who formed a *mandal* or group round the superior overlord or *Sarvabhauma*. Ever since the time of Siddh Raj, the rulers of Anhilvad Pattan had established themselves as overlords of the princes of Girnar and of the other chieftains of Saurastra. As the power of Anhilvad declined, the mandalik rajas became independent.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 181.

of all the places confined within it, and the Gir forest is still considered very unhealthy before and after the rains. The city of Junagadh is dominated at its north-east angle by the ancient fortification known as the Uparkot,[1] situated on a commanding plateau. But the Uparkot, formidable as it must have been before the days of artillery, was by no means the only stronghold of the rulers of Junagadh. At a distance of but a mile and a half from this 'citadel' rises the noble hill-fortress of Girnar whose almost inaccessible approaches had so often secured the safety and independence of the Rajput princes of Junagadh before the days of Mahmud Begada.

The Uparkot and its fortifications

The Uparkot, or Citadel, is the ancient fortress from which Junagadh probably derives its name, though perhaps it may be from the fort on Mount Girnar: for both have great claims to antiquity. No exact information is available about the time when the Uparkot was built, but it is maintained, on the authority of Hemachandra's *Dwyashray,* that it was constructed by the famous Ra Grah-Ripu, fourth king of the Chudasama dynasty, who came here from his capital at Vanthali and built the fortress in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.[2] The citadel is situated on rising ground to the left of the road leading to Mount Girnar. The fortifications, 48 feet in height, are strongly built of stone with two gates and eighty-four turrets and have well stood the lapse of ten centuries. The fortress is surrounded by a deep ditch cut entirely out of the rock and forming a strong line of defence. It is said that there was formerly a subterranean passage leading into the fort on the east side, which was used, in the time of a siege, to convey provisions to the garrison.

Remains in the Uparkot at Junagadh

Among the interesting remains within the Uparkot are several Buddhist caves, the whole of the ditch and its neighbourhood being honeycombed with them and their ruins. These caves have all the appearance of having formed the residence

1. The defences of the Uparkot, the ancient Rajput citadel of Junagadh, have been well described by J. Tod in his 'Travels in Western India,' 362.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, IV, 74. Grah-Ripu is said to have died in A.D. 982. The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, who visited these parts about A.D. 635-38, makes no reference to the Uparkot.

Entrance to the ancient Uparkot Citadel at Junagadh, *c.* 11th Century (p. 106)

Lion Hunt in the Gir Forest, Junagadh State, by Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, and the Diwan of Junagadh

of a monastic establishment. The famous stone well, which is called after Ra Noghan's name, is 171 feet deep and has a wonderful circular staircase inside it containing 235 steps. It was probably built by the ruler whose name it bears and who was the great grandson of Grah-Ripu, the reputed founder of the Uparkot. Another step-well, called the Adi-Chadini Wav, is said to have been built by two *vadarans* or housemaids of Ra Noghan bearing the names of Adi and Chadi. Among the memorials of Muslim rule in the Uparkot are a Jami Masjid and some wonderfully large old cannon cast in Egypt during the sixteenth century, to which we shall refer later. The fortifications of the town of Junagadh, which was renamed Mustafabad, were all built by the Muslims after the capture of the place by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1470.

The Junagadh War, 1467-70

The war against the great Rajput ruler of Junagadh lasted for nearly four years from 1467 to 1470 and involved at least three campaigns. The most elaborate preparations were made before the operations began, and, in the years that followed, huge sums of money, as also swords and daggers with hilts of gold and silver, besides rich horses, were freely distributed among the royal troops to encourage their efforts. In the first year's campaign Mahmud led his troops through the narrow defile known as Mahabalia to the capital of Rao Mandalik and after securing the latter's submission and promise to pay tribute retired to Ahmadabad. The next year, on learning that the Rao was in the habit of visiting the temples with a golden umbrella and other insignia of royalty, the Sultan sent an army ordering him to discontinue their use, and the Raja, dreading another invasion, promptly obeyed and forwarded all his golden dresses to the Sultan. But Mahmud had determined on the final conquest and incorporation of this Rajput State, and at the end of 1469 he led an army in person against the hapless ruler of Girnar who was offered the cruel choice of Islam or war. Rao Mandalik went to meet him in his camp, pointed out that he had been an obedient vassal, and asked why the king was bent on the ruin of a dependent who had committed no fault. The Sultan replied

that there was no offence greater than 'infidelity.' The Rao then retired to his citadel, the Uparkot, which was now closely invested by the Gujarat Sultan. Finding after some time that the citadel could no longer be held, the Raja with his Rajputs fled to the hill-fortress on the Girnar mountain. The last phase of the war centres round the siege of Girnar. Every day the Rajputs sallied out and fought but the end came when the provisions fell short. The surrender of this inaccessible fortress is traditionally associated with an episode of domestic treason. It is said that the Raja had forcibly taken to himself Mohini, the beautiful wife of his minister Vishal. The injured husband, unable to show open resentment, schemed in secret for the downfall of his master.[1] When the provisions in Girnar had given out, Vishal sent a messenger to the Sultan that the opportunity was favourable for taking the fortress by assault. The king acted on the advice, and before long the Rao came down to do him homage and handed up the keys of the fortress (December 4, 1470).[2]

Surrender of the Uparkot and of Girnar

The fall of the regal Girnar, one of the holiest of the shrines and the most impregnable among the fortresses of Kathiavad, made the Muslims supreme over this long-coveted peninsula. The descendant of the heroic Ra Khengar, and the last of the revered line of the Chudasama princes, was now a prisoner and a suppliant at the feet of the conqueror. His life was spared, but at the sacrifice of that which to the Rajput is dearer than life itself. At the stern dictates of the victor, Rao Mandalik repeated the creed of Islam—'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' The story related by Sikandar that the Rao was converted, after his arrival at Ahmadabad, during a visit to the saintly Shah Alam, does not appear very plausible and is evidently introduced by the historian to glorify the Bukhari Saiyids. The royal proselyte received the name and title of Khan Jahan, and his descendants long occupied one of the

Rao Mandalik embraces Islam: his title of Khan Jahan

1. *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, Ed. by Burgess, 117.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 184-90; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 52-56; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. by E. Denison Ross, I, 19-21.

most respectable posts at the Gujarat court. We are told, however, that whenever the Rao thought of Girnar and of his past glory he sighed and wept.[1] The tomb of Khan Jahan or Rao Mandalik is to be seen at Ahmadabad near the Manek Chok, and the shrine is still venerated with offerings of flowers.[2]

Memorials of the conquest of Junagadh

Perhaps the most permanent memorial which the Sultan has left of his conquest of Kathiawar is the extensive wall or fortification which encloses both the ancient Uparkot and the city of Junagadh, and which remains in almost perfect condition after a lapse of over 450 years. Another monument belonging to the rule of Mahmud I at Junagadh is the large mosque which stands on the crest of the Uparkot. Tradition and the general character of the structure, however, leave little room for doubt that this building was originally the royal palace of Ra Khengar and of the Chudasama dynasty and that by a few clumsy additions and alterations Mahmud was able to transform it into a mosque. There is also reason to believe that the large number of free-standing columns in this mosque were obtained by the spoliation of some of the beautiful Jain temples of old which adorned the brow of the sacred Girnar.[3]

Junagadh renamed Mustafabad

In order to secure and consolidate his conquest, Mahmud Begada remained for a considerable period at Junagadh, and so improved its beauty and its defences that he thought himself justified in renaming it Mustafabad. His religious zeal led him to decide upon this new capital as the centre from which to propagate the tenets of Islam throughout the peninsula. He,

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 189-90; 193 and *n*. According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath* (Ed. Burgess), p. 131, the dynasty of Rao Mandalik was allowed to continue for another century as tributory jagirdars at Junagadh under the control of the governors or thanadars of Sorath appointed by the Gujarat Sultans.

2. The tomb of Khan Jahan (Ra Mandalik) is situated in the Kandoi Ol at the commencement of Kalupur Road from Manek Chok, on the right side going eastwards. It is a small room about 8 feet square, part of which is let. (Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 72).

3. Col. J. Tod, who visited this mosque in the Uparkot at Junagadh in 1832, says: 'Several reasons authorise a belief that this edifice was constructed from the wreck of other temples: chiefly the correspondence in size and shape between its columns and those yet left in several of the half-mutilated temples on the sacred hill above.' (*Travels in Western India*, 1839, p. 366).

therefore, invited holy Saiyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence in Mustafabad.[1] During his reign Mustafabad rose to the dignity of a mint town of the Gujarat Saltanat, and it became henceforth the headquarters of the permanent officer who was now appointed to administer Sorath as a crown possession, and to receive the tribute from the petty chiefs of the peninsula. The name of Mustafabad, however, does not appear to have survived the death of its founder. The associations of many centuries could not be suppressed by the arbitrary will of a despot, and the historic name of Junagadh has outlived the reign and dynasty of its most famous conqueror.

The governors or *thanadars* of Junagadh under the Saltanat

From the time of Mahmud's conquest to the close of the Gujarat monarchy, Junagadh and its dependencies were administered by an official appointed direct from Ahmadabad and styled *thanadar* who collected the tribute and the revenue of the crown domain in the peninsula. Among the first holders of this post was Prince Khalil Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, who afterwards succeeded him under the title of Muzaffar II. The Prince during his tenure of office founded the village of Khalilpur which still remains as a suburb of Junagadh. During the later years of this reign, and especially during the rule of Muzaffar II, the seat of government was removed from Junagadh to Div owing to the importance of that island as a naval base and for checking the designs of the Portuguese who coveted this wealthy commercial emporium. We thus find the great admiral Malik Ayaz making Div his residence, leaving behind him a noble named Tatar Khan Ghori in charge at Junagadh. After the death of Malim Ayaz, Tatar Khan became semi-independent at his capital, and in the troublous days of the Saltanat that followed under Bahadur and his successors, he, and after him his son Amir Khan Ghori, owed only a nominal allegiance to the Sultans at Ahmadabad. This state of affairs continued in the peninsula until Akbar's conquest of Gujarat.[2]

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 191-92.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 500-501.

Mandalik's son continued as jagirdar—the *Raizadahs*

After the fall of the last Ra Mandalik of Junagadh and the extinction of this ancient Rajput kingdom, Sultan Mahmud granted the Chovisi of Bagasra,[1] now a subdivision of the Sil *mahal*, as jagir to Bhupat Singh, the son of Ra Mandalik. At the same time, while the royal *thanadar* was left in charge of the garrison and made the supreme authority in all disputed matters, the revenue jurisdiction of the conquered territory appears to have been handed over to Bhupat Singh and his heirs as Jagirdars, who from being the sons of the last Ra were called Raizadahs to distinguish them from other Chudasama chiefs. They retain the appellation to this day and are said to be still living in certain villages of Bagasra and of the Kesod *mahal*. This continuation of the entire revenue jurisdiction in the hands of the displaced royal family is perhaps the reason why, while Mughal or 'Badshahi' grants of villages and lands are common, those of the Sultans of Gujarat are exceedingly rare, if indeed they exist at all.[2]

War with the Jhalas: sack of Kuva, 1486

During the period when Prince Khalil Khan was *thanadar* or governor of Sorath, he had occasion to march against the Jhalas of Kuva, in the north-east corner of the province, whose ruler Vaghoji had rebelled against Muslim authority. A severe conflict took place between them at Saidpur, about six miles north of Dhrangadra, in which the Muslims were defeated. Prince Khalil Khan then called upon his father for help, and Sultan Mahmud, who would tolerate no opposition, marched with a large army against Kuva and invested the place. Vaghoji, finding his provisions exhausted, issued forth from the town and after a most gallant resistance, in which he killed many of the enemy, he was slain together with his principal Sardars (1486). The Muslims now sacked Kuva and from this date it ceased to be the Jhala capital,[3] and the Sultan established a military *thana* at the place. So great an impression did the disaster at Kuva

1. Bagasra is thirty-four miles to the south-west of Junagadh.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 288, 372, 500, 508.
3. The Jhalas were first settled at Patdi in the north-east of the peninsula; but their capital changed successively to Mandal, Kuva, and Halvad, until in 1730 Dhrangadhra was built and this place still continues as their chief city.

create that not only was that place abandoned as a capital, but the expression *Kuva-no-Kehr* (i.e., 'the catastrophe of Kuva'), is yet proverbial among the Jhalas for any great misfortune. After this the Jhala rulers founded their new capital at Halvad in 1488.[1]

Muhafiz Khan's services at Ahmadabad, 1470-71

The long absence of the Sultan from his capital owing to the Junagadh War, and his residence at Mustafabad with his army, was not without its evil effects. The officers neglected their duty, the lawless persons took to robbery, and the roads in Gujarat became unsafe for single travellers or for small parties. To provide against these disorders the Sultan appointed in 1471 a noble named Jamal-ud-din as Fauzdar in Ahmadabad, and gave him the title of Muhafiz Khan under which he is known to posterity. This noble discharged his duties with zeal, and in a short time about five hundred robbers were publicly executed, with the result that the people of the city 'slept at ease with open doors.' Firishta says that some idea of Muhafiz Khan's police establishment may be obtained from the fact that, at one time, he had in attendance 1,700 *bargir-i-khas,* i.e., retainers equipped by him and riding horses from his stables. Some time after this Muhafiz Khan was given the entire government of the city and its dependencies and made *Mustaufi Mamalik.* He rose to still higher honours during the later years of this reign, and in 1480 was elevated to the office of Vazir. We shall refer later to the beautiful mosque erected by him at Ahmadabad in 1492.[2]

Invasion of Cutch and Sind, 1472

We shall turn to review Sultan Mahmud's expeditions in 1472 into Cutch and Sind, both of which were carried out while his headquarters were established at his favourite city of Mustafabad. From the meagre and confused accounts that have come down to us, it appears that the Sumra and Sodha tribes of Cutch, though very expert archers, were at this time a rude race, professing nominal adherence to the tenets of Islam. Mahmud easily defeated them in spite of great odds, and, at his dictates, the leading men of each tribe were sent to Juna-

1. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 422-23.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 56-7; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 192-93; Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 21.



Temple of Shri Krishna at Dwarka in Kathiawar (p. 173)

gadh, to be there instructed in the doctrines of the true faith. From Cutch, the Sultan, crossing the desert, marched against the Baluchi and Jat tribes of Sind, and, according to one account, carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Indus. These Baluch tribes were in revolt against Jam Nizam-ud-din, the ruler of Sind, whose daughter was the mother of Sultan Mahmud. They were 40,000 strong, but fled at the Sultan's approach, and their camp was given up to plunder. Before he retired from Sind, Mahmud received gifts and a letter of thanks from the Jam. He then returned to Mustafabad, but was soon called upon to take up arms against the Hindu chief of Dwarka, the city whose hoary traditions are carried back to the days of the Mahabharata and the sway of the Pandav princes, and where the ancient temple of Sri Krishna, one of the holiest of Hindu shrines, is to this day frequented by thousands of pious pilgrims from all parts of India.[1]

Dwarka taken: its temples destroyed, 1473

Placed in the north-western corner of Kathiawar, the Wadhel Raja of Dwarka (or Jagat), named Bhim, held sway over the adjacent island of Bet or Shankhodhar and also over the Wagher pirates of Okhamandal whose activities on this coast have been notorious for centuries.[2] Sultan Mahmud was anxious to attack the city of Dwarka because it was famous for its sanctity among the Hindus; nor would he tolerate the independence of its ruler after the rest of the country had acknowledged his authority. An act of unusual violence on the part of the Raja's pirate subjects now gave the Sultan an opportunity to do so. A Maulana named Mahmud Samarqandi, a poet and philosopher as well as a merchant, who had spent the greater part of his life in the service of the Bahmani rulers of the Deccan, was returning to his native

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 57-59; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 22. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 194-95.

2. Col. J. Briggs, writing in 1829, says: 'The pirates of Jagat (Dwarka) and Bet have been notorious for many ages, and they are little less infamous, I fear, in the present day than they were several centuries ago. Local circumstances account for their propensity and for their success.' (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 60 *n*). Long after the time of Mahmud Begada the pirates and robbers of the Okhamandal district (in which Dwarka is situated) continued a danger on the seas and a standing menace to the adjoining places and to the pilgrims. The Waghers gave endless trouble both to the Gaekwad and the British Government until their power was finally broken by the British expeditions during 1859-1868.

country in a vessel bound for Hormaz. On its way the ship was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Dwarka where the pirates took and plundered it, retained the Mulla's women and property, and left the learned man adrift on the shore with his two young sons. After many hardships, the Mulla arrived at Sultan Mahmud's court at Mustafabad and related his sad story. This decided the Sultan to carry out his long cherished project though his troops had been exhausted by continuous campaigns for three or four years. On May 14, 1473 he marched for Dwarka, from which town Raja Bhim and his Rajputs fled to the fortified island of Bet for safety. The sacred city was given up to plunder, and, by the Sultan's orders, its buildings were razed, its temples destroyed, and the idols broken to pieces.[1]

The capture of Bet-Shankhodhar and the fate of Raja Bhim, 1473

After the capture of Dwarka, the Sultan marched with his army to the village of Aramrah on the sea-coast opposite the island of Bet. He remained encamped here for some months during which period his troops were much troubled by lions and reptiles, several hundreds of snakes being killed within the royal enclosure. After collecting ships at the neighbouring ports, Mahmud surrounded the island and took it after a desperate struggle with the Rajputs. The principal temple in the island was destroyed, its idols broken, and the foundations of a mosque laid on the spot. Very valuable booty in the form of rubies and pearls and precious stuffs fell into the hands of the conqueror, and the Maulana's family was released from their prison. After leaving Malik Tughan, entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk, in charge of Shankhodhar and of the district of Dwarka, the Sultan returned to Mustafabad (October 6, 1473). Raja Bhim had effected his escape by boat during the attack on Bet but he was overtaken and made a prisoner. Being put in fetters he was carried in the train of the Sultan to Junagadh where he was delivered over to the Samarqand merchant who had been the occasion of the war. The Maulana thanked the king for all that he had done for the sake of Islam, but sent back the Raja, whom the Sultan forwarded, in collar and chains, to Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad with instructions that he should be impaled and a

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 59-60 ; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 195-97.

limb hung over each gate of the city. When the unhappy Bhim was brought to the capital, Muhafiz Khan dragged him round the city and then put into effect the terribly inhuman decree of the Sultan.[1]

Bet and its monuments

Situated about two miles by sea from the Gaekwar's prosperous seaport of Okha on the Okhamandal coast of Kathiawar, and surrounded by the emerald green waters of the Gulf of Cutch, stands the sacred island of Bet or Shankhodhar frequented every year by a large concourse of pilgrims, many of whom consider the temple of Ranchhodji, an incarnation of Sri Krishna, at this place to be even more holy than that of Dwarka itself. The island is about four miles in length and three miles broad and is formed of white sandstone.[2] The name Shankhodhar is derived from the number of *shankhs* or shells found there or from the configuration of the island which resembles a conch-shell. The shrine of Ranchhodji, mentioned above, is said to be about 450 years old and stands within its own fortified walls. There is, besides, another on the island, outside the walls of the town, known as Shankh Narayan's, the original erection of which is believed to be very ancient though the modern building was put up by the Rao of Cutch some 130 years ago. It stands quite close to the sea within a strong enclosure and adjacent to it is the pool known as the Shankh Talav. Among the Muslim memorials on this isle, so sacred to the Hindus, may be mentioned the tomb of a Pir named Haji Karmani in a conspicuous position. The total population of Bet island at present is about 4,000, the majority of the inhabitants being Gugli Brahmans.[3]

About the end of 1473, after an absence of nearly five years, the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad. On the way he halted for three days at Sarkhej, where he received and

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 61-62; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 196-99; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 24, 25.

2. It is very probable that in some far distant age the promontary o Okha was connected by the reefs with the isle of Bet. A lighthouse now stands between the two.

3. The temples in the island suffered from artillery fire during the attack on Bet by a British force under Colonel Donovan in 1859 during the war with the Waghers, but they were rebuilt in the same year by H. H. Khanderao Gaekwar. A very large number of cannon-balls found at Bet preserve the memory of its capture by the British in the last century.

comforted the families of those who had fallen in the previous campaigns. During the next nine years Mahmud appears to have occupied himself with domestic affairs, as no record of any great military operation has come down to us. To this period belongs the foundation of a new city which the Sultan named after himself—Mahmudabad—situated on the banks of the river Vatrak, eighteen miles south-east of Ahmadabad.[1] Strong embankments were raised along the river, and the city was adorned with a palace, handsome buildings, and extensive gardens. At a later period this city was selected for his residence by Sultan Mahmud III (1537-53), who formed in its vicinity his famous Deer Park, as we shall later on relate. In the course of the next century the city fell into decay, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* tells us that at the time of his writing (1756) only the remains of the palaces were to be seen. During the last fifty years, however, the city has recovered some of its past prosperity, but its original name is now corrupted into Mehmdabad.[2]

Foundation of Mahmudabad on the Vatrak, 1479

During the years following upon his return from the conquest of Junagadh and Dwarka the Sultan was in the habit of going every year from his capital to Mustafabad. In 1480 he went as usual to his favourite residence in Kathiavad, leaving behind him his eldest son Prince Ahmad in charge of Khudawand Khan, who was brother-in-law to the Sultan. This nobleman formed a conspiracy to dethrone his master and to put Prince Ahmad on the throne. The reason of the conspiracy appears, from all accounts, to be the discontent created among the courtiers by the Sultan's incessant campaigns, which was further increased by the contemplated invasion of Champaner. The festival of the Ramzan *'Id*, when the Prince would go in procession to the Idgah, was decided upon as the occasion on which to put the project into effect. But the attempt of the conspirators to win over the Vazir Baha-ud-din, who had then the dignity of Imad-ul-Mulk, betrayed the whole plan.

Conspiracy of Khudawand Khan, 1480

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 170; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 201.
2. Mahmudabad is now a considerable town in the Kaira district, on the main railway line from Bombay. Some lofty and imposing walls on the high banks of the Vatrak river and the ruins of a masjid are all that now remain to remind the visitor of the buildings erected by Mahmud I and his great-grandson, Mahmud III.

The Vazir feigned consent, but at heart remained loyal to his master, and with the help of Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk,[1] and Muhafiz Khan, the Kotwal of the city, at once took effective steps to guard against the expected insurrection in the city, and the conspirators saw that their designs had failed.

The Sultan tests the loyalty of the nobles

It was not long before the news of the contemplated treason reached the ears of the Sultan at Mustafabad, though the loyal officers whose action had so swiftly crushed the plot did not think it proper to send any information to the king of this distressing episode. Arriving at the capital,[2] the king gave out that he wished to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and asked the nobles to give him leave to do so, declaring that he would not touch food till they had given their consent. The nobles, well aware that the Sultan's object was to ascertain whether they would welcome his departure, remained silent. Twice did Imad-ul-Mulk come to them and say: 'You must give the Sultan an answer; he is fasting.' At last one of them, who was older than the rest, was sent out to recommend to the king the conquest of the fort of Champaner, from the spoils of which the expenses of the journey to Mecca might be defrayed. Pleased with this loyal advice, Mahmud immediately called for food. After a time he made the Vazir relate to him on oath all the details of the plot: but such was his attachment to Khudawand Khan that he practically let him go free. According to one account, the Sultan showed his displeasure towards his relative by calling one of his pigeons by his name; according to another he ordered that the person employed in the meanest post in the royal household should be called by that name. Soon after, Imad-ul-Mulk died, and the king appointed Muhafiz Khan as the Vazir, an elevation to which all his public appointments since 1471 appear to have pointed the way.[3]

1. Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, a famous minister of the reigns of Mahmud Begada, Muzaffar Shah II, and Bahadur Shah, built the well-known quarter of Sarangpur at Ahmadabad in the south-east of the city. See p. 217.

2. When at Mustafabad (Junagadh) the king gave orders to equip ships for the proposed pilgrimage to Mecca, and embarked at Gogha but got down again at Cambay where the vazir and all the nobles from the capital joined him. The Sultan was much relieved and at the request of Imad-ul-Mulk agreed to visit Ahmadabad and there decide what course to pursue.

3. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 62-64; The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* quoted in Bayley's *Gujarat*, 202-206.

Before we pass on to the next chapter, and to the military history of the later years of the reign, some isolated events of the early part of Mahmud I's rule may be noted. We learn from the History of the Palanpur State that, soon after Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Gujarat, his help was invoked by Prince Usman Khan of Jalor[1] in South Rajputana who complained of being expelled from his jagirs by his brother Malik Salar who sat on the *gadi* in that state. The Sultan took Usman Khan into his service, and some time after secured him the succession at Jalor along with the parganas of Bhinmal and Sachor, and further conferred upon him the title of Zubdat-ul-Mulk. Supported by the Sultan's army Malik Usman Khan established his rule in 1461 while his elder brother fled to the Aravalli Hills. The new ruler had a brilliant reign from 1461 to 1484 and his success and popularity have earned for him the title of the second founder of the Muslim dynasty of Jalor.[2]

The Sultan helps Malik Usman to the throne of Jalor

Under Malek Usman Khan of Jalor, Muslim authority became definitely and securely established in south Rajputana and north Gujarat, and he was presented with dresses of honour by the Lodi Sultan at Delhi. The title of Zubdat-ul-Mulk[3] granted to him by the Gujarat Sultan was maintained as a mark of distinction by his descendants and still remains among the insignia of the Jalori rulers of Palanpur State. Malek Usman Khan accepted the doctrines of the *Mahdavis*, a sect which had great vogue in India at the period, *viz.*, the close of the ninth century of the Hijri era. The sect was so called because its members confidently believed in the manifestation of the Imam Mahdi whose advent was to establish Islam throughout the world. From this period the

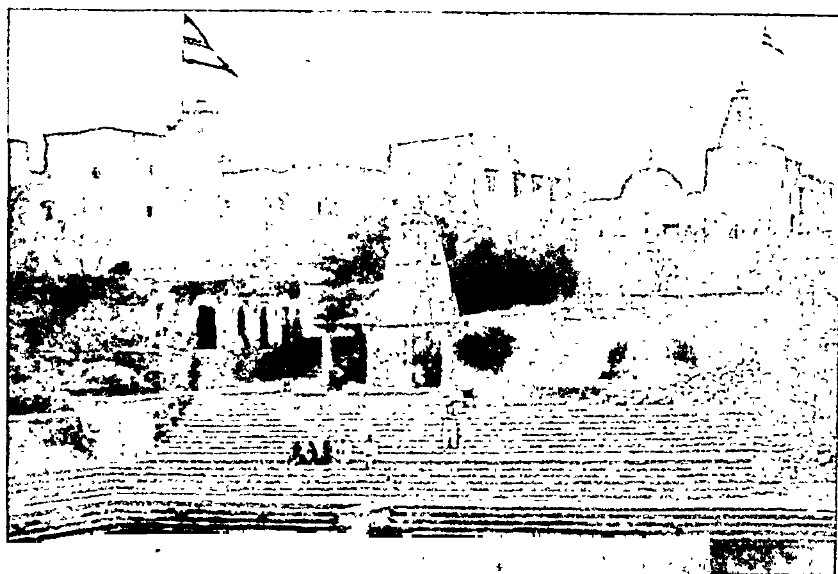
Zubdat-ul-Mulk Malek Usman accepts the Mahdavi creed

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1. For the rise of the Muslim dynasty of Jalor and Palanpur see *ante* p. 50.
2. H. H. Nawab Sir Taley Muhammad Khan, *History of the Palanpur State*, 11-13; Bombay Gazetteer, V, 318-19.
3. The title of Zubdat-ul-Mulk granted to Usman Khan was corrupted in the Marwari language into 'Zubdal' or 'Jabdal', and in later years it was common, when any ruler emulated the greatness of Usman Khan, to describe him as 'a second Jabdal' (H. H. Sir Taley Muhammad Khan, *History of the Palanpur State*, 13 *n*).



View of Jalor Town in South Rajputana from Songir Fort (p. 178)



Temple of Shankh Narayan and the Shankh Talao on the island of Bet-Shankhodhar, opposite Okha Port, in Kathiawar (p. 175)

ruling princes of Jalor and Palanpur have continued to be attached to the *Mahdavi* creed, and to-day Palanpur remains the headquarters of this sect in Gujarat.

Mahmud's conquest of Ranpur: bardic accounts

The *Ras Mala*[1] supplies us with an interesting episode, connected with Mahmud's conquest of Ranpur, which well illustrates the relations of the Sultan with the Hindu landholders of Gujarat. According to the bardic chronicle, the fort of Ranpur[2] was at this time held by a Gohel chief named Ranji as a feudatory of the Sultan. It is said that Ranji and the Badshah had married sisters, the daughters of the Raja of Marwar. Once, when on a visit to her father's house, the queen met her sister, the Thakorani, whom she pressed to dine with her. The Gohel's wife excused herself by saying, 'You have married the king, and my husband is his servant, I am not therefore worthy to sit at dinner with you.' When, however, the elder sister continued to persist, the other confessed the real reason, *viz.*, that she would lose caste by eating with the queen who had married a Muhammadan. The latter was greatly incensed and determined to have her sister brought to the court by any means and there to make her dine in her company. The king was persuaded to take up the matter, and he contrived to make Ranji and his wife come to Ahmadabad. Some time after their arrival the Sultan requested Ranji to bring his wife to the palace on a visit. The Gohel refused, but finding that resistance was hopeless, he had recourse to stratagem, and brought away his wife in safety to Ranpur.

The Gohel chief of Ranpur offends the Sultan

About the same time, says the *Ras Mala*, another incident happened which further increased the Sultan's resentment against the chief of Ranpur. An old Muhammadan woman and her son, who were on their way to Mecca on pilgrimage, lodged one night at Ranpur. The next morning the boy rose

1. Forbes' *Ras Mala*, Oxford Ed. I, 344-47.
2. Ranpur is a small town and fort in the Dhandhuka sub-division of the Ahmadabad district. As one of the posts on the borderland between Gujarat and Kathiavad it has always been a place of historical interest. It was founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century by a Rajput chief Ranji Gohel who was the ancestor of the Bhavnagar ruling family. The date of Mahmud's conquest of Ranpur is uncertain.

early, and, as was his custom, began to cry the *bang* or the Islamic summons to prayers. The Brahmans of the town, hearing this, hastened to the chief and told him that this unusual incident portended that his sovereignty would pass to the '*mlechh*.' Enraged at this thought, the Gohel seized the boy, and, in spite of the entreaties of the mother, had him put to death. The woman retraced her steps to Ahmadabad and sought redress at the Sultan's hands.

Ranji defeated and his principality taken

Mahmud's nephew, by name Bhandari Khan, volunteered to march against Ranpur. Ranji met him at Dhandhuka, where a desperate conflict ensued. The Gohel was defeated and pushed back to the gates of his town. He sent word to his wives that, when they beheld his royal banner go down, they should take it as a signal that all was lost, and should destroy themselves to avoid being captured by the Muhammadans. As the fight proceeded, Ranji's standard-bearer set it down for a moment to drink water. The ladies, taking this as the signal of their husband's death, jumped into the well in the fort and perished. Soon after Ranji himself fell, and the Muhammadans became masters of Ranpur. It is related that Mahmud later on presented this place to the Gohel's nephew Haluji Parmar, Chief of Mali, who had become a convert to Islam. When Haluji begged for a grant on copper-plate to confirm his title, the Sultan assured him that it was unnecessary since the fact of his conversion was not likely to be forgotten.[1] Such is the poetical record of the acquisition of Ranpur by the Sultan of Ahmadabad. The handsome fort which stands there at present was erected about 1635 by Azam Khan, surnamed *Udhai* or 'the white ant', the famous Mughal Viceroy of Gujarat under the Emperor Shah Jahan.[2]

One military episode of an unknown date of Mahmud's reign, not very important in itself and briefly dismissed by the Musalman historians, cannot be passed over unrecorded because of its connection with the early history of the Parsis

1. Haluji Parmar founded the family of the present Ranpur Molesalams. A brother of Haluji, who also became a Musalman, was the founder of one of the branches of the Dholka Kasbatis. (Bombay Gazetteer, IV, 352 and *n*).

2. A full description of Azam Khan's fort at Ranpur will be given when we review his memorable viceroyalty of Gujarat (1635-42) in the second volume of this History.

in India. In 1465 Mahmud sent his army to the northern Konkan to capture the forts of Bahrot and Parnera and the seaport town of Daman, all of which were still in the hands of Hindu rajas. It was in the course of this expedition, or, perhaps, in the later one of 1491, that the Sultan's general destroyed the old Parsi colony of Sanjan[1] and the principality of its Hindu ruler after a valiant but unsuccessful defence by the Raja's Parsi subjects. The details of this event have come down to us in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, a chronicle in Persian verse of the traditional history of the Parsis in India written by a priest named Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana at Navsari in the year 1599.[2]

Sack of Sanjan and the Parsis

According to genuine historical tradition it was first at the port of Div, where they stayed for nineteen years, and later near Sanjan, that various batches of Parsis landed in India on their flight to this country from Persia to escape the persecution of their religion by the Arab conquerors which followed upon the overthrow of the Empire of Yezdegard III, the last ruler of the great Sassanian dynasty of Ancient Persia. The date of the exodus of the Parsis to this country from their ancient fatherland of Iran has been the subject of much learned controversy, and among the several traditional dates mentioned for their landing at Sanjan the most important and commonly accepted places the event in the first quarter of the eighth century (A.D. 716). This date has, however, met with strong criticism on the part of competent scholars.[3] The exiles were hospitably received by 'Jadi Rana', the Hindu Ruler of these

Advent of the Parsis in Gujarat from Persia

1. The colony of Sanjan was so named by the early Parsi refugees in India after several towns bearing the same name in their ancient home in Persia (Hodivala, S. H., *Studies in Parsi History*, 88).

2. A full prose translation of this Persian poem is given in Hodivala's *Studies*, 92-117.

3. This date is given as Samvat 772 or the year 85 of the Yezdegard era, which corresponds to 716 A.D. It is not necessary to enter here into this highly controversial and to some extent conjectural subject which has been discussed at great length by Parsi writers during the last 50 years. An alternative date supported by the authority of so eminent a scholar as Prof. Hodivala is 936 A.D. (Samvat 992). A similar difficulty centres round the

parts who gave them permission to settle in his land. And now, after the lapse of many centuries, an opportunity was offered to their descendants to repay the debt of gratitude which they owed to their tolerant Hindu rulers.

Heavy loss of the Parsis in the battle of Sanjan

Sanjan is at the present day a very small hamlet situated near the coast about a hundred miles to the north of Bombay and some sixteen miles to the south of the Portuguese settlement of Daman. But up to the time of its sack by Begada in the fifteenth century it appears to have been a considerable place. According to the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan,* at the call of the Rana, the small Parsi colony of Sanjan put into the field a body of 1,400 horsemen clad in steel armour, and their leader Ardeshir led the host of the Raja to war against the forces of Mahmud Begada. In the first skirmish, Alp Khan, the Sultan's general, was repulsed, but he obtained reinforcements and returned to the charge. The odds were too great. Ardeshir was slain covered with wounds, and so was the Raja, and his army was completely routed. Alp Khan appears to have been a man with a sanguinary disposition, for he used his victory to the utmost and the Raja's town was rendered desolate. The Parsis of Sanjan, deprived of the flower of their youth, are said to have fled with their sacred fire to the neighbouring hill of Bahrot, in the inaccessible recesses of which they maintained a precarious existence for some years: after which they migrated successively to Bansda and to Navsari.

Changa Asha of Navsari, the leader of the Parsis in Gujarat

We may mention here that the name of Changa Asha of Navsari, who flourished in the second half of the 15th and the early decades of the 16th century, takes an honoured place in the early history of the Parsis in Gujarat as the principal layman (*Behdin*) in his community who not only enjoyed very considerable administrative authority in and near Navsari but who also commanded the respect of his co-religionists residing in the various Parsi settlements at Surat,

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identity of Jadi Rana—clearly a corrupted form of the ruler's name—who is mentioned as the Hindu Raja of Sanjan at the time of the advent of the Parsis in India. For a full exposition of the subject *vide* S. H. Hodivala's excellent work *Studies in Parsi History*, 67-91.

Broach, Ankleswar and Cambay.[1] Though no exact information is available about the dates of Changa Asha's birth and death, it is clear that he was at the height of his popularity and influence in 1478 and that he was alive in 1512, and probably even a little later. It was with his advice and help that the Parsi priests who, after the sack of Sanjan by the Muslims, had carried the sacred fire[2] from that town to the hill-caves of Bahrot (*Bharat*) and the forests of Bansda,[3] conveyed the same to Navsari to be installed there in safety some time about 1515, nearly a quarter of a century after the fateful sack.[4]

The place of the *Revayats* in the early history of the Parsis in Gujarat

To the last quarter of the fifteenth century also we date the beginning of that epistolary correspondence between the Parsis of Gujarat and their co-religionists at Yezd and Kerman in their ancient fatherland of Iran which has been carefully preserved by the community and which goes under the name of the *Revayats* (Traditions). We are told that in the grim struggle for existence during the several centuries that had elapsed since the first advent of the Parsis on the shores of Gujarat, ignorance had grown apace and much valuable knowledge of their ancient religion and its elaborate ritual had been forgotten. The Parsis of the end of the 15th century in various centres in Gujarat were thus naturally anxious to secure accurate information on these matters. In these *Revayats* are comprised the replies received from Persia

1. Changa Asha's father, Asha Rana, held full civil and executive powers in and about Navsari at the period of the foundation of the Gujarat Saltanat and the early years of the reign of Sultan Ahmad I. He is said to have induced the Muslim rulers to reduce the tax levied on the Hindus of Navsari (*Tawarikh-i-Navsari*, by Sorabji M. Desai, 1897, pp. 35-36).

2. This sacred fire of the Parsis, still called by the name of *Iranshah* ('the Lord of Iran'), as the symbol and memorial of their ancient faith and imperial sway, and which was first installed at Sanjan five years after their landing at that place, is now installed in a great temple at Udvada, having been finally transferred to that centre from Balsar in 1742. Udvada is thus the Mecca or Jerusalem of the Parsis and their chief centre of pilgrimage for this community.

3. The site where the sacred fire was kept concealed is said to have been in a ruined fortress on a hill known as Ajmalgadh.

4. Hodivala, S. H., *Studies in Parsi History*, 113-15.

to the enquiries made regarding the details of traditional religious practice. Along with these replies were sent copies of manuscripts of sacred books which were either unknown or scarce in India.

Under the lead of Changa Shah, therefore, the Parsis of Navsari, Surat and other centres in Gujarat despatched an adventurous individual named Nariman Hoshang, a *Behdin* or layman of Broach, to Persia, with a letter containing a series of questions addressed to the Dasturs and scholars there bearing on the Zoroastrian religion and its ritual. This messenger returned to Gujarat in 1478 bearing a reply from the Parsi Anjuman of Iran and addressed to Changa Asha,[1] and all the Parsi 'priests, laymen, peasants and merchants' in Hindustan. The reply, besides answering the queries submitted, proceeds to suggest that if two Parsi priests were sent out from India to Iran to learn the ancient Pahalvi language (in which the ancient scriptures of the Zoroastrians are written), the tenets of their religion would be more readily understood by those in India. The letter also points out that the journey to Persia would not be too long or risky and adds that Seistan was easily accessible from Qandahar and that the road from Seistan to Yezd was one of complete safety.[2] This epistle is also particularly interesting owing to the reference made therein to the political oppression to which Persia in general, and especially the Zoroastrians there, were at the time subject, for the tyranny is stated to be 'more intolerable than any other which Iran had experienced since the days of Zohak or Afrasiab or Tur or Alexander the Great.'[3] This first

The first *Revayat* (1478) and Nariman Hoshang of Broach

1. Changa Asha had four sons, of whom the eldest, named Bahram Shah, functioned as his father's *alter ego* during the latter's old age, and predeceased his father. The second son was Manek Changa (or Mangashah), born about 1461, whose name appears frequently in the later *Revayats* as the leading Parsi in Navsari. He built the first Tower of Silence in stone at Navsari in 1531 and is described in his advanced age as a man of commanding personally exercising many important administrative functions. The prosperity of the family lasted till about the time of the capture of Surat by Akbar in 1573. (*Parsi Prakash*, op. cit., 7; *Handesa Nama*, by Dastur Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi, 1831, pp. 34-36).

2. This would be the present Chaman-Duzdab Railway route.

3. *Parsi Prakash* by Bamanji B. Patell, 6.

Revayat of 1478 was followed by several others in the next and following centuries, and the series extends right up to the year 1773 in the eighteenth century and covers some twenty-six manuscript letters in Persian.[1]

1. The *Revayats*, which are all written in Persian, have been the subject of several valuable compilations by Parsi scholars. The latest work on the subject, giving a critical and exhaustive analysis and translation of the ritualistic contents of the *Revayats*, is that by Ervad Bamanji N. Dhabar entitled *The Persian Revayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, Bombay, 1932.

CHAPTER XV

SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH I BEGADA, 1458-1511
(II) HIS WAR AGAINST THE PATAI RAVAL OF CHAMPANER

The great Hill-fort of Pavagadh: Fortifications and remains of the Rajput period: The *Sat Mahal* and the *Makai Kothars*: The Maulya or Muslim Citadel on the top plateau: Kalka Mata's temple: Mr. Malet on Pavagadh (1785): Siege of the Fort by Mahmud I and its brave defence (1482–84): The Rajputs perform the *Jauhar*: The fate of the Patai Raval: Origin of the Chhota Udaipur and Devagadh Barya States: Muslim Champaner named 'Muhammadabad' and made the political capital of Gujarat: Causes of its decline and fall after Bahadur's death (1537): The monuments of Muslim Champaner: The Citadel or *Jahanpanah* and its inscription (1484): The magnificent Jami Masjid (1508–9): Other masjids and remains: Later wars of Mahmud I: Bahadur Gilani's incursions on the coast (1491–94): The Sultan secures the Khandesh throne for his grandson: The death of the great Begada (1511) and estimate of his reign.

The Fort of Pavagadh and its approaches

In the last month of 1482, about eleven years after the conquest of Junagadh, Sultan Mahmud I started on his second great war against the Rajput princes of Gujarat, the attack being this time directed against the powerful ruler of Champaner who held sway over the almost impregnable hill-fortress of Pavagadh.[1] Before we proceed to review the history of this memorable expedition, some account of this famous fort, its defences and remains, may here be given for, along with the forts of Girnar and Idar, it has played an important part in the history of this province.[2] The great and isolated hill of

1. Pavagadh was in old inscriptions Pavakgadh or the fire-hill. The variant form Pavangadh, or the Castle of the Winds, used by Mr. A. K. Forbes, is not correct. The hill presents a most impressive background to the Ajwa lake which lies twelve miles from Baroda.

2. The author made, on the 28th December 1935, a delightful trip to the hill with the family of his late friend Sardar Sir Bamanji A. Dalal, M.L.A., who, in the eighties of the last century, after immense labour, colonised some 3,500 acres of waste and jungle land, infested by tigers and leopards, in the Halol division. The estate now includes the model village of Rustampura and five other prosperous hamlets. Sir Bamanji was also the pioneer of cotton cultivation, under the refined drill system, in the Panch Mahals, and thus gave

Pavagadh is situated some 25 miles south of Godhra and about the same distance north-east of Baroda, and, though seventy-eight miles away from Ahmadabad, it is said to have been visible from the minarets of the Jami Masjid in that capital before they fell down in the earthquake of 1819.[1] With its far-stretching spurs, the hill encompasses an area about twenty-six miles in circumference. Except for a few hillocks which are scattered near its base, it stands alone, its gigantic outlines frowning over the districts to the east of Baroda and rising to a height of about 2,700 feet above the level of the sea. Its eastern heights are more accessible than the other three sides, and are protected by massive masonry walls, bastions and gateways, 'rising with narrowing fronts to the scarped rock that crowns the hill.' The hill of Pavagadh is said to have passed into the hands of the Chauhan branch of the Rajputs some time about the year 1300 when they were fugitives from Ranthambhor in Mewar territory before the armies of Ala-ud-din Khalji, and they continued to hold it till it was finally taken from them by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1484. The ruins of the Rajput city of Champaner are on the lower spurs to the north-east and those of its Muslim successor stretch for miles at the foot of Pavagadh hill.[2]

The Rajput Fort and its triple line of defence

The picturesque hill path leading to the great fortress strikes off from the main traffic road near the citadel of Muslim Champaner about three and a half miles from Halol, and the total distance from the foot of the hill to Kalka Mata's temple on the highest peak of Pavagadh is about three miles, two of them being up the hill side and the third along the flat summit. In 1878 Mr. H. A. Acworth of the

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the lead to the local ryots and zamindars, in consequence of which the resources of the people and the revenues of the state have greatly increased in this backward district.

1. 'Account of the Hill-Fort of Champaner in Gujarat' by Capt. W. Miles, in *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, I, (1819), p. 150.

2. Capt. Miles, who was stationed at Champaner in 1803, says : 'The ruins of the ancient city extend several miles on the side of the mountain, but are at present covered with a jungle almost impenetrable ; houses, temples, beautiful tanks, and even mosques abound in these woods, and are now the abode of tigers and a few Bheels, the latter very thinly scattered.' (*Transactions*, op. cit., I, 151).

Civil Service walked up this ascent in the record period of fifty-three minutes.[1] The ancient Rajput fort has three lines of defence one above the other, and the first line is entered at the Atak gate, after the path creeping up the hill through a fine forest has been traversed for less than half a mile. This is the historic 'lower fort' of the Chauhan rulers. Beyond the gate may be seen on the right a deep square reservoir, known as the *Medi* pond, which still holds water even in the driest seasons. Its flights of stone steps leading to the water level are in ruins as also the structure which once stood in the centre of the tank. About half a mile further up the hill, the *Mohoti* or Great Gate gives entrance to the second line of defence, which is a most formidable fortification, the path winding in the rock passing through four gates each commanding the one below it and connected by massive battlements. The ascent here must have been very formidable for troops in the face of a determined enemy. The third line of defence is passed through the Sadan Shah Gate, 'a winding passage cut through the solid rock crowned with towering walls and bastions and crossed by a double Hindu gateway.'

From the Sadan Shah Gate a path leads off to the right where on the edge of a cliff several hundred feet deep are the picturesque remains of a curious sort of building called the *Sat Mahal* or seven-storied palace.[2] Four of the stories which were above ground are now in ruins, but down the face of the cliff runs a covered stone staircase and here are three more chambers one below the other each being about 20 feet square with three pillars on each side. A wide view across the deep ravine below, including the reputed hermitage of the saint

The *Sat Mahal* and the valley view it commands

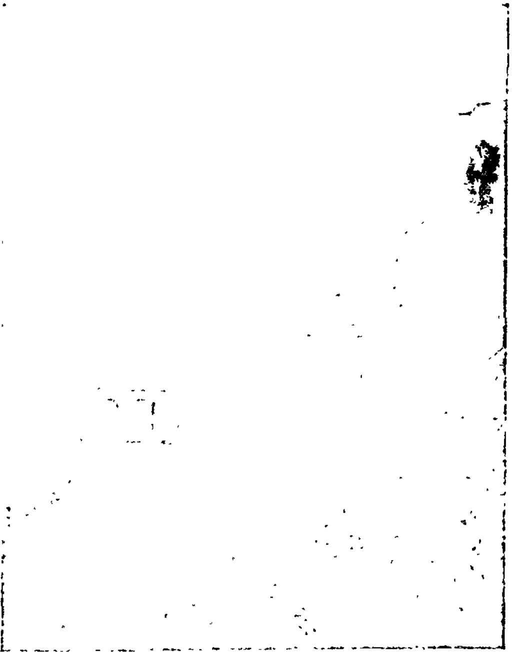
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1. Mr. E. B. Eastwick, who ascended the hill in 1880, is not wrong when he says that the summit could hardly be reached under three hours. He was carried up in a *manchil* by Bhils. (*Ind. Antiquary*, IX, 1880, p. 222).

2. Col. J. W. Watson thought the *Sat Mahal* was meant for the ladies of the zanana to sit in and witness a grand hunt in the deep valley below. This structure is also called the *Champa Ranino* and the *Khapra Jhaverino* mahal. It is said to have been built by two brothers-in-law of one of the Patai Ravals, robbers who had an underground passage from the Sadan Shah gate to the Khund river at Medapur in Halol (Bom. Gazr., III, 189 *n*)



The Atak Gate of the Rajput Fort on the lower spurs of Pavagadh Hill (p. 188)



Remains of the *Sāt Mahal*, or the Seven-Storeyed Palace, on Pavagadh Hill (p. 188)

Vishvamitra[1] hidden in the thick woods, and also the sacred source of the river which is named after him, may be commanded at this spot. The *Sat Mahal* is the only one of the remains on Pavagadh hill which can lay claim to some architectural interest for all the rest are plain utilitarian structures. Beyond the deep valley facing the *Sat Mahal* stretches a spur of Pavagadh hill to the north falling to the plain just above Shakar Khan's lake. On this ridge are the fortifications known as the 'Julan-Budan' gates and above them are the remains of a building called the *Nagar Haveli.*

The *Machi Haveli* and the *Makai Kothars*

Returning from the *Sat Mahal* to the main track, we reach the plateau of Pavagadh hill, 'a pleasant place with springs, ponds and green trees,' which formed the historic 'upper fort' of the Rajput rulers, and the chief remains of that period are to be found here. About 100 yards above the Sadan Shah gate stands the *Machi Haveli,* a wooden structure, where Sindhia's commander used to live and which is now used as a rest-house by pilgrims. Further on are the ruins of a brick mosque and of the 'Panch Kuva' or the five wells. From hence one ascends for about a quarter of a mile and passes through the 'Makai Kotharka Darvaza', with strong defences on either side, till he reaches a large three-domed structure which formed the *Makai Kothars* or 'maize granaries' of the garrison. The building overlooks a deep valley and the dome of one of the chambers is now in ruins.[2] Here a fortified spur of Pavagadh hill extends to the south-east, scarped by rocks about 1,000 feet high and joined to the main mass of the hill only by a narrow neck.

Remains on the spur to the South-East

Among the remains on the top of this spur are the ruins of

1. A popular derivation of Pavagadh is found in the following story. In a bygone age a valley ran where the hill now stands. On the high ground overlooking the valley lived the ascetic Rishi Vishvamitra. He owned a cow, the famous Kama-dhenu, gifted with speech and an unfailing store of milk. Grazing on the brink of the valley she one day slipped, and unable to climb the steep sides filled the valley with milk and so swam home. Learning what had happened, the holy man, to prevent another mischance, prayed that the valley might be filled up. His prayer was granted, the gods sending so large a hill that three-quarters of it filled the hollow. The rest standing out of the plain was called *Pavagadh* or the quarter-hill. (Bombay Gazetteer, III, 185 and *n*).

2. The *Makai Kothars* were the scene of a terrible domestic tragedy in 1896 when Mr. Lester, the District Superintendent of Police for the Panch Mahals, was shot dead by his wife.

the palace of Jayasingh, the last of the Patai Ravals of Champaner, and some covered tanks of water. Here it was that the last Rajput ruler of Pavagadh fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarat Sultan after the ladies in the garrison had performed the awful rite of *jauhar*. At the extreme point of this spur stands a small shrine of *Bhadra Kali*, i.e., the propitious form of the goddess Kali.

The Rajput fortifications and remains on Pavagadh hill might be said to terminate at this plateau where about two-thirds of the ascent is finished. It has to be specially borne in mind that the extensive top plateau of Pavagadh, which stands some 1,500 feet higher, was at the time of Mahmud Begada's conquest unfortified or protected only by a single gate. 'Its defences were originally built by Mahmud's engineers, who, fortifying its approaches with the greatest skill, made it their citadel and named it the *Mauliya* or Lord of the Hill. For a quarter of a mile above the 'Makai Kothars' the ascent is very steep; then comes a natural moat or deep-cut cleft called the *Patiapul*, or wooden bridge, from the movable beams formerly laid across it. After about another quarter of a mile the foot of the scarp of the upper plateau is reached.' Then steps cut in the rock mount the scarp till at last, passing through the Naqar Khana Gate, we enter the Muslim citadel, an oblong plateau about a mile from north to south and a quarter of a mile from east to west with but few trees and covered with some brushwood and huge basalt boulders.[1]

The 'Maulia' or Muslim citadel on the top plateau

The chief object of interest on this very extensive and barren summit of Pavagadh lies to its south in the rocky peak about 250 feet high on which Kalka Mata sits in state. At the top of this peak, which is approached by a steep flight of 226 steps said to have been built by Mahadji Sindhia, stands the temple of the deity just mentioned who has been worshipped for many centuries as the guardian goddess of the hill. The shrine, which is visible from a distance of many

Kalka Mata's temple on the lofty peak of Pavagadh

1. During a very large part of the ascent up the hill a most picturesque view may be obtained of the remains of the Muslim city of Champaner, and especially of the stone citadel built by Mahmud Begada, the Jami Masjid, the Lila Gumbaz and other mosques, and further off the Bada Sarovor and several other reservoirs. The thick woods add to the beauty of the landscape.

miles in the plains below, is no doubt very ancient, being mentioned as a place of pilgrimage under the rulers of Anhilvad Patan.[1] But the present building, a room with eight pillars and paved with marble, is probably of a much later date and built after the capture of the hill in 1727 by the son of Kanthaji Kadam during the early Maratha invasions of Gujarat. On the roof of the temple stands the tiny shrine of Sadan Shah, a Muslim saint still held in respect. A most commanding view of the plains below the hill for several miles round may be obtained from Sadan Shah's lofty shrine which crowns Pavagadh.

The *Nav Lakh Kothars* and other remains

Coming down the steps of Kalka Mata's rocky peak, and turning to the west of the extensive plateau, the path skirts the edge of the hill overlooking the valley and passes along the brink of precipices scarped in many places right down to the plain. Here may be seen a massive brick building called the *Nav Lakh Kothars*, or 'Nine Lakh Granaries', which overlooks a tremendous precipice. This is a very unpretentious structure of which four chambers with their cupolas survive, the rest being in ruins. These domed chambers served during the last century as a pleasant resort for officials in summer to avoid the great heat of the plains. Among other antiquities on the 'Mauliya' plateau are the remains of the Dudhiya[2] reservoir and other ponds, and on the east some small but finely carved Jain temples of considerable antiquity. Some fifty years ago the plan of converting this fortress into a very comfortable sanatorium for the hot weather was under consideration, the only drawback being that the winds blow so fiercely during summer on this lofty top plateau that nothing but structures with a domed roof could stand their force. The idea, however, appears not to have materialised.[3]

1. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says : 'Kalka Bhawani's temple is on the summit of Mount Pawa, and on the top of that temple is a shrine which is that of Sadan Shah, and the Brahmans consider that place one of the chief places of worship'. (See *Supplt. to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 128).

2. So called because of the milky colour of its waters. These are said to be almost icy cold even in summer.

3. The account of Pavagadh and its fortifications and remains in the text is based very largely on the Bombay Gazetteer, III, *Kaira and Panch Mahals*, 185-91 (plan on p. 196). See also J. W. Watson's paper 'Historical Sketch of the Hill Fortress of Pavagadh', in *Indian Antiquary*, VI (1877), 1-9.

Pavagadh remained under Muslim sway for well-nigh two centuries and a half, and on the decline of the Mughal Empire in Gujarat it fell into the hands of the Marathas, first under the son of Kanthaji Kadam in 1727 and later under Mahadji Sindhia. The latter considered it a place of the greatest consequence, and, therefore, kept a strong garrison in it, the *Killedar* making a large profit by taxing the pilgrims who come annually from all parts of Gujarat and Malwa to visit the shrine of Kali Mata on the hill. On September 17, 1803, during the second Maratha War, the fort was taken from Daulat Rao Sindhia by a small detachment of the Bombay army under Colonel Woodington,[1] but was returned to Sindhia at the conclusion of peace in the commencement of 1804 and remained in his hands till it was made over to the British Government in 1853.

Pavagadh under the Marathas

An interesting reference to Pavagadh and Halol at the end of the eighteenth century by the well-known administrator and diplomatist Charles Warre Malet[2] deserves to be mentioned. In 1785 Malet was sent by the Bombay Government on a mission to the great Mahadji Sindhia, whose court was at Ujjain and who was at this time the most powerful sovereign in India, to gain his consent to a permanent Resident being appointed at the Court of Poona. The embassy left Surat on the 15th March 1785 and proceeded by Baroda and Halol into Central India. The following extract from Malet's Diary, giving his impressions, forms interesting reading. The entry was made when after leaving Jarode he was encamped at Halol, 'the first place subject to Mahadji Sindia since leaving the Broach pargana':

Mr. Malet on the 'stupendous mountain' of Pavagadh, 1785

1. Capt. W. Miles was attached to Col. Woodington's force and was left in the city with a detachment in 1803.

2. Sir Charles Malet (1753?-1815) entered the service of the E. I. Company at an early age and in 1785 he was appointed resident minister at Poona at the Peshwa's court. He negotiated in June 1790, under the instructions of Lord Cornwallis, a treaty of alliance between the Company, the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu Sultan, and for his services in this respect he was created a Baronet—24th Feb. 1791. He was later for some time Acting Governor of Bombay, an office which he held until 1798, when he returned to England. He left eight sons, two of whom held high office under the Bombay Government and served with much distinction in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Sind, besides Bombay city, one in the army and the other in the Civil Service.

'*Halol, Saturday, 26th* (1785)—Reached this place after 7 a.m., 10¾ miles; the road good; the country beautiful, richly wooded and intersected with numerous little rivers, some of which at this advanced season of the year had water in them. Halol is a large village, now about six miles from Champaner, formerly the capital of Gujarat, and of which Halol was then a part of the suburbs. It has plenty of wells, and a large tank, in which there was no water. Champaner is at the foot of the stupendous mountain of Powaghur, a fortress formed principally by nature, having at various spaces large intervals of scarped perpendicular rock, the vacancies of which are supplied with masonry; the ascent is peculiarly difficult and practicable only to footmen. At the very summit of the mountain is a pagoda and a sepulchre of a Mahomedan Saint named Peer Sujan Ser Must (Pir Sadan Shah). In the ascent I observed an artificial passage over an immense chasm. The top is well supplied with water by a tank.

'This place, which appears so totally inaccessible, was taken by surprise by Humayun from Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat'.[1]

The Sultan invests Pavagadh for twenty months, 1482-84

Turning now to the history of Sultan Mahmud's expedition, we find that in 1482, in consequence of an unusual drought, famine prevailed in Gujarat and many thousands perished. The Sultan's officer in the Baroda territory carried out a plundering raid in the Champaner country in search of supplies, but he was driven back with great loss by the Raja. The incident was seized upon by Mahmud as a pretext for the invasion of Champaner. On his arrival at Baroda, he was met by several envoys from the Raja who offered peace and submission, but the king declined all negotiations except 'by the sword and the dagger'. Raval Jayasingh, thereupon, betook himself to his mountain-fortress, and determined

1. G. W. Forrest, 'Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc., preserved in the Bombay Secretariat', Maratha Series (1885), I, 490.

to defend it to the last.[1] The Sultan began the investment of Champaner, which lasted, with many vicissitudes, for over twenty months, during which he superintended in person the construction of elaborate trenches, or 'covered ways', which were gradually extended from his camp to the base of the fortress.[2]

During the course of the investment, Raval Jayasingh, despairing of success, sent his minister to Mandu to the court of Sultan Ghias-ud-din, promising to pay him one lakh of silver *tankas* for every day's march that he should make in coming to his help. The Malwa ruler accepted the terms and marched out with his army as far as Nalcha. Mahmud Begada, leaving the conduct of the siege to his officers, proceeded with his troops to the Malwa frontier; but, on arriving at Dohad, he was informed that Ghias-ud-din had abandoned his design on being reproached by the Qazis and other learned men of his court for going to help an infidel. Mahmud, thereupon, returned to the siege of Pavagadh, and caused a mosque to be built in his military lines as a token of his firm resolve not to desist from the siege until he had taken the fortress.

The Raval's appeal to the Malwa Sultan

At length the trenches were completed, and the Sultan decided to carry Pavagadh by storm. Being informed that the main body of the Rajputs left the fort through a sally-port every morning to perform their ablutions, he ordered Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, to keep ready at daybreak for the charge (November 21, 1484). As soon as the Rajputs had left the walls, the Muslims overpowered the guards and rushed in. About the same time Malik Ayaz Sultani (later on the semi-independent governor of Sorath)

The Fort taken by storm—the Rajputs perform the *jauhar*

1. According to *Firishta*, a pitched battle was fought between Raval Jayasingh and the Sultan's army before the fort of Pavagadh was invested. The Rajput army is said to have numbered 60,000 and was defeated with heavy loss, after which the Raja retired to his formidable hill-fortress. (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 67).

2. During the long period of the investment of Pavagadh, the Sultan continued to plunder the country of the Raval 'so that there remained no town, no village, no house, of which the money was not taken into the royal treasury, the cloths and stuffs into the royal storehouses, the beasts into the royal stables, and the corn into the royal granaries and kitchens'. (*Camb. Hist. of India*, III, 310).

escaladed with a small party the western wall of the fort, where a breach had been made by a gun, and obtained possession of the main gate. The Rajputs, who had lost heavily in these assaults, retired to the palace enclosure and prepared for the *jauhar*,[1] that awful act of sacrifice so often recorded in Hindu annals. They made a funeral pyre within the walls, and bringing to it their wives, their children, and their property, consumed them all in a dreadful holocaust. Malik Ayaz had by this time opened the gates and admitted the main body of the Muslim army, which entered with the king and obtained possession of the ramparts. Mahmud then delivered the final charge against the palace enclosure. The Rajputs, seven hundred in number, cast aside all defensive armour, bathed, and charged the enemy with their swords and spears, and fought till they fell.

Fate of Raval Jayasingh and his family

The gallant ruler of Champaner and his chief minister Dungarsingh were both wounded and taken captives. The Sultan gave them in charge of Muhafiz Khan to be taken care of until their wounds were healed. After five months, on being restored to health, they were brought before the king who asked them to embrace the Muslim faith. Both of them refused, and, as they had thus publicly rejected Islam, the *Ulama* ordered their execution. The Raval's head was struck off and exposed on a gibbet. The minister Dungarsingh, wresting a sword from a soldier, killed one of the Sultan's relatives named Shaykhan bin Kabir at one blow, but was overpowered and slain (1485). The two daughters of the Raval were admitted into the Sultan's harem, and his son given in charge of a high nobleman to be adopted as his child and educated and brought up as a Musalman. He received the name of Malik Husain

1. The terrible sacrifice known as the *jauhar*, by which the Rajputs invariably destroyed their wives and daughters rather than permit them to fall into the hands of the Muslims, has been often recorded in Rajput annals. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in his latest work on Akbar, says: 'Sir George Grierson permits me to announce that he has discovered the etymology of the word *jauhar*. It is the Prakrit *jauhara* representing the Sanskrit *jatugriha*, the 'lac-house' of inflammable material in which their enemies tried to burn the Pandavas alive (*Mahabh.*, i, chaps. 141-51).' (*Akbar, the Great Moghul*, 72 *n*).

Bahmani, and played an important part during the next reign under the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and became *Amir* of Idar.[1]

Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes, in his *Ras Mala,* quotes a bardic verse which gives the Hindu date of the storming of Pavagadh and which states that six Rajas perished on that date, mentioning the names of the Rajput princes who died fighting for the Patai Raval. The date mentioned is the third of the month of Paush in the Samvat year 1541. This gives us the 21st of December 1484, and agrees very nearly with the date of the final storming of the hill-fortress as given by Firishta. The difference between the two dates is that of a month. We shall give below the version of the bardic poem, amending the now obsolete orthography used by Forbes:

Bardic account of the fall of Pavagadh

'In Samvat fifteen hundred and forty-one,
In the month of Posh, on the third day, the day of the sun,
Six rajas perished. First, Vershi fell,
Then Sarang Jadeja, Karan, and Jethmal.
Survaiyo Chandrabhan for Patai gave his life,
When Mahmud Shah, the great king, took Pawagarh.'[2]

The Patai Ravals of Champaner, who had ruled over Pavagadh for several centuries, were descended from the celebrated Rain Pithora, or Prithviraj, the last Rajput ruler of Old Delhi, who perished on the field of Tarain in 1192 while leading the confederate Hindu hosts against the army of Islam under Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori. Raval Jayasingh had well maintained the honour of his Chauhan ancestors in his last desperate struggle with Mahmud I, and in his refusal, after he was wounded and a prisoner, to barter his religion for his life. Though his kingdom perished, his descendants still hold an honoured place among the Rajput states on the mainland of Gujarat and are represented today by the rulers of Chhota Udaipur and Devgadh Baria. According to bardic accounts, Raisingh, the

Origin of the Chhota Udaipur and Devgadh Baria States

1. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 65-70; Bayley's *Gujarat,* 207-09; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* quoted by Bayley, 210-11; *Arabic History of Gujarat,* I, 27-32; Forbes' *Ras Mala* (Oxford), I, 354-58; *Camb. Hist. of India,* III, 309-10.
2. Forbes' *Ras Mala,* Oxford Ed. I, 356 and *n.*

eldest of the three sons of the last Raja of Champaner, had died during his father's lifetime. His elder son Prithviraj escaped from Champaner, settled at Hamph, a small hamlet on the banks of the Narbada, and founded the state of Chhota Udaipur; while Dungarji, the younger son of Raisingh, was the founder of the state of Devgadh Baria. In this wild country Prithviraj and his descendants levied tribute from a large part of Eastern Gujarat; and in later days, when the authority of the Sultans of Ahmadabad declined, they were able to extend their power and to move their headquarters to Mohan in a richer and less isolated part of the country. The state of Chhota Udaipur is sometimes also called Mohan because it had for some period its capital at that place. It was only as late as the early years of the eighteenth century that the capital of the state was removed to its present site on the banks of the river Or.

Foundation of Muhammadabad-Champaner

Delighted with the climate of Champaner, Mahmud transformed this ancient Hindu city into a Muslim capital, renamed it Muhammadabad, and gave it the honorific mint-epithet of *Shahr-i-Mukarram*, or 'the illustrious town.'[1] He erected an outer wall round the city, and constructed the enclosure which is called the Bhadra or Citadel. Within the city he built a palace and a beautiful Jami Masjid, and in a short time the nobles and wealthy merchants came to settle there and many great buildings were erected. The Sultan laid out extensive gardens on the outskirts of the new capital, which were adorned by the skill of a native of Khurasan with fountains and cascades. Champaner territory is said to have excelled in fruit-trees of all kinds, particularly the delicious mango, and sandalwood trees were found to be so abundant that their timber was used by the Musalmans for building their houses.[2] Muhammadabad-Champaner, as we may call the new city, rose in this reign to the dignity of one of the mint-towns of the Saltanat, and for the next fifty years it was regarded as the political capital of Gujarat. The disorders consequent upon the death of Sultan Bahadur in 1537 precipitated the decay of the city. Its decline from this date

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 31. 2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 212.

appears to have been very rapid, for the historian Sikandar, writing about 1611, seventy-five years after the death of Bahadur, says:

> "Blessed be Allah! Is this Champaner—now the abode of the tiger and the lion? Its buildings are ruined and its inhabitants have given their property to the winds of destruction. Even its waters are poisoned, and its air such that it deprives the human frame of its strength. Thorns grow now where flowers bloomed, and where gardens smiled there is jungle dense and frowning, and there is neither name nor trace of sandalwood trees. Of a truth, the Quranic saying has here been illustrated: 'Everything on earth shall perish except the face of thine glorious and gracious Lord.' "[1]

Such was Muhammadabad-Champaner in 1611. In the same desolate condition it remains to this day, and we may well apply to it the lines written in connection with a far more famous and more ancient city,

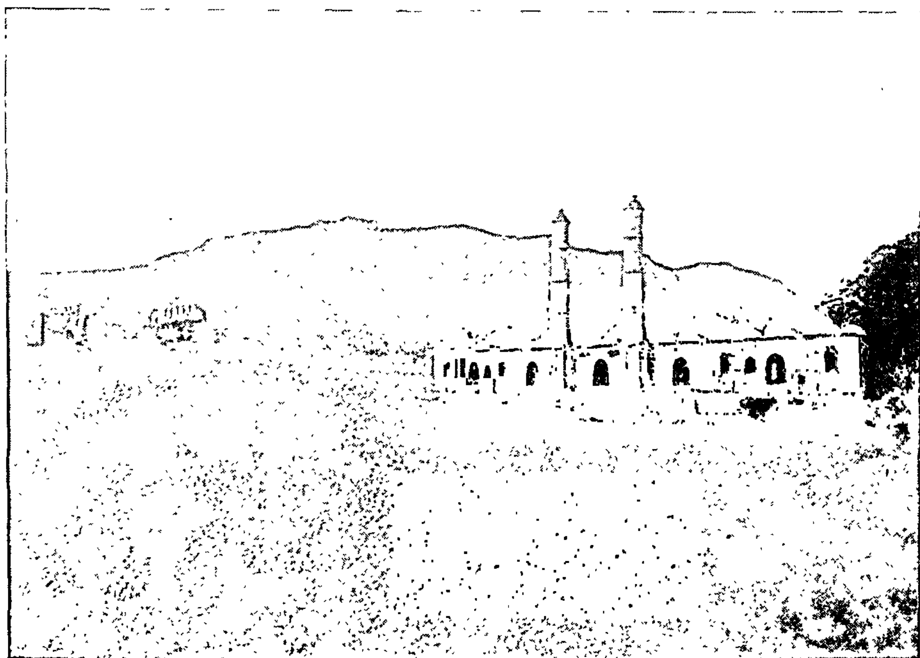
> 'They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
> The Court where Jamshid gloried and drank deep.'

Causes of the decline of Muslim Champaner

The importance of Muhammadabad-Champaner in the days of its prosperity may be judged from the fact that its ruins extend almost to the town of Halol about three and a half miles north-west of Pavagadh hill. The causes which, within the short period mentioned above, sapped the life-blood of the city, and turned it from a flourishing and populous capital into a desert, may be briefly considered. During the half century that followed Mahmud's conquest (1484—1535) the close connection between Gujarat and Malwa had favoured the city's growth, and the safety with which their treasures could be stored in its impregnable hill-fort had given the city a special value in the Sultans' eyes. In 1535, however, the city was pillaged by the Emperor Humayun during his temporary occupation of the province. Bahadur's death early in 1537, followed by the transfer of the court and capital to Ahmadabad, prevented Muhammadabad-Champaner from regaining its former position. Being off the main lines of traffic, the loss

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 68-9.

The Citadel of Champaner (Muhammadabad) and its Halol Gate built by Mahmud Begada in 1484 (p. 199)



The Bohra-ki (or Sheher-ki) Masjid inside the Citadel of Champaner, with Pavagadh Hill in the background (p. 199)

of Gujarat ascendancy over Malwa took away from the city its chief claim to importance. Its decline from this period was rapid and like the rest of the kingdom it suffered from the civil anarchy and disorders that convulsed the province up to the Mughal conquest.[1] Unlike Ahmadabad and other cities, the establishment of political order and settled government in Gujarat after Akbar's conquest in 1573 brought Champaner no return of prosperity.[2]

The monuments of Champaner—the Citadel

The monuments that still survive amidst the extensive ruins of Muslim Champaner are among the most historic and attractive in Gujarat and deserve to be visited by everyone interested in the antiquities of the province. The most prominent of these is no doubt the Citadel of Mahmud I, named the *Jahanpanah* or 'world-shelter', surrounded by a massive wall of freestone which still remains in excellent preservation. It encloses an area about three-quarters of a mile long and 280 yards broad. The wall is of great strength, about thirty feet high, with bastions at regular intervals, and it has now been cleared of the creepers and clinging trees with which it was overgrown fifty years ago. One of its gates is to the south, where the line of the wall falls back about 120 feet, and the road into the citadel lies between two lines of wall through a rectangular building, probably a guard room, with double gates. Inside the citadel, not far from this gateway, is the *Shehr-ka-Masjid* or the City Mosque whose low arches are not in the best local style. Near the centre of the fort is the *Mandvi*, or custom-house, a highly finished and well-proportioned structure. The east gate of the citadel, built on the same plan as the south gate, and equally massive, is protected by the same type of guard room.[3] About fifty yards beyond this gate is the noble Jami Masjid, the most beautiful architectural monument among the remains of Muslim Champaner.

1. Bombay Gazetteer, III, 305-06.
2. In Akbar's time Champaner continued to be the head of a sarkar or district of nine mahals or sub-divisions. (Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari, II, 256). *The Mirat-i-Ahmadi* also refers to the sarkar of Champaner with thirteen divisions (Nawab Ali and Seddon's trans. 176-77). By the time of Shah Jahan's reign (1645), so much of the country round the city had lapsed into forest that it became a hunting ground for wild elephants.
3. Bombay Gazetteer, III, 308.

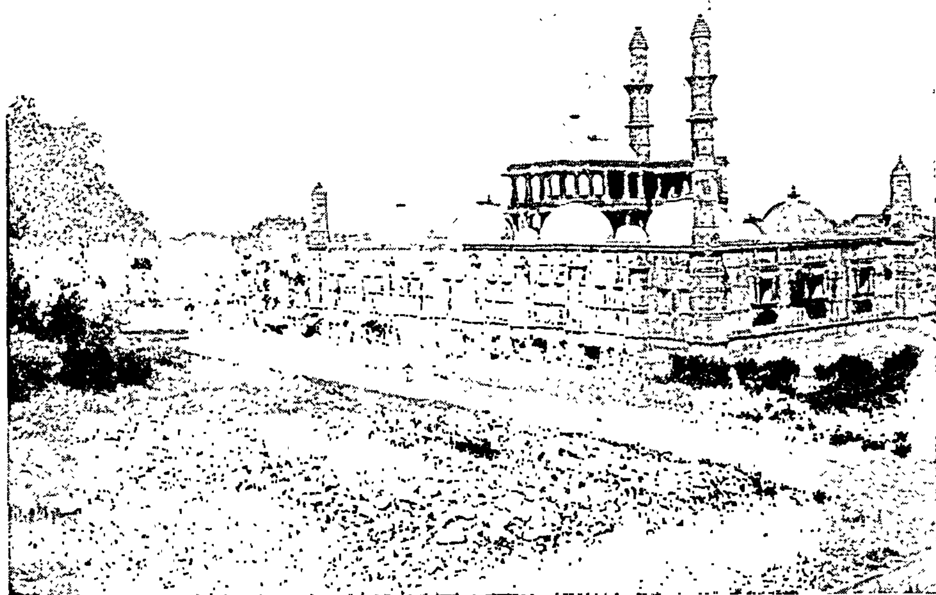
In 1803, when Captain Miles was stationed here after the capture of Pavagadh by the British forces, half the area within the citadel was inhabited by a class of silk-weavers who manufactured *kinkhabs* and similar fine goods, the water of Champaner being noted for giving great durability to the colour of the silks. The place contained at the time about four hundred houses. Even this population has dwindled during the course of the last hundred and thirty years and Champaner is now a small village, its population comprising some Brahman families who minister to the needs of the pilgrims visiting Kalka Mata's temple on the hill, while the rest are mostly Barias or labourers.

Arabic inscriptions in the citadel of Champaner (21st Nov:, 1484)

The opinion generally entertained[1] that no inscriptions are to be found in the few surviving monuments of the lost Muslim capital of Champaner has happily proved to be mistaken, and some valuable historical epigraphs have been brought to light this year by Mr. M. Abdulla Chughtai, a competent oriental scholar from Lahore. The most interesting of these are two in Arabic, carved in bold letters at the top of the imposing 'Godhra' and 'Halol' gates of the citadel of Champaner. Both exhibit the same text with trifling variations, each letter being a foot high and the epigraphs being sixteen feet long. They commemorate the date of the conquest of Champaner by Mahmud I which agrees exactly with that given for the fall of the fortress on the hill by the Persian and Arabic historians. The inscriptions were no doubt put up on the completion of the stone Citadel (called also the Bhadra) which the Sultan erected for the new capital of Muhammadabad-Champaner and which has just been described. The translation of the Arabic text is given below:

> 'He who is confident in God the Benefactor, the defender of the world and of the faith (*nasir-ud-dunya wad din*), Abul Fath Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah bin Ahmad Shah bin Muhammad

1. *The Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, by Burgess and Cousens (1897) no doubt briefly states that 'the east and south Bhadra gates have both inscriptions in Persian' (p. 97). But the text of these has never been published and the reference is probably to the fragments of the inscriptions mentioned in Bom. Gazr., III 308.



The Jami Masjid of Champaner (Muhammadabad) built by Mahmud I Begada, c. 1487–97 (p. 201)

Porch at the entrance to the courtyard of the Jami Masjid at Champaner (p. 202)

Shah bin Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority. Verily, He conferred his favour and kindness upon the world on Sunday, the 2nd of Zil-Qada 889 H (21st November 1484). Written by Shaikh Muhammad bin Ahmad Sultani.'[1]

The famous Jami Masjid at Champaner

Outstanding among the monuments of Champaner is the magnificent Jami Masjid, described by Fergusson as architecturally the finest in Gujarat,'[2] and without doubt second to none among the mosques of this province. One of the most attractive features of the edifice is to be found in three tiers of columns rising one above the other and supporting the central dome, with beautifully carved balconies between the tiers. There are five arched entrances—the central one being, as usual, the loftiest. On each side of it rise the minars to a height of 100 feet elaborately carved up to the level of the vertex of the central doorway. The top of one of these has been shattered by a cannon shot wantonly fired at it by the tyrant Patankar, Sindhia's governor in 1812.[3] No less than 172 pillars are to be found on the floor of the masjid, so arranged as to provide for eleven large domes—four along the front and back and three along the central line.

Sir J. Marshall on the mosque: its date 1508-09

The eminent archaeologist Sir John Marshall is of opinion that 'for perfection of detail and sheer decorative beauty the Jami Masjid and other mosques at Champaner can challenge comparison with almost any Muhammadan building in the East'. He adds, however, that they fail conspicuously in point of synthetic unity.[4] The central tablet over the pulpit containing the main inscription is gone, but two oblong mural tablets on either side remain, each engraved with a verse from the Quran. According to Firishta, the lost inscription in this

1. The inscription has kindly been translated by Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar of Gujarat College, Ahmadabad.
2. *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 242.
3. Bombay Gazetteer, III, 309.
4. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 612-13. Sir John adds: 'The masjid cannot stand comparison with its older namesake at Ahmadabad when considered as an organic whole, its parts being neither so well proportioned nor so successfully co-ordinated.'

masjid contained the words *Khutbah wa mimbar* ('Prayers and a Pulpit') forming a chronogram for the date of its completion.[1] The numerical value of the Persian letters gives the Hijri year 914, corresponding to A.D. 1508–09. The mosque was thus erected in the last two or three years before the death of Mahmud Begada at the time when the Indo-Saracenic style of Ahmadabad was perhaps at its best.

The court in front of the masjid, though spacious, is not so extensive in area as that of its namesake at Ahmadabad. It is surrounded on three sides by an open corridor with an outer stone wall, now much damaged, which is adorned with perforated lattice windows carved with every variety of patterns. The court is entered from minor porches in the north and south walls, but on the east is a porch of unusual beauty and magnificence, which was in a sadly ruinous condition some fifty years ago but the repairs to which carried out by the Archaeological Department enable us to admire its architectural merits and its rich carving. Full archaeological details about this monument at Champaner will be found in James Burgess's *Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat.*[2]

The arcade and the magnificent East porch

But the Jami Masjid, though the most perfect and splendid, is by no means the only one of the monuments of Muslim Champaner that have been preserved from decay and ruin by the labours of the Archaeological Survey of India. About a third of a mile to the north of the citadel is the beautiful Nagina Masjid, or the Jewel Mosque, built of very pure white stone. To the west of this building, the minarets of Bava Man's masjid stand out from the trees. It is named after a very popular saint in Baroda and a follower of Sadan Shah whose shrine stands on the highest peak of Pavagadh. Among other mosques may be mentioned those popularly known as the Kevda and the Khajuri Masjids and the Lila Gumbaz. In the absence of any inscription tablets, the names of their builders and the dates at which they were constructed

Other masjids at Champaner

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 70.
2. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat*, 41-43.

will probably never be known. About a mile and a half east of the Citadel, on the bank of the Great Lake, or the *Bada Talav,* stand the ruins of the Sultan's palace and of a mosque. Besides the religious monuments mentioned above and which are now in excellent preservation, the forest in which the old city of Champaner lies buried, is 'for miles round strewn with massive wells, minarets, mouldering tombs, and solitary arches, all that is left of the suburbs, gardens and palaces that adorned the city of Mahmud Begada'.[1]

The City-Walls and other remains

But the remains of Muslim Champaner have not yet been exhausted, and for those which are still to be mentioned we cannot do better than follow closely the description given in the Bombay Gazetteer. About two and a half miles beyond Halol on the way to Champaner stands the shrine of Khan Pir, a saint held in honour by the Tais or Muslim weavers. To the north-east of this tomb, a few hundred yards away, is seen what is popularly known as the 'Ek Minarka Masjid' or the One Minaret Mosque, and half a mile to the south close to Pavagadh hill there is another small mosque called the 'Panch Mahudaka Masjid' or the Mosque of the Five Mahuda trees. About three-quarters of a mile beyond Khan Pir's tomb a bare lonely stone arch, once the west gate of Champaner, comes in view. To the right, before passing through the arch, is a square pond, once surrounded by masonry steps, and filled from the hill above by a massive stone drain of which traces still remain. The lake is commonly known as the *Kasbin Talav,* or the Coutezan's Pond. But the real builder was Shakar Khan, a Pathan of Champaner, whose stone tomb, with finely cut windows and handsome dome, stands at one corner. But no account of the remains of Champaner can be complete which did not mention the extensive city-walls which, like those of Ahmadabad, cover a circumference of several miles, and the ruins of which are in evidence in every direction, some of these being found on the lower spurs of Pavagadh and joining the battlements of that fortress.[2]

1. Bombay Gazetteer, III, 309.
2. *Ibid.,* 307-08.

During the remaining twenty-five years (1485–1511) of his long reign Sultan Mahmud was engaged at intervals in several military operations which are not so well-known when compared with the great campaigns which occupied the first half of his reign. Some of these are sufficiently important to be described. During the years 1491 to 1494 the Sultan's attention was drawn by the piracies on the Gujarat coast of Bahadur Gilani, a nobleman of the Bahmani kingdom in revolt against his master. The greatness of this monarchy came to an end with the unjust and cruel murder of the celebrated minister Mahmud Gavan,[1] and Bahadur, who had been a *protégé* of that minister, broke out in rebellion at the port of Dabhol and soon became master of the whole of the Konkan. He extended his depredations on the coast further to the north so that ships from the port-towns of Gujarat were at his mercy and some of the Sultan's own vessels were captured. One of Bahadur's officers, an Abyssinian named Yaqut, is said by Firishta to have attacked Mahim, near Bombay, with a fleet of twelve ships, and to have sacked and burnt the place. These insults to his authority were not likely to be tolerated by a ruler so powerful as Mahmud and he decided to take strong action.

Incursions of Bahadur Gilani on the Gujarat coast, 1491-94

It appears that one expedition sent under Safdar Khan failed disastrously, and the Sultan sent another by land against Dabhol under Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, while he also despatched a well-equipped fleet of three hundred vessels by sea to co-operate with the land army. When Kiwam-ul-Mulk reached the borders of Gujarat at Agashi and Bassein he halted and sent word to the king that he could not attack Gilani without trespassing into the territory of the

Mahmud's expedition to the Konkan

1. The celebrated Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, who was murdered, on April 5, 1481, by his master in a fit of drunken frenzy, was seventy-eight years of age at the time of his death and had served the Bahmani dynasty with conspicuous ability for thirty-five years. As a minister he has left an imperishable name in the Deccan, being generous, charitable, learned and accomplished. He was a native of the province of Gilan in Persia and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. Three letters written by him to Mahmud Shah Begada, in the name of his master Muhammad Shah Bahmani, are still extant (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 217 *n*; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 420).

Deccan ruler. Meanwhile, the ships sent under Safdar-ul-Mulk had met with a severe gale off the coast of Mahim, and, being stranded, were taken by the enemy, the admiral himself being made a prisoner. Sultan Mahmud now sent an envoy to the court of the Deccan sovereign requesting him to suppress the marauder. This formal complaint roused the feeble Bahmani government to action, and Qasim Barid, its minister, led a campaign against the rebellious nobleman with the result that, after some protracted operations, Gilani was defeated and slain. Safdar-ul-Mulk was released from prison and the ships which had been captured on the Gujarat coast were restored to their owners. The admiral sailed from Mahim for the north carrying valuable gifts for the Gujarat Sultan from the feeble Bahmani ruler.[1]

Mahmud I instals his candidate on the throne of Khandesh, 1508

Towards the end of his long reign of over 53 years Sultan Mahmud was involved in a disputed succession in the neighbouring kingdom of Khandesh. The Faruqi rulers of Khandesh, whose headquarters were first at Thalner[2] and later at Burhanpur, had always regarded the king of Gujarat as their natural protector and had paid him tribute; they had also invariably married princesses of the royal house of Gujarat. In 1501, Adil Khan II, one of the greatest and most powerful rulers of Khandesh, died. Proud of his conquests, he had scorned dependence and had omitted to send the usual tribute, till a demonstration of force by the Begada, in 1499 or 1500, brought him to his allegiance. After his death in 1501, his brother Daud Khan succeeded him though Mahmud Begada had pressed the claims of his own grandson Alam Khan, who was a scion of the Faruqi dynasty. On the death of the feeble and reckless Daud in 1508 after an inglorious reign, Mahmud invaded Khandesh to place his grandson on the throne. There were at this juncture two parties in that kingdom, one of which supported the claims of a candidate put forward by Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmad-

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 218-20; Briggs' *Firishta*, 71-72.
2. Thalner is now a village in the Shirpur taluka of the West Khandesh district, Bombay, being situated on the Tapti river, 28 miles north-east of Dhulia. At the end of the fourteenth century, Malik Raja Faruqi, the founder of the dynasty, chose it as his capital. Four of the Faruqi rulers of Khandesh are buried at Thalner (Imp. Gazr., XXIII, 287).

nagar. The display of force by Sultan Mahmud broke up the other party, and the king of Gujarat held a court at Thalner and installed his candidate on the throne of Khandesh with the title of Adil Khan III. The new ruler cemented his alliance with Gujarat by marrying a daughter of Mahmud's son Prince Khalil Khan, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Gujarat as Sultan Muzaffar II.[1]

Last days of Mahmud I

Mahumud Begada's reign of fifty-three years was now drawing to a close. An account of the naval conflicts at Chaul and Div in 1508–9 with the Portuguese has been reserved for a separate chapter in which we shall discuss at some length the details of the first contact between the Sultans of Gujarat and the newly-established Portuguese power on the western coast. In 1510 the Sultan returned to Champaner from Thalner, and subsequently left the capital on his last visit to Patan where he held a religious conference with the holy men of the place, saying, 'I have come this time to take leave of you, for I know that the measure of my life is full; pray for me.' He then turned his steps to Ahmadabad, visiting on the way the shrine of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad (Khattu) at Sarkhej. Here, gazing mournfully at his own mausoleum, which he had caused to be built opposite the great saint's resting place, he said, 'This is Mahmud's advanced camp which he will soon occupy.'[2]

The death of the great Begada, Nov. 23, 1511

After arrival at Ahmadabad, the great Sultan fell ill with a mortal disease and lingered on for three months. He sent for the heir-apparent Prince Khalil Khan, who was at his jagir at Baroda, and gave him sound advice asking him to rule with righteousness and justice. As some improvement was found in his condition, the Prince was given permission to return to Baroda. But the illness returned, and, before Khalil Khan could arrive, the Sultan died on the 23rd November 1511. The Prince, however, was in time to help to carry his father's

1. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 313-14; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 51, 55, 57.

2. As usual with Muslim rulers, Sultan Mahmud had his own mausoleum built during his lifetime at Sarkhej, opposite the saint's resting place, and visited it often. Once he had his grave opened and sat near by saying, 'Oh God, this is the first stage of the hereafter; make it easy for me and turn it into a garden of paradise.' The grave was then filled up with silver which was distributed in charity. (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 88).

body to Sarkhej. The Sultan was at the time of his death in his sixty-seventh year and had reigned for over fifty-three years. Only a little before he died he was informed that Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia had sent an embassy to his court headed by Yadgar Beg Qazilbash. The Sultan, who was a staunch Sunni, prayed that he might not have to grant the Shiah ambassador an interview. His wishes were fulfilled, for he died before the Persian embassy entered the city.[1]

Estimate of Mahmud I's reign

During the long and glorious reign of Mahmud Begada the prosperity of the Gujarat Saltanat reached its culminating point. Its extent was no doubt wider under Bahadur, and its revenues perhaps more flourishing: but never again does it appear in such all-pervading splendour among the kingdoms of India as it did during the reign of the first Mahmud. Though inferior in dignity, the Sultan was in reality much more powerful than Sikandar Lodi, ruler of Delhi, and it must have been a matter of no small gratification to him when, in 1510, a little before his death, the Delhi sovereign sent him some presents in token of his friendship and as an acknowledgment of the independent status of the Gujarat ruler.[2] With the exception of the two abortive attempts on the part of the nobles, Mahmud's long reign of over half a century was undisturbed by any domestic treason or internal strife. His iron will and commanding personality would brook no such opposition, and we have not as yet the least sign of that unbridled licence of the nobility, which began some twenty-five years after his death and ultimately paved the way for the decline of the kingdom and foreign invasion.

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 226-27 ; *Arabic History*, I, 87-88.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 226 and *n*.

CHAPTER XVI

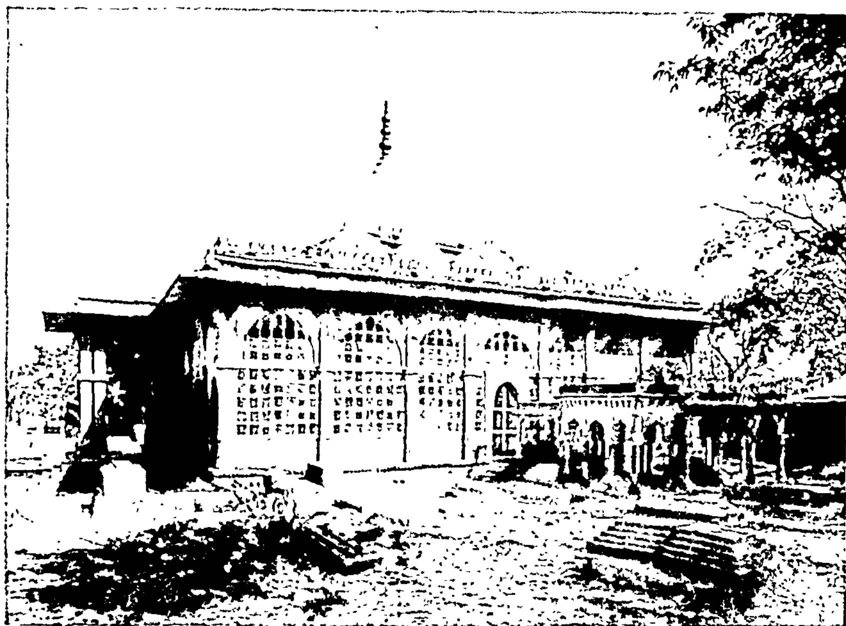
THE NOBLES OF THE COURT OF MAHMUD I AND THEIR MEMORIALS

Career of Saint Shah Alam, 1415–75: His Rauza at Rasulabad built by Tájkhan in 1531–2: The Masjid at this place: Career of Malik Ayaz Sultani: Ayaz as governor of Div: Muhafiz Khan, the grandfather of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*: His Masjid at Ahmadabad and its inscription, 1492: Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk: Davar-ul-Mulk and his shrine at Amran: Bibi Achut Kuki's Masjid at Ahmadabad, 1472.

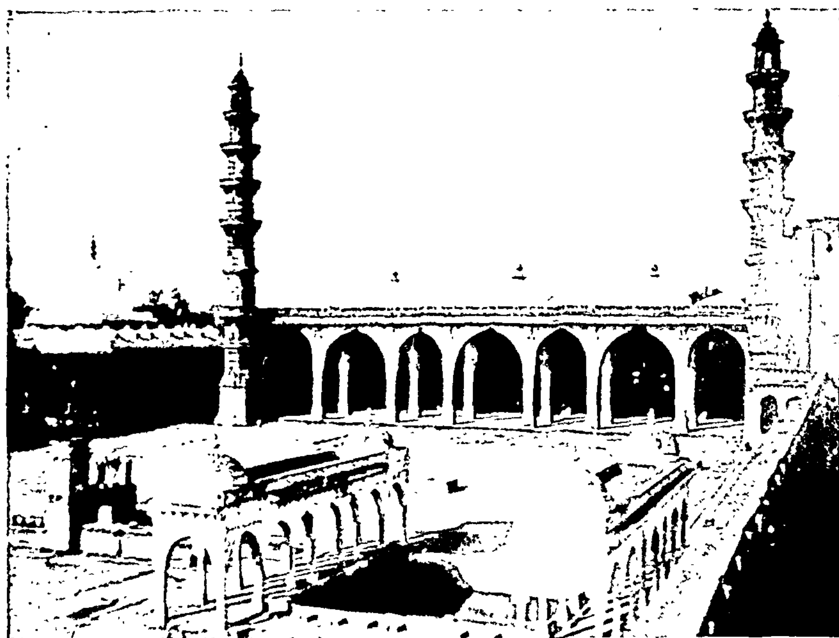
Career of Saint Shah Alam

In 1475, the holy saint Shah Alam 'quitted this transitory life,' and his name still commands, along with that of his father and of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, the pious reverence of the Gujarat Muhammadans. Born in 1415, Hazrat Muhammad Shah Alam Bukhari was sixty years old at the time of his death.[1] He is said to have been the eleventh of the twelve sons of Saiyid Burhan-ud-din Qutb-ul-Alam. On the death of his father in 1453, Shah Alam succeeded to the leadership of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat, and, as the head of the devotees of this school, began to take a very active part in the politics of his day. He appears to have been a man of unbending will and stern disposition, and his marriage, his wealth, and his sanctity combined to give him great political and social influence. At first the friend and spiritual adviser of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, he became the object of the ill-concealed animosity of that Sultan, whose violence, however, failed to injure a man of Shah Alam's personal piety and vast popularity. The last seventeen years of the saint's life were passed in the reign of Mahmud Begada, during which period, as the protector of the Sultan's youth and the husband of Bibi Mughali,

1. Shah Alam was born on the 9th of Zil'Kada H. 817 (18th January, 1415) and died on the 20th Jumada II, H. 880 (21st October 1475)—Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, 372. The date of his death is found in the chronogram *Fakhr* ('Glory') as also in the words *Akhir-ul-Auliya* ('the last of the Saints')—Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 63.



Mausoleum of Saint Shah Alam, built by Taj Khan Narpali at Rasulabad, near Ahmadabad, in 1531–2 (p. 210)



Masjid and other buildings at Rasulabad ('Shah Alam') near Ahmadabad (p. 211)

his prestige must have been at its height and his influence unchallenged. Shah Alam had several sons, one of whom, Shah Bhikan, the son of Bibi Mirki, appears to have died in boyhood.[1] Rasulabad was for many years the residence of Shah Alam, and there he was buried. The place itself is now usually styled 'Shah Alam', and is situated about a mile to the south of Ahmadabad. We shall turn, therefore, to describe the famous group of buildings at this place which were erected at various dates between 1475 and 1570 and which cover an area of about five acres. A Musalman fair is held here every year on the anniversary of the saint's death, and is attended by about 50,000 people from Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The two Rauzas at this site

The principal buildings enclosed within the lofty and bastioned wall at 'Shah Alam' are the two beautiful Rauzas of the saint and his descendants, the Masjid, and the Jamat Khana or Hall of Assembly. The central monument, round which all the rest may be said to be grouped, is the mausoleum of the saint himself. It was raised, long after the saint's death, by Taj Khan Narpali, a nobleman of the court of Bahadur Shah, and is said to have taken ten years to complete. The floor of the central area is paved with black, white and grey marble. Round the sarcophagus is a white marble screen, beautifully carved, about four feet high. The dome of the mausoleum was also at one time richly decorated inside with inlaid mother-o'-pearl. A fuller account of this Rauza and of the inscription in it is given in the next paragraph. At a short distance from the saint's mausoleum is another, on the same plan and scale, which contains the tombs of the Bukhari Saiyids who were directly descended from Shah Alam.[2] Both these monuments are pleasing in design and

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, op. cit., 35-37.
Shah Alam received the Sufistic robe at the early age of seventeen from Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh of Sarkhej. His descendants came to be known as the 'Shahia' Saiyids to distinguish them from those of his brothers who were called 'Qutbia' Saiyids. The saint left five sons and four daughters. After the Mughal conquest of Gujarat, the descendants of Shah Alam, though Shiahs, continued to be held in high esteem by the Emperors from the time of Akbar to the accession of Aurangzeb.

2. The central grave in this second mausoleum is that of Saiyid Muhammad Maqbul Alam, the sixth in lineal descent from Shah Alam. Over this

retain to a great extent the character of the local Ahmadabad style of the period. On the domes of both are tall metal finals terminating with the pipal leaf—the *cognizance* of the rulers of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty.

The Rauza of Shah Alam built by Taj Khan in 1531-32

The famous mausoleum at Rasulabad which enshrines the remains of Saint Shah Alam is perhaps the most beautiful monument of its type at Ahmadabad with its well-proportioned dome, its trellised corridors in every variety of design, and its marble railing round the central tomb. It was constructed nearly half a century after the death of the saint according to the chronogram given in the inscription on the marble tablet inserted above the entrance to the Rauza. The epigraph is in Persian and craved in relief in mixed *Shikastah* script. After several turgid opening verses we come to the historical reference which is to the effect that the mausoleum was built by the famous noble of Bahadur Shah's reign who had the title of Majlis-i-Sami Khan-i-Azam Taj Khan in the year 1531–32.

The inscription in the mausoleum

As this inscription has not yet been published[1] or rendered into English, a translation may be given below:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate and the merciful. Since Rasulabad is a place as delightful as heaven, come and see therein the Elysian sights. O ye, who cherish the desire of descrying the garden of paradise, behold the illuminated Rauza of Shah-i-Alam, the moon of the universe. Since it is compared to one of the gardens of paradise it is clean and perfumed like the abode of peace (dar-ul-aman), i.e., Mecca. On all its sides there blossom different kinds of roses and every moment fragrant breezes blow from their direction. . . . The grove of trees

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grave, upon a stone tablet, are the footprints of the prophet (*qadam-i-rasul*), which are specially honoured on the *bara wafat*, the anniversary of the death of Muhammad the Prophet.

1. A few opening verses of this epigraph, which is described 'as a wretched doggerel composition', have been given by Burgess and Cousens in the *Revised Lists* (p. 305). The statement that it 'contains no date nor information of any kind' is, however, disproved by the translation given above.

gives it an extensive shade, and the soul of every one who comes under it cries out, 'How delightful is this!' And whosoever beholds this pure dome thinks that it is made of bored pearls or that it is light embodied. By its side stands a pure and excellent reservoir of clear water which is called *mustafa-sar, i.e.,* the chosen tank, and it would be proper if the interpreting tongue called it *Kausar.*[1] Its builder is Abdul Latif, the son of Burhan, whose title is Majlis-i-Sami Khan-i-Azam Taj Khan, the fame of whose generosity has spread over the world and who is a devoted disciple of this threshold. As long as there remain the favours and the blessings of the saints in this world may his pure being be favoured with the grace of God. If any one asks you about the date of its completion, O Yahya, say, 'Just like the garden of paradise (*ham chun jannat-ul-firdaus.*)' "

This chronogram gives the Hijiri year 938, or A.D. 1531–32, when Sultan Bahadur Shah was reigning in Gujarat.

The Masjid and the Jamat Khana

The Masjid at 'Shah Alam,' which is of a much later date, is said to have been erected by Mahammad Salih Badakhshi. The minarets at either end were begun by another noble Najabat Khan early in the seventeenth century, and completed after his death by a third. The mosque partakes of the usual type of such buildings in other parts of India, and can scarcely be said to belong to the Ahmadabad style. The interior, however, is well worthy of study by those who have not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the grander examples of this form of construction at Agra and Delhi. The remaining building of importance in the sacred enclosure is the Diwan Khana, or Assembly Hall, the first erection of which is ascribed to an early period but it was restored by Muzaffar Shah III, the last of the Sultans of Gujarat (1560–73). It

1. A lake in the Prophet's paradise known as the *Hauz-ul-Kausar,* or 'the Pond of Abundance,' the circumference of which is said to have been a month's journey. Its waters are described as whiter than milk, its smell sweeter than musk, and its cups for drinking sparkling like the stars of heaven. (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam,* 262).

is stated that when General Goddard besieged Ahmadabad in February 1780, during the war with the Marathas, this hall was partly destroyed to furnish materials for the siege.[1]

Tomb of the viceroy Saif Khan (d. 1640) at 'Shah Alam'

Among the less important monuments in the sacred enclosure at Shah Alam may be mentioned the tomb of Saif Khan who was the Mughal Subahdar or Viceroy of Gujarat during 1635–6. It appears that after he delivered over his high office to his successor Azam Khan, he continued to reside in the province and died at Ahmadabad in 1640. He was a follower of the 'Shahi' Saiyids and was buried here and his tomb may still be seen to the south of the second great Rauza mentioned above. Saif Khan built, or rather enlarged, the *Jamat Khana* or *Assembly Hall* adjoining the Saint's mausoleum, and we are told that the gilded decoration in the dome of the latter monument, which once existed, was also provided by his piety.[2] All the ground round about his tomb is a graveyard or *qabrgah,* for it is esteemed a privilege by religious Muslims to be buried near the tombs of such holy *pirs* as Shah Alam.

History of the Shah Alam *Waqf*

Liberal endowments had, no doubt, been settled by the Ahmadabad Sultans for the maintenance of the tombs and the mosque at 'Shah Alam.' But, in spite of the severity of Muslim law for the protection of these *waqf* endowments, the income was usually alienated by the trustees. A century after the extinction of the Gujarat Saltanat, we find the Shah Alam rauza in need of support, and in 1670 a *sanad* was granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb assigning several villages for the maintenance of the tomb and its custodians—the Saiyids of Vatva. In 1724, the Gaekwad Trimbakrao Dabhade assigned or confirmed several villages for the same purpose. When, however, Gujarat came under British control, in 1818, most of these villages seem to have been again alienated or sold. In 1867, the Government of Bombay sanctioned a large sum of money

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1. H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, 322.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 210. This Saif Khan appears to have been wrongly identified by Dr. J. Burgess with a noble of the same name in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II. Cf. *Ahmadabad Architecture*, II, 21.

for repairs at 'Shah Alam', 'because of the remarkable architecture of these structures,' and made provision for their upkeep. The initiative in this matter was taken in 1862–3 by Sir Barrow H. Ellis, then Revenue Commissioner.[1]

The nobles of Mahmud's Court

We are indebted to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* for a detailed account of the careers of the principal nobles who flourished in the reign of Mahmud Begada. The memory of many of them is still preserved in the names of several of the wards and suburbs of Ahmadabad, and in the beautiful mosques which their religious piety led them to erect. It must not, however, be forgotten that the elaborate additions made by them to the architecture of the capital and its environs were in no small measure the result of royal patronage and influence.

(a) Malik Ayaz Sultani

The name of Malik Ayaz Sultani has already been noticed in connection with the final assault on Pavagadh (1484), and the first naval conflict with the Portuguese in 1507. Originally a purchased slave, he rose to the command of provinces and unlimited wealth and became the most distinguished among the nobles of the time.

Some information about the early career of this remarkable person is given to us by the Portuguese historian Joao De Barros. It appears that Ayaz was by birth a Russian who was made captive by the Turks and taken to Constantinople where he was sold to a merchant who traded with Damascus, Basra and the East. During the course of his business the merchant arrived in Gujarat, and presented his slave, who had given proof of unusual valour and skill in archery, to Sultan Mahmud I, as 'a jewel of great price'. Ayaz was engaged in several of the wars waged by this ruler and secured his emancipation under somewhat unusual circumstances. We learn from Portuguese sources that it happened one day, during an expedition against the Malwa ruler, that a hawk, flying overhead, let fall its droppings on Mahmud I who was standing in the field outside his tent. The king naturally took this as an evil omen, but Ayaz, who was close by, fitted an arrow to his bow, and saw the hawk come down pierced

1. J. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 16-17.

by the shot. The Sultan was delighted and granted him freedom on the spot. From this time the rise of Ayaz, who soon received the title of Malik, was rapid. Being as wise and prudent in council as he was brave on the field, he became one of the foremost officers at the Sultan's court.[1]

Malik Ayaz as Governor of Div

As a further mark of the royal favour, the Sultan conferred upon Malik Ayaz the charge of the town and island of Div, and we find him also mentioned as the governor of Sorath with his headquarters at Junagadh. By his progressive policy, Ayaz made Div soon celebrated for its trade, with the result that he amassed vast wealth even after paying a substantial revenue to the Sultan. As governor of Div he exercised almost regal sway, and did much to fortify and beautify the island. He erected its Fort which was later on reconstructed by the Portuguese when they became masters of the place. He also built a tower in the sea on an under-water rock, and from it drew a massive iron chain (the *sankal kot*) across the mouth of the harbour, so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering. Malik Ayaz further constructed a substantial bridge over the creek which runs into the island. 'During the rule of the Malik,' says Sikandar, 'no Firangi ship dare enter a port of Gujarat. Now-a-days (1611) not a vessel dare leave a port of Gujarat without a pass from the Firangis, except, perhaps, from Surat, and then only by the boldness and gallantry of the crew.'[2]

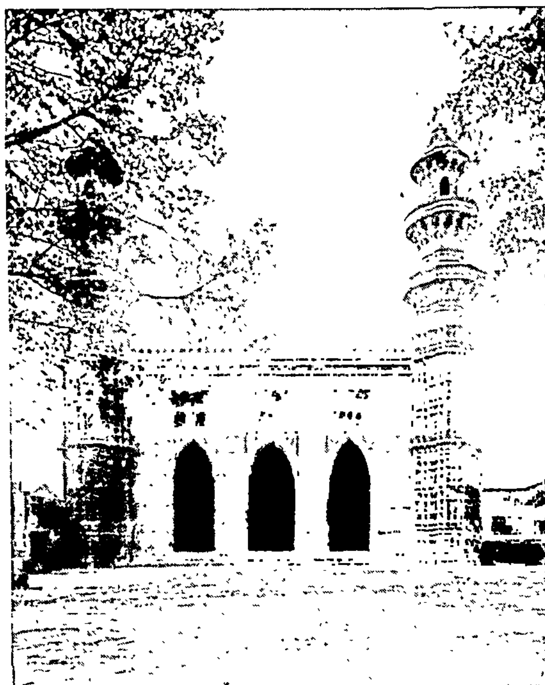
His wealth and boundless liberality

Of the immense wealth and boundless liberality of Malik Ayaz Sultani many stories are related. He had a thousand water-carriers on his establishment, and kept with him a huge reservoir of leather which supplied his army, his horses, and elephants with water when on the march. His retainers, down to the humblest, were clad in velvet and broadcloth and gold brocade; and his table was supplied with the richest and rarest articles of food from every country. It is said that when, in the reign of Muzaffar

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Ed. M. Longworth Dames (Hakluyt Society), I, 130-31 *n*.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 84-85.



Mosque of Bibi Achut Kuki, near Dudheshwar, to the north of Ahmadabad, 1472 (p. 219)



Masjid built by the Vazir Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad, 1492 (pp. 215-16)

Shah II, the king summoned Malik Ayaz from Sorath to help him in the war with Rana Sanga, the Malik, in spite of the marches and the turmoil of war, used to invite all the nobles in the royal camp to dine at his table, and to those who did not turn up he used to send a sumptuous dinner. Several of the Amirs, who considered themselves the equals of the Malik in rank and wealth, were displeased at this assumption of superiority, and ordered their servants not to return the china plates in which the dinner was sent them, hoping that the exhaustion of his stock would compel the Malik to give up his ways. This went on for a month, at the end of which, the Amirs, overcome by his plenty and liberality, sent back the plates.[1]

(b) Muhafiz Khan

The political career of another distinguished noble, Jamal-ud-din Muhammad, who received the title of Muhafiz Khan, has already been described. He is mentioned as Fauzdar and Kotwal at the capital and was on more than one occasion Amir in charge of Ahmadabad during the Sultan's absence. He rose to the dignity of Vazir and *Naib-ul-Mulk* in succession to Khudawand Khan in 1480 and is highly praised for his qualities. Muhafiz Khan was the grandfather of Husam Khan, the celebrated historian, whose work—variously known as the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* and the *Tarik-i-Husam Khani*—has been extensively utilised by Sikandar and Hajji-ad-Dabir for their works on the history of Gujarat. Husam Khan was not only a writer but also played a part in the political history of the reigns of Muzaffar II and Sultan Bahadur.[2]

Muhafiz Khan's Masjid

A minister of Muhafiz Khan's standing and influence could well afford to build a special mosque in the character of a family chapel, and the pretty little masjid that goes by his name still stands as a memento of the great governor of Ahmadabad under Mahmud I. The mosque, which was erected in 1492, is near the Delhi gate, and is in better preservation than any other at Ahmadabad. The minarets are at the extreme ends

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 85-86.
2. Bayley's Gujarat, 192 and *n*; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. Sir E. Denison Ross, I, 21, 25, 27; II, xxviii.

of the building, an arrangement that was at this period coming into fashion. They are among the most richly carved at Ahmadabad, and the panels of rich floral tracery that adorn the three sides of each have been the subject of the greatest ingenuity and care. A beautiful wooden model of this mosque appears to have been made in the last century.[1]

The inscription in the masjid

The back wall of Muhafiz Khan's Masjid contains five marble qiblas, of which the three in the middle are very richly and elaborately carved, and the central one has in its pediment an important inscription from which we learn that the mosque was constructed towards the end of this great nobleman's career. After the usual quotations about masjids from the Quran and the Hadith, the epigraph runs:

> 'This edifice (was completed) in the reign of the Sultan of Sultans, Shams-ul-Muluk wal haq Nasir-ud-dunya wad-din Abul Fath Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, etc., for Jamal-ud-din, the son of Shaikh Muin-ud-din al-Quraishi, who received from the same Sultan the title of Muhafiz Khan,—on the fourteenth of the month of Rajab, in the year eight hundred and ninety seven (12th May, 1492).'[2]

(c) Malik Alim, Khudawand Khan

Another celebrated Amir, who probably stood next in dignity to the Sultan during a great part of the reign, was Malik Alim, Khudawand Khan. He was brother-in-law to the King, having married his sister, a daughter of Sultan Muhammad II. He populated the suburb of Alimpur, to the south of the city of Ahmadabad, and built therein a large mosque. He was eloquent and ready of tongue and conversant with many languages. In archery and at the game of chaugan (polo) he was without an equal. He is said to have introduced from Vijayanagar and the Deccan the seeds of the *kharbuzah* (melon) and the saplings of the fig and of the

1. H. G. Briggs, writing in 1848, says: 'I saw a wooden model made for Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes of the Civil Service, Assistant Judge of the station. I was told it cost upwards of four hundred rupees: it was exquisitely wrought of teak and true to the original.' (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 254).

2. J. Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, II, 78. For a transcript of the Persian text see Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 289.

solid bamboo. Khudawand Khan conspired against the Sultan several times, but was invariably pardoned, for the King used to say, 'If I put Malik Alim to death, or exile him from the country, where in Gujarat can I find a man like him?'[1] He was buried in a rauza at Alimpur (now Dana-Limdi) adjoining his mosque.[2]

(d) Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk

The name of Malik Sarang Sultani, who obtained from the Sultan the titles of Mukhlis-ul-Mulk and Kiwam-ul-Mulk, is perpetuated by one of the city-gates of Ahmadabad, and by the suburb of Sarangpur, to the east of the city-walls, which is still in a most flourishing condition. He and his brother were of Rajput extraction, and being taken captives by the Sultan were forced to accept Islam and soon rose high in his favour. Malik Amir Kamal, the poet, the boon companion of Sultan Bahadur, who was celebrated for his wit and repartee, is said to have been one of the descendants of Malik Sarang.[3] His services have been mentioned in connection with the abortive conspiracy of Khudawand Khan in 1480, and four years later he distinguished himself at the storming of the fort of Champaner. His political career extends beyond this reign, and we find him often mentioned in the reign of Muzaffar II, though under this ruler he proved violent and turbulent. In 1520 he was made governor of Ahmadabad, where he ruled arbitrarily. In 1528 he is reported as put in charge of Div by Sultan Bahadur and probably died an old man soon after that date. It is natural to suppose that Malik Sarang built the quarter of Sarangpur about the time when he was governor of the capital in the time of Muzaffar II. Here also, though the date is unknown, he built the large mosque—the Sarangpur masjid—and the tomb near it, both of which, on completion, must have been among the finest in the city.[4]

The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* has given a long account of the career of Davar-ul-Mulk, a distinguished noble whose original

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 87; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 286-87; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 14.
2. Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists*, 79.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 171, 238.
4. J. Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, II, 28-31.

name was Malik Abdul Latif, and this account is confirmed by the *Ahmadi* which includes him among the saints of Gujarat, for he was not only a soldier but also a man of great piety. After he had been exalted by the Sultan he left his house in the city and built another outside, so that the crowd of men, horses, and elephants on the way to his house should not disturb his neighbours' peace. The revenues which he received from his jagirs were strictly according to Quranic law and many cultivators left their masters, who were ruining their estates, and came to settle under him. Davar-ul-Mulk was a disciple of Saint Shah Alam and owing to his zeal he was selected by Mahmud Begada for the religious wars in Kathiavad and Cutch. The story is related how, while on a campaign against Bhuj, he sternly reprimanded his followers for allowing their horses to graze in the standing crops though for three days neither man nor beast had seen anything to eat.[1]

(e) Davar-ul-Mulk

During the later years of his life, Davar-ul-Mulk was appointed by the Sultan as Fauzdar or *Thanadar* of Ambran[2] in Kathiawar (now in the Navanagar State) to chastise the Rajputs who had not yet submitted to Islam. He fought till he had reduced the *Grasias* of this and the neighbouring districts, but was assassinated by a Rajput on 21st March 1475, and was buried in this town. For centuries he has been venerated as a saint under the name of Shah Daval and his shrine at Ambran has become a centre of pilgrimage. 'It is visited', says the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 'by thousands of people who flock there from every quarter, chiefly from the Deccan and Malwa. The blind, the lame, the paralytic and the needy gather together, and many present themselves with iron rings on their legs or locks on their lips. Prior to the present misrule and anarchy (*c.* 1760) a big fair was held annually, and the author remembers how

His services in Sorath and shrine at Ambran

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 231-33.
2. Ambran is an ancient town situated about eight miles to the north-east of Balambha which is also about eight miles to the north-east of Jodia Bandar under Navanagar. Ambran is the residence of the descendants of the Khavas family of this State.

commodities worth not less than one lakh from Ahmadabad, and horses, oxen and camels from Kathiawar, were brought and sold at that fair. Such fairs are called *medani* by the Gujaratis.'[1] We might add that this ancient town is still celebrated on account of the shrine of this soldier-saint and to this day continues to attract pilgrims. Daval is doubtless a corruption of Davar in his title of Davar-ul-Mulk.[2]

(f) Malik Baha-ud-din: The Bibi Achut Kuki's masjid

Another Amir was Malik Baha-ud-din, entitled Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and Imad-ul-Mulk. In 1466 he was elevated to the dignity of Vazir. In 1480 he stood loyally by the Sultan during the abortive conspiracy of Khudawand Khan and took effective measures to prevent its success. He died in 1481 and was succeeded by Muhafiz Khan as Vazir. He probably built the suburb of Hajipur, to the north of Ahmadabad, on the banks of the Sabarmati. The beautiful mosque at this place, known by the name of Bibi Achut Kuki's, erected in 1472, is attributed to him, but the inscription being defective in parts, the builder's name cannot be identified with certainty.[3] In spite of the exquisite perfection of its tracery-work and the rich beauty of its sandstone, this mosque has not attracted as much attention as it deserves. But it is second to none in finish, and altogether one of the finest examples of the architecture of the period. It exhibits, perhaps, the most perfect development of the mixed style, the Hindu and Saracenic elements being 'so perfectly amalgamated that it requires a practised eye to detect what belongs to the one style, and what to the other'. Bibi Achut Kuki is said to have been the wife of the founder.[4]

(g) Malik Asas, Imad-ul-Mulk

Malik Ain (or Asas), Imad-ul-Mulk, was another noble who populated the suburb of Isanpur which is situated between Rasulabad and Vatva. Hazrat Shah Alam used to call this suburb *Najib-ut-Tarafain, i.e.,* noble on both sides, because to the south of it was Vatva where lies the tomb of Saint Qutb-i-Alam and to the north of it was Rasulabad which was

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppl.*, op. cit., 48.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, *Kathiawar*, 356.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 10; Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, I, 64.
4. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 91.

the residence of Shah Alam. Isanpur was fortified by a wall, and extensive orchards of mangoes, khirnis and palms extended from its limits to the two other suburbs mentioned above. It was also famous for the perfume of the *moghra,* or jasmine, flowers that were planted here. The mosque and tomb of the Malik were situated outside the suburb.[1]

(h) Taj Khan Salar and Haji Kalu

Taj Khan bin Salar was a generous and valiant noble, so much so, indeed, that after his death no other person would accept his title, for his liberality and bravery were not within their power to emulate and they feared injurious comparisons. During the next reign, however, under Sultan Muzaffar II, Taj Khan Narpali, who built the beautiful rauza of Shah Alam, was honoured with this title, and maintained, and even further exalted, its reputation. He also even built Tajpur which is within the city-walls of Ahmadabad on the south side. Another noble was Haji Kalu, Azad-ul-Mulk, a slave of the Sultan, who populated Kalupur to the east of the city, within the walls of Ahmadabad. He and another noble, in 1466, gave asylum to Baha-ul-Mulk who had killed a trooper, and who persuaded two of his retainers to go to the Sultan and say that they were guilty of the murder, and they were executed. When Mahmud came to know of the true facts, he ordered Malik Kalu and the other noble (Malik Haji Imad-ul-Mulk) to be executed in spite of their rank and dignity, while Baha-ul-Mulk the real culprit escaped.[2]

(i) Some other *amirs* of the reign

The career of Malik Shaban, the great minister of the reign of Qutb-ud-din and of the early years of the reign of Mahmud Begada, has already been fully reviewed, as also the monuments at the village of Rakhyal near Ahmadabad connected with his name. So also have we mentioned the dissolute nobleman Darya Khan, who founded Daryapur, and whose huge brick Tomb on the road to the Shahi Bagh has been described at the end of Sultan Qutb-ud-din reign. He was a companion of Sultan Mahmud's youth, as was also Alif

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* 88; Bayley's *Gujarat,* 237; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.,* 15.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* 52, 88-89; *Arabic History,* I, 15, 16, 19.

Khan Bhukai, an Amir of very exalted dignity and a generous soul, who built the great brick masjid and stone-cistern near the town of Dholka, which is one of the largest buildings of this kind in Gujarat. We may mention, in conclusion, two brothers from Khurasan, Azam and Muazzam, both of whom were skilled archers, and who built the mosque between Ahmadabad and Sarkhej with a reservoir which would not hold water. Their brick tomb, in the Pathan style, is situated near the masjid.[1] It is a heavy, gloomy-looking structure of the Tughluq type, and has little in common with the beautiful Indo-Saracenic style of Ahmadabad architecture.

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 89.

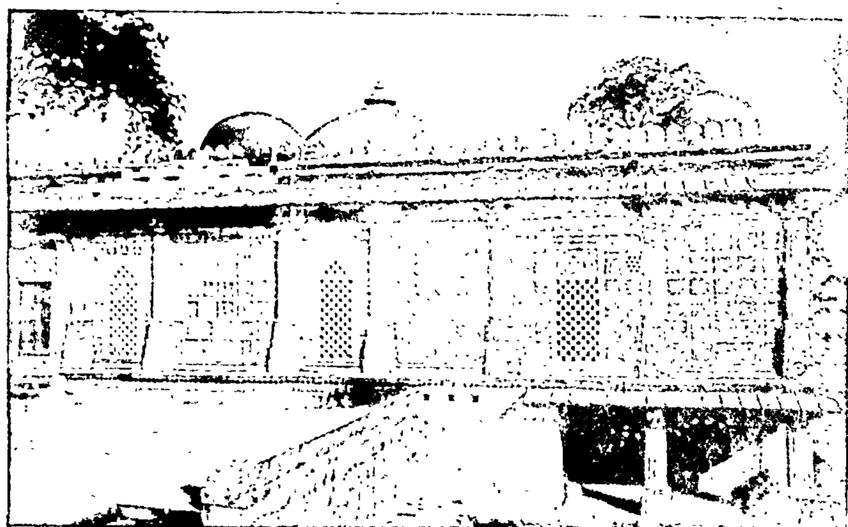
CHAPTER XVII

INTERNAL HISTORY OF MAHMUD BEGADA'S REIGN: HIS PERSONAL HABITS

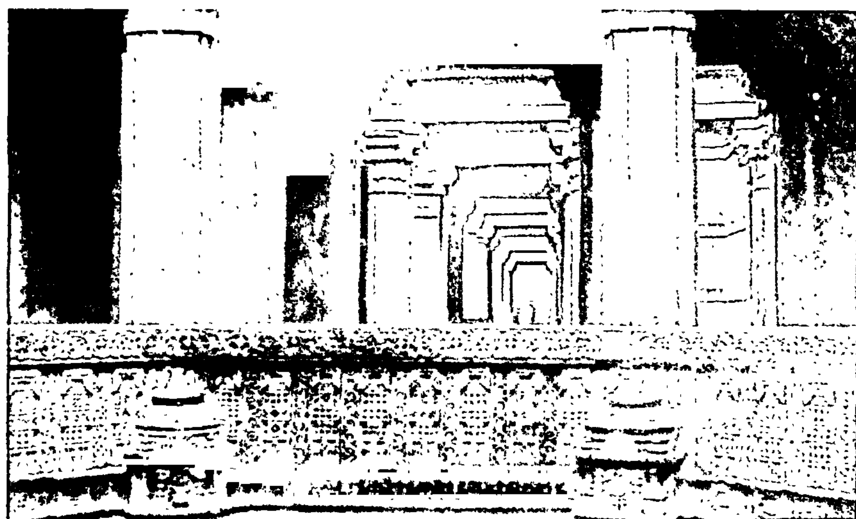
Mahmud's solicitude for his subjects and his army: The coinage of the reign—the *Mahmudi*: Mints at Junagadh (Mustafabad) and Champaner (Muhammadabad): The Sultan's love for arboriculture—The *Bagh-i-Firdaus*: Mahmud as a builder of city-walls: Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri claims to be the *Mahdi*: His visit to Ahmadabad and Patan: Later history of the 'Mahdavi' sect: Varthema's and Barbosa's accounts of the Sultan's habits: His great appetite: The meaning of the epithet 'Begada': Family of the Sultan.

Mahmud's benevolent administration

From the information, scanty as it is, that we possess of Mahmud Begada's civil administration, we have reason to believe that the Sultan was throughout his reign actuated by a desire to secure to his subjects the benefits of a strong and well-ordered government. We are told that the cultivators led a contented existence as the King never deviated from his regulations after he had once laid them down fairly. The merchants were happy because the roads were safe for traffic. The Sultan constructed fine *sarais* and inns for the comfort of travellers, and erected splendid mosques and colleges for the benefit of his subjects. If in any town or village he saw an empty shop or a house in ruins, he would ask the owner the reason, and, if necessary, would provide what amount was needed for its restoration. We are also informed that the abundance of fruit trees in Gujarat—such as the khirni, the jambul, the cocoanut, the gular, the bel, the mahuda, the amla, etc.—is the result of the fostering efforts of this great Sultan. He is said to have given particular attention to the planting of roadside trees. Whenever he saw any shade-giving tree, such as a banyan, a nim or a pipal, he would pull up rein, call for its owner, and ask him in a very kindly manner whence he watered the tree. If the owner said that the water was distant, and that he was put to trouble in fetching it,



Rauza at Sarkhej containing the Tombs of Mahmud Begada, Muzaffar II and Mahmud III (p. 235)



Ornamental well-shaft and galleries in Bai Harir's *Wav* at Asarva near Ahmadabad (p. 239)

the King would order a well to be dug there at the state expense. The people were also promised rewards in proportion to the number of trees they planted. The 'Garden of Paradise,' which was about ten miles long and one mile broad, and the 'Garden of Shaban' were both laid out during this reign.[1]

An efficient and well-equipped standing army was the instrument of Mahmud Begada's military glory, and in return for its services he was constantly solicitous for its welfare. A rule was established that if an amir or a soldier was killed in battle or died a natural death, his Jagir was confirmed to his son; if there was no son, half of the estate was given to the daughter; and if there was no daughter, a suitable provision was made for the dependants. A suggestion was once made to the King that the son of a deceased noble was not worthy of his position. 'The position will make him worthy', replied the King; and from that time no one ventured to raise such an objection again. The Sultan also decreed that no soldier should borrow money on interest. He appointed treasurers at different places to advance money to such as were in need of loans, and to recover the amount according to the agreement made. In this way the Sultan saved his troops from the grasp of the usurious money-lenders, who, as the historian says, now 'led the life of dogs, or rather were looked upon as worse than dogs.'[2]

His solicitude for his army

Several stories are related to show the interest taken by the King in the families of those who had fallen in his wars. About 1473, on his return journey after the successful expedition against Junagadh, and the conquest of Dwarka and the pirates, Mahmud halted for three days at Sarkhej, where he paid a visit to the tomb of Saint Ahmad Khattu, and summoned to his camp the sons of the amirs and of the soldiers who had been killed in the campaigns. During these three days the King's eyes were often filled with tears and his countenance marked with grief. His courtiers remonstrated with him for delaying his entry into his capital and for exhibiting so much sadness when he had returned after such famous victories. The Sultan replied that a ruler must be utterly

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 167-170. 2. *Ibid.*

devoid of humanity if, after having himself returned safe, he could not tarry three days to interview the widows and families of those who had perished, and to console and comfort them. When Najmuddin, the Qazi, came out of Ahmadabad to congratulate and welcome the Sultan, the latter responded sadly, 'Ah! Qazi, it is well with me, but you should tell me of those whose sons and brothers have become martyrs during these last five years. If I had remained at home all the years, how many children might have been born who have been sacrificed for these victories.!'[1]

The coins of the reign

To numismatists the reign of Mahmud has an importance and an interest perhaps even greater than that of Ahmad I. 'As in the history of the Saltanat,' says Dr. Taylor, 'it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of the glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful.'[2] To Mahmud also belongs the honour of giving his name to the silver coin that was in current use throughout the province during his own and subsequent reigns. This was the '*Mahmudi,*' which remains by far the most common of the coins that numismatists have been able to procure in the bazars of Gujarat for the period of the Saltanat. No definite statement can be made about the value of the 'mahmudi' as its weight underwent frequent changes.[3] A like transference of a sovereign's name to his coin is furnished by the French *Napoleon.*

Though Ahmadabad continued to remain the first mint-town of the kingdom, we find that Mahmud I established mints at the two capital cities of Mustafabad and Muhammadabad that he founded in 1471 and 1485 respectively. The activity of the mints at both these towns appears to have been confined to the reign of their founder. The mint-epithet of Mustafabad, as read on some of the coins struck at this place,

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 199, 200.
2. Geo. P. Taylor's article, *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat* (1902) n J. B. B. R. A. S., XXI, 1900-03, p. 289.
3. Dr. Taylor makes some valuable remarks on the value of this coin in a note on the *Mahmudi* prepared by him and incorporated by Rev. J. E. Abbot in his paper on 'Bai Harir's Inscription at Ahmadabad' (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No. 42).

seems to be *shahr azam*, or 'the great city.' The coins struck at Champaner (*Shahr Mukarram*) generally record the name of the mint in its doubled form, 'Muhammadabad *urf* Champaner,' though in some the '*urf* Champaner' was dropped and the new name Muhammadabad alone retained. 'The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarat Saltanat. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muhammadabad, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Mahmud I.'[1]

Mahmud divides Gujarat into five divisions

The historian Firishta informs us that at the close of the Kathiawar campaigns Sultan Mahmud, finding that his kingdom had become too extensive for his own personal supervision and management, divided Gujarat into five separate divisions, each under the charge of a governor, while he himself resided at Mustafabad (Junagadh). The recent conquest of Bet and Dwarka was placed, as stated before, under Farhat-ul-Mulk, Tughan Sultani; Ahmadabad was put in charge of Khudawand Khan, the king's brother-in-law; the province of Songarh was given to Imad-ul-Mulk; the Godhra division was assigned to Kiwam-ul-Mulk.[2] This distribution of work under the famous nobles of the reign was purely administrative and the whole country obeyed the Sultan's authority. The situation was thus very different from that partition of the kingdom among the nobles which took place under the weak rule of the successors of Sultan Bahadur Shah after 1537 during the decline and fall of the Saltanat.

The *Bagh-i-Firdaus*, or the 'Garden of Paradise', which was laid out by the Sultan in the vicinity of Ahmadabad, attested for a long time his love for arboriculture. Sikandar says that it was ten miles long and one mile broad, and we are

1. Geo. P. Taylor, op. cit., 317. The whole period during which the mint at Muhammadabad *urf* Champaner was working does not cover more than twenty-five years, viz., H. 890-915, i.e., A.D. 1485-1510. The issue from this mint appears to have been exclusively in silver coins.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 62.

told that it was situated about six miles to the east of the capital and was surrounded by a wall and bastions. Its site has been located beyond the village lands of Rajpur near the hamlet of Wastral. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the garden was in ruins and nothing of it was left except a portion of the enclosure and the gate. The Sultan is said to have planted here a vast number of mango, khirni and myrabolam trees, and the name of 'navlakha' garden by which it was known attests this fact.[1] By an irony of fate the lands of this once famous 'Garden of Paradise' now serve as the dumping ground for the refuse from the capital city under the local municipality.

The *Bagh-i-Firdaus* near Ahmadabad

As already stated in a preceding chapter,[2] we learn from Firishta's history that, on his return to the capital after the conquest of Champaner, Sultan Mahmud caused Ahmadabad to be surrounded by a wall and bastions, and on the completion of the work had a chronogram in Persian inscribed on one face of the fortifications to commemorate the date of the event. The chronogram gives the Hijri year 892, or A. D. 1496, and means 'Whosoever is within is safe'. The problem as to who built the city-walls of Ahmadabad has already been fully discussed by us, and, on sound principles of historical criticism, it seems safe to conclude that the great reign of Ahmad Shah saw the construction of the Bhadra Citadel only, and that seventy years later his famous grandson found it necessary to surround the capital with its present circumvallation. The uneven character of the alignment of the walls shows that Mahmud I had to adapt their configuration to the irregular development of the great city. If then we accept, until further light is available on the subject, Firishta's clear statement, to Mahmud Begada belongs the unusual credit of having constructed the extensive fortifications of not less than three of the capital cities of Gujarat, viz., Ahmadabad, Junagadh or Mustafabad, and Muhammadabad *urf* Champaner.

Mahmud I and the city-walls of Ahmadabad, 1486

According to Muslim religious tradition, based upon the sayings of the Prophet, the advent of the Imam Mahdi, the

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandar*, 47; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplt.*, op. cit., 19.
2. Chap. IX, pp. 96-7.

'Guided One', is expected before the Last day of Judgment, when he will appear on earth as a ruler for seven years, restore the sinking faith to its pristine freshness, and fill the earth with equity and justice.[1] The question whether the Mahdi has or has not yet appeared forms the great distinction between the Mahdavi sect and other Muslims in India, the former holding that he became manifest and discharged his sacred office at the end of the ninth century after the Hijra. The remarks of Professor H. Blochmann on this interesting religious movement in Mediaeval India, which created considerable agitation in Gujarat at this time, deserve to be quoted:

The *Mahdavi* movement in India

> "The alleged prophecies of the Founder, regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first (Hijri) millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdi movement assumed in India a definite form through the teaching of Mir Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. The fall of Jaunpur was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events, which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, *Anta Mahdi*, 'thou art Mahdi' ".[2]

Mir Saiyid Muhammad was born at Jaunpur, a town near Benares, in 1443. At the age of five he was sent to school, and when grown up he was able to confound all the doctors of Hind by the extent of his knowledge. In his youth he followed the profession of arms, but he is said to have commenced the functions of his office as *wali* or saint at Jaunpur in 1482 at the age of forty. In later years he publicly declared himself the Imam Mahdi, first at the *kaaba* at Mecca, next in the masjid of Taj Khan Salar at Ahmadabad in 1497, and lastly at a village near Patan Anhilvad in 1499. His principal companions were two Saiyids named Mir Khondmir and Saiyid

Career of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri

1. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 304-05. This Muslim idea has led to the rise of many a false Mahdi in different countries since the days of the Abbasid Khalifs.
2. Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, iv, v..

Mahmud. Many miracles are ascribed to him: he raised the dead, gave sight to the blind, and speech to the dumb. He travelled much accompanied by his two companions, and died of a fever at Farrah, a city of Khurasan, on the 19th Zil'qad 910 H (April 23, 1505) assuring to the last moment of his existence that he was the promised Mahdi.[1]

The Mahdi at Ahmadabad and Patan

It was towards the close of the long reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada that this eminent Muslim saint, the first person who in India claimed to be the Imam Mahdi, arrived at Ahmadabad and took up his residence at the masjid of Taj Khan bin Salar, near the Jamalpur gate of the city, where his eloquent preaching attracted large crowds of people. Saiyid Shah Shaikhji, the nephew of Saint Shah Alam, had an interview with him and the two carried on a dialogue by way of quoting Quranic verses. Later, when asked for his opinion about the visitor, the head of the Bukhari saints declared that Saiyid Muhammad was subject to spiritual ecstasy but that his doctrines were beyond the comprehension of the common people. The Sultan, on hearing about his fame, more than once desired to meet him, but he was dissuaded by his nobles for fear that he might be converted by the saint's teaching and so 'bring disorder into the affairs of the State'. The *ulama* at the capital next issued a *fatwa* against the Saiyid who now retired to Patan, in the neighbourhood of which town he again proclaimed himself to be the promised Mahdi, and a large number of people, high and low, accepted his tenets and flocked to his residence. When the *ulama* of Patan set about to put him to death, Saiyid Muhammad departed for Hindustan and subsequently left for Khurasan. According to some accounts he was slain in the vicinity of Farrah in 1505, though his followers, who are known as Mahdavis, deny this fact and declare that he died a natural death.[2]

After the Mahdi's death, his disciples dispersed; some returned to Gujarat under Saiyid Khondmir while others

1. 'Some account of Mahummud Mchdi, the Wali or Saint of the Mehdivis (based on the books of his disciples and followers)' by Capt. W. Miles (from Palanpur), in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, II, 1820, 297-98.

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 240-42 ; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 34-36.

remained in Khurasan. Those who settled in Gujarat appear to have been left unmolested for some time, professing their creed, and even challenging controversy on its origin and truth. They are said to have grown in numbers and importance till, in 1523 (H. 930), they attracted the attention of Sultan Muzaffar II who executed some at Ahmadabad for nonconformity and sent troops against the rest who had taken up their abode in the vicinity of Patan. Saiyid Khondmir with his followers opposed this force but he was killed with a hundred of his men at a village some miles from Patan.[1] After this period the Mahdavi sect appears to have been left in peace for over a century. In fact, according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* Sultan Mahmud III, called the Martyr, and Muzaffar III, the last Sultan, as also Itimad Khan, the famous vazir who invited Akbar to Gujarat, the nobles Sher Khan and Musa Khan Fuladi of Patan, and the rulers of Palanpur, were all adherents of the Mahdavi creed.[2] In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan, we find the sect again subjected to persecution at Ahmadabad by Prince Aurangzeb when he was Subahdar of Gujarat in 1645, and in a bloody conflict their leader Saiyid Raju of Palanpur was slain with many of his followers at the Gulab Bagh outside the city of Ahmadabad to the north.[3] The graves of the martyred Raju and those who fell with him may still be seen in the present Shahi Bagh locality within an enclosure maintained by H. H. the Nawab of Palanpur.

History of his followers in Gujarat

The followers of the Mahdavi creed in India are also commonly known by their opponents as Ghairmehdis, i.e., those who do not believe that the Imam Mahdi is yet to appear. The chief settlements of this interesting religious community are at Palanpur in North Gujarat and also at Ahmadnagar and Hyderabad in the Deccan, their Saiyids claiming descent from Mir Khondmir and his companions.

The Ghairmehdis: their settlements in India

1. Cap. Miles' paper in *Trans. Bombay Literary Society,* II—1820, p. 298; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Pt. II, 62-63.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Suppll.,* trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 62.
3. *Ibid.*

As stated in a previous chapter, the members of the ruling Lohani family of Palanpur State are followers of this creed.

Mahmud's personal characteristics

The European travellers who visited India during the early years of the sixteenth century appear to have been powerfully impressed by the fame of Mahmud Begada, and the strange accounts which they gave of his personal habits made his name familiar to the nations of Europe. The famous Bolognese adventurer, Ludovico di Varthema, who visited Cambay and other ports in Western India about the year 1506, gives the following account of the Gujarat ruler:

> 'The Sultan has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard which reaches to his girdle. Every day he eats poison. Do not, however, imagine that he fills his stomach with it; but he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to destroy any great personage, he makes him come before him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits which are called *jaiphal* (nutmeg), which resemble a muscatel nut. He also eats certain leaves of herbs called *tamboli* (pan or betel-leaf), and with these he eats some lime of oyster-shells. When he has masticated them well, and has his mouth full, he spurts it out upon that person whom he wishes to kill, so that in the space of half an hour he falls to the ground dead. Every time that he takes off his shirt, it is never again touched by any one. My companion asked how it was that this Sultan eats poison in this manner. Certain merchants, who were older than the Sultan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison from his childhood.'[1]

We would hesitate to give credence to these somewhat gruesome details were they not substantially in agreement with the account given by another European traveller of the same period. Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese, who visited Gujarat shortly after the death of Sultan Mahmud, says that

1. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society Publications), 109-10.

this Prince had from childhood been nourished with poison. 'And this king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand it swelled and immediately fell dead. This poison he was unable to leave off eating, for he feared if he did not use it he would die soon after.'[1] The works of both Varthema and Barbosa were translated into several of the European languages, and so it came about that Mahmud Begada gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as 'the Blue Beard of Indian History.' It is to this ruler that Samuel Butler, the English satirist of the seventeenth century, makes reference in the well-known lines in *Hudibras*,

Barbosa's account of the Sultan

'The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad.'

Strangely enough, the Muhammadan historians of Gujarat make no allusion to Mahmud's constitution having been poison-saturated. The details which they give of the abnormal, and almost disgusting, gastronomic capacities of their favourite hero are, however, quite in keeping with the characteristics described above, and deserve to be noticed. His appetite was enormous. As a modern writer emphatically puts it, 'With all his many excellences, Mahmud had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton.' According to Sikandar, his daily allowance of food was one Gujarati *man* in weight, *i.e.,* 41 lbs. After taking his meals he used to eat five *sers* of parched rice as dessert. On his retiring to rest he ordered two plates of *samosas* (minced meat pattice) to be placed on each side of his bed, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat. For breakfast, after his morning prayer, he used to take a cup of Mecca honey, and another of butter, together with

His enormous appetite

1. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in* 1514 by Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society Publications), 57.

a hundred and fifty 'golden' plantains.[1] Conscious of the inordinate cravings of his appetite, Mahmud often used to say, 'If Allah had not given his unworthy slave rule over Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger?'[2]

It is related that though the Sultan, after the conquest of Champaner in 1484, resided for the greater part of the year at his new capital Muhammadabad, he used to pass the hot weather at Ahmadabad in order to enjoy the season of ripe melons. Very few of us, at the present day, would share the Sultan's preference for his capital during the summer months, and our sympathies rather go with the Emperor Jahangir, who, during his visit to the capital of Gujarat in 1618, was so disgusted with the intense and stifling heat that he could only give vent to his feelings in the strongest epithets of opprobrium.[3]

His partiality for Ahmadabad

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* has offered two derivations of the epithet of 'Begada' under which Mahmud I is known to posterity. One is that the Sultan was so called from his conquest of the two forts of Junagadh and Champaner. The other says that Begado is the name given in the vernacular to a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left 'like the arms of a person about to embrace', and the term was applied to Mahmud because his moustaches were like those horns. Sikandar makes no attempt to decide between the two interpretations, but contents himself with the pious remark 'God alone knows what is true.'[4] We shall give below some arguments to prove that the latter derivation is the correct one, and that the Sultan's nickname is derived from the Gujarati word 'vegado', which means a bullock with peculiar

Origin of the sobriquet 'Begada'

1. A similar story is related of the extraordinary appetite of Akbar's famous minister Abul Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. On the authority of the *Masir-ul-Umra* he consumed daily twenty-two *sers* of food. (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, XXVIII).
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 42.
3. The average temperature of Ahmadabad in the month of May is about 105°, but the highest temperature recorded during recent years is 116° in the shade. If Jahangir described the city in the language of disgust as *Jahannamabad*, a modern daily newspaper, in recording the temperature mentioned above, was hardly less emphatic in characterising the city as 'unfit for human habitation.'
4. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 161 and *n*.

up-turned horns. The former derivation must be rejected as untenable in spite of its popular acceptance.[1]

References by Varthema (1506) and Jahangir (1618).

The Bolognese traveller, Ludovico di Varthema, who visited Gujarat about the year 1506 during Mahmud I's life-time, says: 'The Sultan has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses.' Presumably then, the immense hairy growth on the Sultan's upper lip must have struck his contemporaries as resembling the up-turned horns of the Gujarat bull, and led them to dub their sovereign Mahmud Vegado, or, in a variant form, Begado.[2] A century later, the Emperor Jahangir was in Ahmadabad in the year 1618, only seven years after the composition of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari.* In his autobiographical Memoirs he refers to his visit to Sarkhej, and to the tomb of Mahmud I, and says: 'Bigara, in the language of the people of Gujarat, signifies a turned-up moustache; on this account they call him Bigara.'[3] Though the Emperor has tripped in the meaning of the Gujarati word from which 'Bigara' is derived, the most significant point in his statement is that, writing so early as 1618, he makes absolutely no reference to the 'two-forts' theory. The historian Firishta (c. 1611) says that authors differ with regard to the origin of this epithet, and he then repeats both the theories, without, however, drawing any conclusions of his own.[4]

Mahmud Begada had four sons. 1) Prince Muhammad Kala, whose mother was Rani Rup Manjari. She had been the wife of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, and, after his death, came to

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1. If the conquest of the *two forts* secured for Mahmud the sobriquet of Begada, his title would be written as બેગઢો, and not, as has always been done, બેગડો. The former form is met with nowhere in Gujarati literature.

2. The word 'vegado' in this sense is still in use among the pastoral classes in Kathiawar. A bardic verse in the *Ras Mala* refers to a Bhil named Vegado and the pun on the Bhil's name clearly indicates the ordinary meaning of the word in current speech, viz., a bullock with long horns (Guj. trans. I, 468). The word is also found in Shamal Bhatt's *Bhadra Bhamini*.

3. Memoirs of Jahangir, trans. by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 429.

4. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 77-78. Under the caption of the 'World's largest moustache', the *Times of India* for the 6th March 1937 states that one Mr. Malathangi, a Madras Indian residing in Singapore, was claimant to the possession of the longest moustache in the world, for the growth on his upper lip measured 5 feet and 4 inches from tip to tip. It will thus be seen that accounts of Sultan Mahmud's huge moustache are not exaggerations.

Family of Mahmud I

Sultan Mahmud. Both the Prince and his mother died before the Sultan, and the Rani's tomb is in the mausoleum of the queens in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad. 2) Prince Abu Bakr Khan, or Aba Khan, the son of Rani Sipari. This young man was involved in a low intrigue, and the matter coming to the ears of the Sultan, he ordered poisoned drink to be given to him. Rani Sipari's Rauza is stiuated near the Astodiya gate at Ahmadabad, and the lovely mosque which she erected at this place in 1514 will demand our attention in the next reign. 3) Prince Ahmad, whom Khudawand Khan attempted to place on the throne in 1480. His complicity in the plot appears to have cost the Prince the throne, since he was eventually passed over for the succession. 4) Prince Khalil Khan, who became the heir to the throne, and succeeded his father as Muzaffar Shah II. He was born in 1475, and the chronogram for his birth is the word *Farrukh,* which means 'happy' or 'auspicious.' His mother was Rani Hirabai, the daughter of Naga Rana, a Rajput chief on the banks of the river Mahi. The Sultan associated his youngest son at an early age in the work of administration, for in 1487, when he was barely twelve years old, we find him put in charge of Sorath. His Jagir was at Baroda where he mostly resided till called to the throne.[1]

1. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 238-39,

Ornamental Inlet-Sluice to the Lake at Sarkhej and the back of the Masjid (p. 235)

Remains of the Palace of Mahmud Begada on the Lake at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad (p. 236)

CHAPTER XVIII

MONUMENTS OF MAHMUD BEGADA'S REIGN AT SARKHEJ, ASARVA AND ADALAJ: THE FAMOUS STEP-WELLS OF GUJARAT

Later group of Sarkhej monuments—the royal mausolea, the tank and the palace: Rani Rupwati's Mosque at Ahmadabad: Bai Harir's Wav at Asarva: Sanskrit inscription at this Wav, 1499: Masjid of Bai Harir at Harirpur (Asarva), 1500: The great Wav of Rudadevi at Adalaj and its epigraph in Sanskrit, 1499: The Mithi Wav at Palanpur: Evolution of Ahmadabad Architecture, 1411–1514.

Later royal monuments at Sarkhej—the lake and tombs

The Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad may be said to have reached its golden age during the long and glorious rule of Mahmud Begada. According to tradition, Sarkhej was the favourite resort of the Sultan for repose and meditation, and the additions which his partiality for the spot led him to make complete the noble group of religious and secular monuments at this sacred place. The beautiful lake at Sarkhej, which the Sultan excavated, is a considerable sheet of water, and covers no less than seventeen acres and a half. Its supply-sluice, though not so elaborate a work of art as that at Kankaria, is of the same pattern and richly decorated, being carved with all the care ordinarily bestowed on the minarets and buttresses of the mosques. On the south-east corner of the great lake, and opposite the tomb of the Saint, Sultan Mahmud erected a mausoleum for himself and his family, which still remains in almost perfect condition. The Kings' Chamber contains the remains of three rulers of Gujarat, *viz.*, Mahmud Begada himself, his son Muzaffar II (the Clement), and Mahmud III, the grandson of Muzaffar II. Due west of the resting-place of the three kings, stands a smaller chamber for the dead, reserved for queens. Here also we notice three tombs. The brief inscription on one of these tells us that it contains

the remains of Rani Rajbai.[1] She was the wife of Muzaffar II, and died in 1590, at the age of one hundred and one, fully sixty-five years after the death of her husband. It is impossible to affirm with certainty who lie buried beside Rajbai in the two nameless tombs, but they were doubtless ladies of the royal family.

The palace of the Begada

Our account of Sarkhej and its monuments is completed by reference to the imposing remains of buildings that are to be noticed on the other sides of the lake. Those in the south-east corner are believed to represent Mahmud Begada's harem and palace. The buildings are in ruins, having long since been pillaged for the sake of the materials; but the verandahs and projecting balconies in both bear evidence that coolness and restfulness were considerations in their construction. It is sad, however, to reflect that while the older group of monuments at Sarkhej has survived to this day in almost perfect condition, the palace and the harem, constructed by a later generation, are in a state of ruin and desolation. The Sabarmati once flowed past the Sarkhej buildings,[2] but its bed has since been diverted either from natural or artificial causes, and the river now runs a mile to the south-east of this famous group of monuments.

Sarkhej as a *qabargah* for famous persons

Not far from the main entrance to the walled enclosure which contains the famous Rauzas at Sarkhej, there stands a pretty little mosque, perhaps the smallest of its type, known as the Qalandars' mosque, which is representative of the best period of the local Indo-Saracenic style. The mihrabs, especially the central one, are richly carved, but there are no minars. The fame of Shaikh Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh as a holy man has, as usual, attracted Musalmans to Sarkhej as a desirable burial place. There is buried here, Ghazali of Mashhad, 'unrivalled in depth of learning and sweetness of language, at home in the noble thoughts of the Sufis'. Ghazali was much liked by

1. The lower portion of the slab over Rajbai's tomb bears the following short inscription :—'Date of decease of Rani Rajbai : the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (999). Her name as usually known was Bibi Sultani.' The *Hijri* year corresponds to A.D. 1590. (Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, 293-94.)
2. *Vide* Briggs, J., *Firishta*, IV, 49.

Akbar who conferred upon him the title of 'Malik-ush-Shuara', or King of the Poets. He accompanied the Emperor in the expedition against Gujarat, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab H. 980 (3rd December, 1572). By Akbar's orders he was buried at Sarkhej.[1]

Rani Rupvati's Mosque

The 'Queen's Mosque' in the Mirzapur ward at Ahmadabad, also traditionally known as the Rani Rupvati masjid, though its date is unfortunately lost, has on architectural grounds been declared to belong to this reign. The mosque is, along with those of Bibi Achut Kuki and Rani Sipari, among the most beautiful in the city. It is in the mixed style, and shows, on the whole, a fairly successful combination of the Muslim arch with the Hindu lintel.[2] As in other mosques of this style, the central part of the façade is raised considerably above the level of the rest of the roof to make room for the imposing arched entrance, and at the same time to screen off a clerestory for admitting light into the interior, which is so pleasing a characteristic of the Ahmadabad mosques. The minars of this masjid, the upper towers of which were destroyed by the great earthquake of June 1819, are remarkable for the richness and variety of their decoration.[3] H. G. Briggs, who visited this mosque at the end of 1847, tells us that a model of the building, admirably executed in teakwood on the scale of half

1. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 568 and *n*.

2. Mr. Fergusson says: 'Although the architects had got over much of the awkwardness that characterised their earlier efforts in this direction, they had not yet conquered them. There is, for instance, a very disagreeable contrast between the extreme richness of the minarets on each side of the central arch and the extreme plainness of the arch itself. The richness of the cornice above it adds to the discordant effect.' (Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup*, 85).

3. In this connection Mr. Fergusson observes: 'Perhaps, after all, the greatest beauty of this mosque is to be found in its details, especially in that beautiful form of tracery which fills the niches of the minarets. In every Jaina or Hindu temple there always is on each face and on each storey a niche which is occupied by a statue or group indicative of the worship to which the temple was dedicated. As the Muhammadans keep the second commandment with the same strictness with which the Scotch observe the fourth, this, of course, was inadmissible; but as the niche was there, and the Hindu architects did not know what to substitute in its place, they retained it, but filled it with tracery, sometimes pierced to form a window, sometimes blind, as a mere ornament. Generally these were drawn with so free hand, and at the same time so gracefully, that they form the most beautiful details, taken singly, to be found in Ahmadabad. All are different, not only in detail but often in character, but all are beautiful.' (Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup*. 86).

an inch to a foot, was made some years before his visit for Mr. Jackson, the Collector at that time of the district, and that it had cost about eight hundred rupees.[1]

Like the masterpieces of the Gothic art of mediæval Europe, the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad was essentially religious in character, as is amply illustrated by the mosques and mausoleums that have been described in the course of this history. To Mahmud Begada's reign, however, belong two monuments, which are primarily utilitarian in their object, and the conception of which the architects of the end of the fifteenth century evidently borrowed from the preceding Hindu period. These are, first, Bai Harir's *wav,* or step-well, near the ancient well of Mata Bhavani in the suburb of Asarva to the north-east of Ahmadabad, and, secondly, the even more beautiful well at the village of Adalaj, about twelve miles to the north of the capital. A *wav* is a large structure, picturesque and stately, as well as peculiar in design. It consists of a deep well, circular or octagonal, which is approached by a broad flight of steps descending from the uppermost platform till the water-level is reached. On the landings between the flights are pillared galleries, whose tiers are multiplied as the depth increases, and which are highly ornamented. They serve as supports to counteract the inward thrust of the long side walls and as cool resting-places in the heat of summer. 'There are no other wells in the world', says Sir John Marshall, 'that, structurally and decoratively, can compare with these step-wells of Western India, and it was because their builders were content to keep to the established traditions of the country that they were able to attain such perfection.'[2]

The step-wells of Gujarat

The old Hindu step-well, known as Mata Bhavani's, situated at Asarva, takes its name from a small shrine of the Mata, erected on the lowest gallery just above the water-level. 'This epithet of the Wav', says Dr. Burgess, 'has no certain claim to antiquity, though the well evidently belongs

Mata Bhavani's *Wav* at Asarva

1. Briggs, H. G., *Cities of Gujarashtra,* 221.
2. Cambridge History of India, III, 614.

to the pre-Muhammadan period, and probably goes back to the eleventh century. Nor does the small shrine of Bhavani appear to be original—indeed it is probably of quite recent date.'[1] If Ahmadabad was built adjacent to the site of the earlier city of Karnavati, this *wav* probably belongs to the reign of Karna Solanki (A.D. 1064–1094), the founder of Karnavati. As such it would be nearly contemporaneous with the 'Rani's Wav' at Anhilvad, constructed about A.D. 1032 under the auspices of Udayamati, the queen of Bhim Deo I and mother of Karna Raja. The old well of Mata Bhavani probably supplied the pattern for the two later and more elaborate step-wells, constructed under Muhammadan rule, which are reviewed in this chapter.

Inscriptions in Bai Harir's step-well

In Bai Harir's wav at Asarva there are two inscriptions, one in Sanskrit and the other in Arabic, and they state that this beautiful well was constructed at the expense of Sri Bai Harir Sultani, who was 'the lady superintendent of the king's zanana during the reign of his august majesty Sultan Mahmud'. The date of the Sanskrit inscription is 1499, and that of the Arabic epigraph is 1500.[2] Bai Harir is also said to have founded at Asarva a suburb that went by the name of Harirpur, and situated to the west of the step-well are a mosque and rauza that still bear her name. Of the two inscriptions mentioned above that in Sanskrit gives much fuller historical information than the other. The marble slab on which it is cut is fixed in a niche in the left wall of the first gallery leading to the water. We give below a few extracts from the English translation of the epigraph made many years ago by the Rev. J. E. Abbott for the *Epigraphia Indica*:

> 'Obeisance to thee, the lord of the waters, who hast the form of all water! Obeisance to thee, O Varuna!

1. Burgess, *Muham. Architr. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 2.
2. For details of the Sanskrit inscription, see article entitled 'Bai Harir's Inscription at Ahmadabad, A.D. 1499' by Rev. J. E. Abbott, in *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, No. 42; and for the Arabic inscription *vide* Burgess, *Muham. Architr. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. II, 4. The transcripts of both the inscriptions are given in Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (1897), 299-301.

'Hail! Prosperity! In the Gurjara country, in the glorious city of Ahmadabad, in the victorious reign of the Badshah, the thrice glorious Mahmud, the general superintendent at the door of the king's harem, Bai Sri Harir by name, caused a well to be built, in order to please God, in Harirpur, situated to the north-east of the glorious city, for the use of the eighty-four lakhs of the various living beings, *viz.*, men, beasts, birds, trees, etc., who may have come from the four quarters, and are tormented with thirst, in Samvat 1556, and in the current Saka year 1421, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Pausha, on Monday (15th December, 1499).

'The amount of money expended on this well was 3,29,000 in all.[1]

'This well was built by the powerful, religious, chief councillor of King Mahmud, by name Harir, at a place where four roads meet, crowded with good men who come from the four quarters. As long as the moon and the sun endure, may the water of this sweet well be drunk by men!'[2]

Bai Harir is also said to have founded in the present locality of Asarva a suburb which was named Harirpur after her.[3] Here she built the fine mosque which stands to the west of the step-well, and also the Rauza which contains her tomb.

Bai Harir's Masjid and its inscription

The marble slab with a beautiful inscription in relief, which must originally have stood above the central mihrab in Bai Harir's mosque, has passed through many vicissitudes. At some date in the last century, prior to the survey by Dr. James Burgess, it was removed to Bombay, probably by some Government official, and lodged in the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it remained in obscurity for

1. The coin is not mentioned. The Mahmudi was no doubt the current coin in Gujarat at this period. But in the similar inscription at the Adalaj step-well, built in the same year, five lakhs of *tankas* are mentioned as the cost incurred by the Rani Rudadevi.

2. 'Bai Harir's Inscription at Ahmadabad: A.D. 1499' by Rev. J. E. Abbott, in *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, 297-300.

3. Harirpur is mentioned as a suburb in the *Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Nawab Ali and Seddon's translation, 12.

Rani Rudadevi's Step-well built in 1499 at Adalaj, 10 miles to the north of Ahmadabad

View of the Second Gallery in Bai Rudadevi's Step-well at Adalaj

several decades. It has been transferred recently, along with other archæological treasures of the Society, to the Prince of Wales Museum, where it may now be seen in a conspicuous position in the fine Epigraphical Gallery. The language of the inscription is Arabic and the script is *naskh* of a beautiful type. Mr. C. R. Singhal of the Museum has transcribed and translated the Arabic text, which shows that the masjid was built at about the same date as the famous step-well (December, 1500 A.D.). The inscription runs:

> "God who is glorious and high has said: 'Verily the mosques belong to God, then invoke ye no one else with him'. And the Prophet—God's peace and blessing be with him—has said, 'He who builds a mosque for God Almighty will have a house built for him by God in paradise'. This mosque was built during the reign of the great King Nasir-ud-Dunya wad din Abul Fath Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan. May God perpetuate his kingdom. The builder of this mosque was Bai Harir Sultani. In the month of Jumada I, 906 H. (December, 1500)."[1]

The great *Wav* of Rudadevi at Adalaj

The *wav* at the village of Adalaj was constructed about the same time as that described above and is the finest of its class in Gujarat. According to the Sanskrit inscription in the upper gallery, it was built, in 1499, by a Hindu lady named Rujhadevi, or Rudabai, who was the wife of Virasimha, the chief of Kalol. The sculpture and ornamentation in this well closely resemble those at Bai Harir's. But we notice, at the same time, over a door in the second gallery, a frieze covered with the *navagraha,* or the nine planetary divinities, as also, in other places, a course of Hindu animal figure sculpture, both of which show that the Hindu architects could, in the works they erected, adapt their designs to the religious class to which these works belonged. The inscription at Adalaj, mentioned above, which is composed in Sanskrit and roughly carved, still remains, after a lapse of four hundred and thirty

1. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,* 1925-26, p. 10.

years, in excellent preservation. The marble slab on which it is engraved, being set in a niche in the upper gallery at a spot not easily accessible, has luckily remained undamaged through the vicissitudes of many centuries. The last four lines of the inscription are in Old Gujarati. The excerpts given below furnish interesting details about the date and the person who constructed the step-well:

'(verse 8) Rudadevi, the Rani of King Virasimha, resembling Lakshmi, caused this well to be made by the best of masons.

'(verse 9) Hail! Now in the Kali age, after fifty five years added to fifteen hundred of the era of king Vikramarka have passed, the queen of the valorous king Virasimha, by name Ruda, the good daughter of the lord of Vena,[1] caused to be made this well which is like the heavenly river (the Ganges).

'(verse 15) It is said that for the construction of the well 5 lakhs of tankas were spent from the treasury by this queen Rudadevi.

'(verse 16) In the good village of Adalaj, queen Ruda, beloved of Virasimha, made this well with hundreds of compartments.

'(in prose) Hail! When the year 1555 of the era of king Vikrama,. . . . that is, the year 1420 of the Saka era, was current, when the sun was in the northerly course, on Wednesday, the fifth of the bright fortnight of the month of Magha (January 16, 1499), in the Sisira season,. . the moon being in Pisces, in the victorious reign of Badshah Mahmud, queen Rudaba, lawful wife of king Virasimha, son of Mahipa, of the Vaghela clan, who ruled over the district of Dandahi, and was the jewel in the band of kings, caused to be made the well in Adalaj in order that her (deceased) husband might attain to the world which is the abode of the gods. Marana, son of Bhima, Srimali by caste, made the well. . . .

1. Very probably Vina near Nadiad.

May it be firm and durable as long as the sun and moon (are in the heavens).'[1]

We have described above in some detail the two most famous step-wells of North Gujarat which undoubtedly deserve to take rank among the architectural monuments of the province. A third one may also be mentioned before we leave the subject. This is the so-called 'Mithi Wav' at the ancient city of Palanpur, also built of stone, which in beauty and ornamentation belongs to the same class though neither its date nor the person who built it can be ascertained. Being in daily use for drinking water the well has remained in almost perfect preservation. It has seven galleries and on the wall on either side of the steps, as one descends to the water level, there are beautiful sculptures depicting figures from Hindu mythology. Similar sculptures, carved in relief, may be seen on the top of the well-shaft at one end of the step-well. The noses of the figures have been mutilated at several places. The Mithi Wav is undoubtedly the most important architectural monument at Palanpur.

The 'Mithi Wav' at Palanpur

Beginning with the foundation of the city in 1411, the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad continued steadily to develop for a century until it reached its perfected form at the close of Sultan Mahmud Begada's reign. During this period of growth and evolution, the style assumed two distinct forms: the one a combination of 'Jain' and Saracenic elements; the other almost wholly 'Jain' made up of constructive forms 'invented specially for the arch-hating Hindus'. Both forms are beautiful in themselves. In the earliest mosques, e.g., that of Ahmad Shah, in the Bhadra corner, a clumsy attempt is made to combine the foreign element with the local one, but without any success in blending the two,—the exterior being severely Muslim, the interior wholly Hindu. By the time, however, that the great Jami Masjid is built (1424), the two elements are satisfactorily blended and harmonised, the minarets and arched

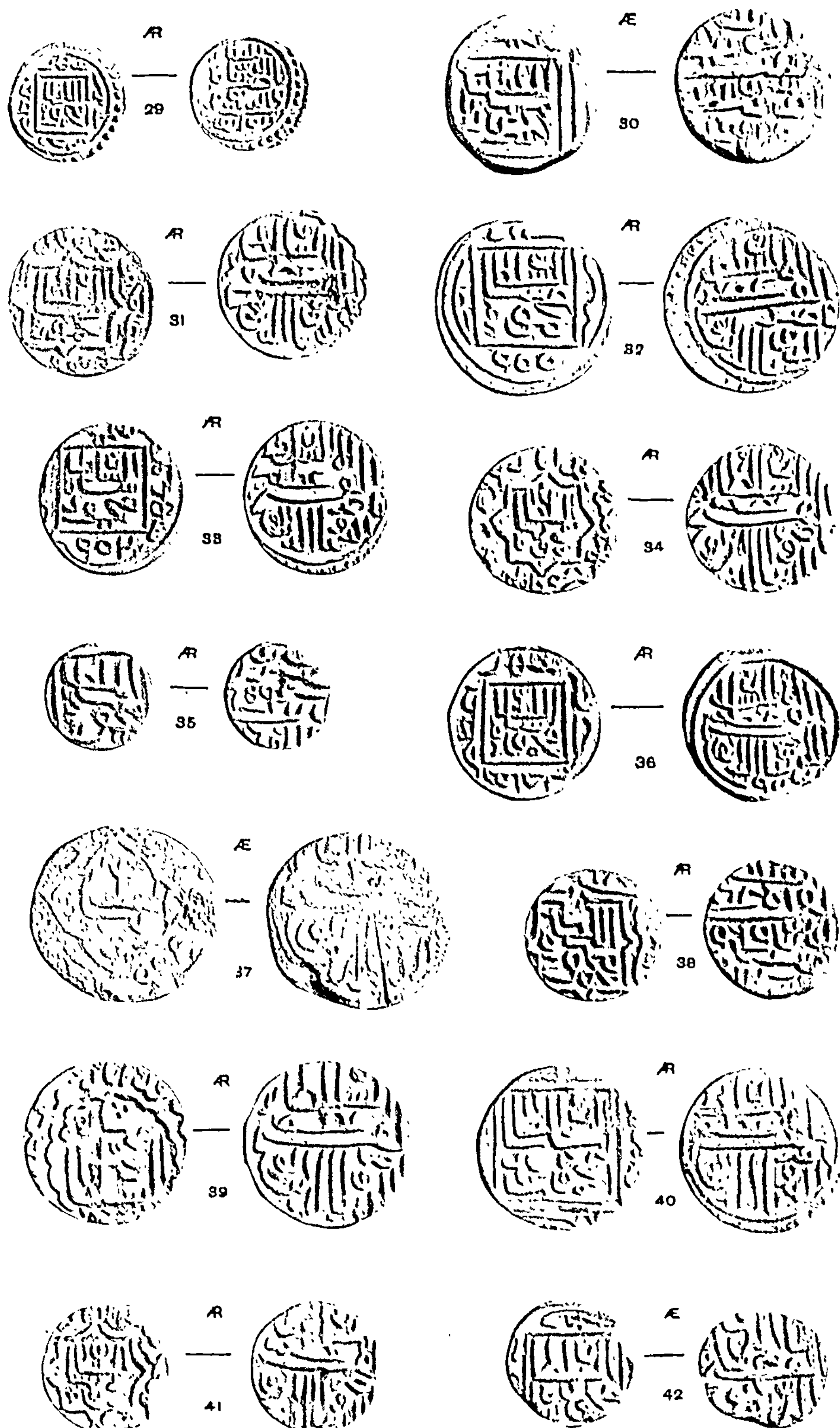
Stages in the evolution of Ahmadabad architecture, 1411-1514

1. The above translation is made by my friend Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva, and is based on the Sanskrit transcript as printed in *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains* by Burgess and Cousens, 1897, pp. 310-11.

windows being successfully combined with the flat Hindu aisles. Then, for a time, about the middle of the century, 1446–60, almost all that was foreign is given up, and we have exquisite buildings erected at Sarkhej and Vatva which are almost wholly Hindu in style, with only the slightest traces of Saracenic elements. From 1465 to the close of the reign of Mahmud Begada, we have again a series of mosques all in the mixed style, but the Hindu and Muslim details are so perfectly blended—as, for example, in the Masjid of Bibi Achut Kuki, 1472—that 'it requires a practised eye to detect what belongs to the one style and what to the other'. That the purely Hindu style has, however, not been quite discarded is clearly evidenced by the erection, in 1514, of the beautiful little Rani Sipari Mosque, 'the gem of Ahmadabad,' as it has been called, which we shall describe in our review of the reign of Sultan Mazaffar II. After the second decade of the sixteenth century, the monuments at the capital become fewer in number and the style less perfect, and with the construction of the masjid just mentioned the great creative period of Ahmadabad architecture may be said to have come almost to a close.[1]

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1. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmedābad, 265 *n*.



Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat struck in the Reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN THE GUJARAT SULTANS AND THE PORTUGUESE, 1508-10

The Portuguese on the Western coast of India: The Sultan of Cairo sends Amir Husain to help the Gujarat ruler: Confederate victory at Chaul and the death of D. Lorenzo, 1508: The Portuguese naval success at Div, 1509: Mahmud I sends an envoy to Afonso de Albuquerque, 1510: Letter from the Portuguese prisoners at Champaner: Gopi's friendly letter to the Portuguese Governor: Albuquerque's reply to the Sultan and to Gopi (Sept. 1510): Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese, 1510.

The advent of Portugal in the Indian Ocean

At the end of the fifteenth century the small but heroic Portuguese nation had opened a new page in universal history with the culmination of a long and brilliant period of maritime exploration and discovery. Apart from the desire for glory and conquest, one great object of all these activities was the interception of the overland trade between Europe and the East and its diversion to the newly discovered Cape route. With this object in view, the Portuguese began their search for trading centres and political settlements in the East, and, in the remarkably short period of seventeen years between the arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut in 1498 and the death of the great Albuquerque in 1515, they had extended their influence over the extensive littoral of the Indian Ocean from the torrid and barren rock of Hormaz in the Persian Gulf to the distant Malacca in the Spice Islands. But these acquisitions were not sufficient to ensure to Portugal the wealth of the rich trade with the East. She had also to enter upon a naval war of unprecedented length and difficulty with the rulers of the Muslim kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea who were up in arms against these insolent intruders on their ancient monopoly.

Before the great power of Turkey entered the naval struggle against the Portuguese in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the leaders in the opposition to the Portuguese menace

were the Mamluk rulers of Egypt and the Sultans of Gujarat.

The Sultan of Cairo sends an expedition, 1507

The power of the Egyptian kingdom extended over Syria and it also controlled the Red Sea and the sacred places of Islam in Arabia. More than any other Muslim state of the time, it was Egypt that found herself faced with the loss of the vast revenues derived from the Eastern trade which came by the Red Sea to Suez, and thence by caravans to Alexandria, where the merchants from Venice and Genoa paid heavily for the privilege of monopolising the spice trade with the East. No wonder then that the Egyptian rulers were ready to welcome any opportunity to drive out the Portuguese from the Indian seas. The struggle commenced when, in 1507, the last Mamluk Sultan, Qansawh-al-Ghawri, resolved to send an expedition to the Indian coast to co-operate with the Gujarat ruler and other Muslim princes. The Egyptian fleet was placed in charge of Amir Husain, Governor of Jedda and a Kurd by nationality, and he had orders to effect a combination with the Gujarat navy, which consisted of the light craft organized by Malik Ayaz, the famous governor of Junagadh and Div under Sultan Mahmud Begada.

The Portuguese forces in India were at this time under the command of their first viceroy Francisco D'Almeida, and

Muslim naval victory at Chaul, 1508

he was ably assisted by his gallant and popular son Lorenzo, whose exploits resembled those of the heroes of mediæval romance. When Lorenzo was lying in shelter with a small squadron in the harbour of Chaul, south of Bombay, news reached him that the Egyptian fleet had reached Div and had been joined by Malik Ayaz. The combined flotilla soon arrived off the bar at Chaul, where took place, in January, 1508, the first great naval battle in the heroic struggle between Portugal and Islam. After a running fight extending over three days, Dom Lorenzo's ship became entangled in a line of fishermen's stakes and was surrounded by a number of the light Gujarat *fustas*. The young Captain refused to escape and fought on till a shot broke both his legs, and he died shortly after, telling his men to surrender to Malik Ayaz and not to the Egyptian

admiral.[1] It was a serious blow to the Portuguese, though, as we shall see, they were able the very next year to retrieve the disaster. Mahmud Begada is said to have been greatly pleased at the news of this victory over the Franks. He had set out from his capital at Champaner with the intent of making a Holy War and had proceeded as far as Daman and Bassein. In his encampment at the latter port he received the victorious generals who cast anchor there on their return journey and loaded them with favours and gifts. Amir Husain was even offered the command of Mahim if he would stay in India and enter the Sultan's service.

Muslim defeat at Div harbour, Feb. 3, 1509

In 1509 the Portuguese viceroy Almeida himself led a fleet up the west coast of India to avenge both the defeat at Chaul and his gallant son's untimely death. He found the Egyptian fleet and the Gujarat *fustas* assembled in the strait between the mainland and the island of Div. A desperate sea-fight took place here in February 1509, with much grappling and boarding, and Almeida obtained a decisive victory, Amir Husain's fleet being completely broken up. Malik Ayaz now hastened to make peace with the Portuguese by returning the prisoners captured at Chaul and by helping to provision their fleet. This was the first important success of the Portuguese in Indian waters. But our information about it is derived only from the Portuguese, Turkish and Arabic historians, the Gujarat histories of the period making no mention of this defeat though they describe the victory at Chaul with great satisfaction.[2]

After his signal defeat at Div, which was due partly to the fact that Malik Ayaz had held aloof, Amir Husain escaped

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1. Before surrendering the ship, Lorenzo's body was let down into the swift current, through a hole in the vessel, with all his arms and belongings, so that nothing of his should fall into the hands of the enemy. Lorenzo's deeds in the East have furnished the theme for the excellent historical novel of Pinheiro Chagas, *The Viceroy's Jewel.* (Article entitled 'The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth century', by M. L. Dames, J. R. A. S., January 1921, 7-8).

2. Article by M. L. Dames, *op. cit.*, 1-10, and another article on the same subject by E. Denison Ross, J.R.A.S., 1921, pp. 545-53 ; R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India,* 115-18 ; 124-25 ; Danvers *The Portuguese in India,* I, 129-30 ; 141.

first to Cambay and ultimately found his way to the coast of Yamen. The banners of the Egyptian Sultan, Qansawh-al-Ghawri, captured during the battle, were taken to Portugal and hung up in the Temple of Tomar, head of the illustrious military order of Christ. We are further told that among the spoils of victory were books in a great variety of languages which showed the mixed composition of the Mamluk Sultan's forces. Amir Husain appears to have continued as governor of Jedda up to 1517, when Sultan Salim of Turkey, having heard of his cruelty and unpopularity as governor, sent orders to the Sharif of Mecca that he should be put to death. Husain was, therefore, sent for by the Sharif and told that he was to report himself to the Sultan at Cairo. Secret instructions were, however, given to the captain of the ship in which he was to sail to drop him overboard as soon as the open sea was reached. The Portuguese chronicles confirm this account of the fate of the Egyptian admiral.[1]

Amir Husain's retreat from the Indian coast

The history of the expedition of Amir Husain to the Gujarat coast is given in detail by the Portuguese historians. Among the oriental authorities we may mention the names of Wajih ad-Dayba, the most important writer on the history of the Yamen, and Hajjr-ad-Dabir, the author of what is now called the *Arabic History of Gujarat*. Ad-Dayba says that, in response to the appeals made by the king of the Yamen and by several rulers in Western India, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt ordered Amir Husain, governor of Jedda, to proceed with a fleet to India. This writer also adds that Amir Husain was accompanied by Salman Rais, who had been sent by the Ottoman ruler, Salim, to help the Egyptian Sultan against the Franks. This detail is important, for it explains why several historians, both Portuguese and Indian (e.g., Firishta), describe the Egyptian fleet as sent out by the *Khunkar of Rum,* i.e. the Sultan of Rum or Constantinople. Salman Rais, mentioned above, had been a famous corsair in the

Authorities for the history of this expedition

1. Article by Sir E. Denison Ross, entitled 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia,' in J. R. A. S., Oct. 1921, pp. 548-553.

Mediterranean, and later entered the service of the Grand Turk and the ruler of Egypt.[1]

Mahmud I sends an envoy to Afonso De Albuquerque, 1510

The significance of the naval actions at Chaul and at Div with a great European power was not lost upon Sultan Mahmud I, for they introduced a new chapter in the history of Gujarat. We learn from the famous Portuguese chronicle, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*[2], that an envoy sent by this Sultan came to visit the Portuguese governor in September 1510, when the latter was stationed at Cananore after his temporary loss of the Isle of Goa. The envoy conveyed his sovereign's desire for peace and alliance, for which purpose the King was ready to meet Albuquerque at any of the Gujarat ports. The Sultan also desired the return of one of his own vessels (called the *Meri*)[3] which the Portuguese had captured near Hormaz, and also pointed out that a number of ship-wrecked Portuguese were at the time at his court and under his protection and that he would be glad to restore these men to the Portuguese commander. The ambassador also handed over to Albuquerque two letters, one from the Christians who were stranded in Gujarat, and another from *Gopicaica,* i.e., Malik Gopi, who is described as 'the chief *Alguazel* (minister) of the king of Cambay.'[4]

The letter sent to Albuquerque by the Portuguese who were captives at the Gujarat capital explained that they had sailed out from Socotra in the ship *Sancta Cruz* under the command of the governor's nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha, and that while passing by the western coast of India they had

1. Article by Sir E. Denison Ross, 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507-1517,' J. R. A. S., October, 1921, p. 549.
2. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,* trans. and edited by Walter de Gray Birch for the Hakluyt Society in 4 volumes. The work was compiled by this great Governor's natural son, Braz Dalboquerque, from the original letters and despatches forwarded by his father to King Manoel of Portugal. The first folio edition of the work was published in 1557.
3. The names of Muslim ships commonly ended with the syllable *mari* (e.g. Fatehmari), but the Portuguese writers took this as the name. This particular vessel belonged to the King of Gujarat and was going to Mecca laden with merchandise when it was captured by the Portuguese captain Francisco Pantoja who was on his way to Socotra in 1510. (*Commentaries,* II, 122; 208-09).
4. *Commentaries,* II, 210-11.

captured a very richly laden ship belonging to Gujarat. On their way further they had been overtaken by a fierce storm, under the stress of which they ran the ship upon some shallows and it was wrecked at a port belonging to Gujarat. The captain and some others who cast themselves in the sea on boards were drowned, while those who remained on the ship, about fifty or sixty in number, escaped with their lives. When they got to land they were immediately taken prisoners in consequence of the complaints of some twenty Muslims whom they had on board and who belonged to the Gujarat ship which the *Sancta Cruz* had taken as a prize. The letter went on to relate that when Gopicaica, the chief minister of the King of Gujarat, learned that several Portuguese were in captivity in these parts, he prevailed upon the Sultan to send for them, and in consequence they were now dwelling at Champaner. The writers begged his lordship to devise some plan whereby he might procure their release.[1]

Letter from the Portuguese at Champaner to Albuquerque

The other letter delivered by Mahmud's ambassador to the Portuguese governor was from Gopicaica[2], who is better known under the title of Malik Gopi during the next reign, and whom both the native and the Portuguese historians describe as a special friend of the Portuguese at the Gujarat court. This letter was also written from Champaner and therein Gopi relates how the Christians were stranded on the coast and how the people of the port where the ship ran ashore were for killing them. He goes on to mention the services which he had rendered by persuading the Sultan to order the port-officer to send them to the court. They were despatched to Champaner loaded with irons, but the King, when they were

Letter sent by Gopi to Albuquerque

1. *Commentaries*, II, 211-12.
2. The Muslim personal names appear in so mutilated a form in the *Commentaries* that it is generally difficult to identify them. There can, however, be no doubt that the minister mentioned as Gopicaica in Part II is the same as Milecopi (Malik Gopi) so frequently mentioned in Part IV of the Portuguese work. The two different spellings probably indicate a change in Gopi's title between 1510 and 1514. It may be noted that the Persian historians make no mention of Gopi's career during the reign of Mahmud Begada. It appears, however, that he was in supreme power in the very last years of the great Sultan's reign.

presented before him, ordered their chains to be removed and commanded that they should be provided with everything that was necessary for their maintenance. Gopi's letter then proceeds to say: 'And know you also that in the kingdom of Guzarate a true friend of yours am I, and that everything which shall be necessary between you and the king in respect of alliance and friendship that will I accomplish.' The minister next suggests to Albuquerque that a trustworthy Christian envoy should be sent to the Sultan by way of Surat port, with suitable presents, and an assurance that the Portuguese ships would not cruise about ruining the maritime trade of Gujarat. In conclusion, Gopi undertakes to get the Christian prisoners set at liberty and to secure for the Portuguese complete freedom for their ships to frequent the ports of Gujarat.[1]

Albuquerque's reply to the Sultan and to Gopi

Albuquerque, after he had perused both the letters, in due course summoned to his presence the envoy from Gujarat and asked him to inform the Sultan that he was preparing for a renewed attack on Goa, and that as soon as he had effected its conquest he proposed to visit the King to settle the terms of an alliance. He placed his soldiers and fleet at the service of the Sultan and asked for the restoration of the Portuguese who were at his capital. Before dismissing the envoy, Albuquerque delivered to him a reply for Gopi in which he styles himself 'Captain-General and Governor of the Indies, and of the kingdom and lordship of Ormuz, and of the kingdom and lordship of Goa, for the king D. Manoel our lord.' The letter assures the minister that due consideration would be given to the Muslims who were taken in the Gujarat ship that had been captured and asks for the king's wishes about the disposal of the ship and its crew. Albuquerque concludes with the hope of an alliance between the King of Cambay and his master by virtue of which the former would find his harbours safe and his ships free to navigate the seas. The letter is dated at Cannanore, September 16, 1510.[2]

1. *Commentaries*, II, 212-13.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 215-17.

Capture and sack of Goa by De Albuquerque, Nov. 1510

Two months after the date of the letter mentioned above, there took place an event, in many respects the greatest in the history of the Portuguese in the East, which immensely increased their prestige among the native powers of India. This was the second attack on, and final capture on 25th November 1510, of the city of Goa from the Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur. The orgy of sack and massacre in which Albuquerque wiped out the offence of the city deserves to be noted for it presaged the atrocities committed by his successors on the coast towns of Gujarat during the decades that followed. The details are to be found in the *Commentaries* of the great Albuquerque himself. After taking measures to guard the fortress, he gave permission to the soldiers to sack the city, with free right to keep everything they took, reserving nothing for himself. After the city had been pillaged, 'he told his Captains to reconnoitre the whole of the island and to put to the sword all the Moors (Muslims), men, women and children, that should be found, and to give no quarter to any one of them; for his determination was to leave no seed of this race throughout the whole of the island'. The Hindus of the place, the former rulers of the island, continued the slaughter by cutting off the retreat of the Muslims through the passes when they were flying from the fury of the Portuguese. De Albuquerque completed these terrible acts of revenge by ordering that a certain mosque should be filled with some Muslims, whom the Hindus had taken prisoners, and then set on fire. Among the miserable victims was a renegade Christian who had deserted to the Adil Shahi ruler when Goa was taken for the first time.[1]

League between Gujarat and Egypt broken up

The news of the fall of Goa effected a rapid change in the attitude of the Indian princes towards the Portuguese. The Sultan of Gujarat, when he saw that Albuquerque was fortifying himself at his new capital with the object of maintaining his position, realised that his league with Egypt was at an end, and ordered the liberation of the prisoners who had been captured. So also, according to the *Commentaries*, Mir

1. *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, op. cit., III, 16-17.

Husain, the commander of the Egyptian fleet, who was in Gujarat awaiting further relief and reinforcements from Cairo, on learning of the loss of Goa, obtained the permission of Sultan Mahmud to return. The Egyptian Sultan also gave orders to stop the building of the fleet that was in progress at Suez. The formidable naval confederacy of the Muslim powers against the advent of Portugal in the Indian seas was thus for a time effectually broken up.[1]

1. *Commentaries*, III, 19-20

CHAPTER XX

DUARTE BARBOSA'S ACCOUNT OF GUJARAT AT THE DEATH OF MAHMUD BEGADA (c. 1515)

Barbosa's official career in India: His account of the manners and customs of the Jains, the Banyas and the Muslims of Gujarat: On the various methods of warfare: Account of the towns and ports of the 'Kingdom of Cambay': Champaner, the political capital: The seaport of Cambay—the luxury and culture of its citizens: The cornelian mines of Limodra: The seaport of Div and its vast revenues: Account of Malik Ayaz and his government at Div: Rander on the Tapti and its 'Navayat' traders: Sack of Rander by the Portuguese: Rise of Surat to importance: Other famous ports of Gujarat: Appendix—Mr. Copland on the agate and cornelian mines in Rajpipla State, 1814.

Barbosa's career and the value of his work

The records of the travels of Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official who visited Gujarat in the second decade of the sixteenth century, enable us to obtain a reliable and interesting account of the kingdom of Gujarat and its population, and of the wealth and commerce of its cities and seaports, in the years immediately following the death of Mahmud Begada. This was just the period when the martial valour and political capacity of this great ruler had raised the Ahmad Shahi dynasty to a pinnacle of glory among the Indian kingdoms of the time, so that it equalled, if it did not surpass, the power of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi. Barbosa was an official serving under the Portuguese authorities in India mainly at Cochin and Cannanore from about 1500 to 1517. He was well acquainted with several of the Indian languages, and had travelled extensively in many of the kingdoms of his time, and he informs us in the Preface to his work that he had recorded what he himself saw or heard from trustworthy persons. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* for this is the title under which the work appears in the Portuguese edition first published in 1812, enjoyed a high reputation for veracity and exactness among the early Portuguese historians such as De

Barros and Gasper Correa, both of whom tell us that they have refrained from writing about those lands and peoples about which Barbosa had already given an account.[1]

Barbosa arrived in Gujarat about 1515, within three or four years after the death of Sultan Mahmud Begada, for he tells us that the reigning sovereign, Muzaffar II, had been king for only a short time before his visit, and then relates the current story of Mahmud I having been brought up on poison, which has already been quoted.[2] In his account of the country and the people, Barbosa describes the Hindu population under the usual classification of Rajputs or fighters, Banyas on merchants and Brahmans or priests. The numerous semi-independent Rajput principalities to the north and west of the province are stated to be carrying on an unceasing warfare with the kings of Gujarat, and reference is made to Rajput skill in horsemanship and archery and to their practice of eating sheep and fish.[3]

The Hindu population

The Banya community is next mentioned as being composed of great traders and merchants. The description of their manners and customs given by this writer refers more especially to the Jains of Gujarat, who were very numerous in the large towns, and who have a greater objection to the taking of life in any form whatever than is shown by other orthodox Hindus. The following account which Barbosa gives of the application in practice of the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa,* and the exaggerated importance attached to the sanctity of all animal life, is as entertaining as it is accurate even at this date:

The Jains of Gujarat and their customs

> 'This people eat neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal. For often it is so that the Moors (Muhammadans) take to them live insects or small birds, and make as though to kill them in their presence, and the Banias buy these and ransom them, paying much more than

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* trans. and ed. by M. Longworth Dames (Hakluyt Society), I, XXXIII-XXXVII.
2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* op. cit., 121-22
3. *Ibid.,* 110.

they were worth, so that they may save their lives and let them go. And if the King or a governor of the land has any man condemned to death, for any crime which he has committed, they gather themselves together and buy him from justice, if they are willing to sell him, that he may not die.'

'And diverse Moorish (Muslim) mendicants as well, when they wish to obtain alms from this people, take great stones wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them, to hinder which they give them great alms that they may depart in peace. Others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and to these too they give large alms that they may not kill themselves. Others go to their doors seeking to kill rats and snakes for them, and to them also they give much money that they may not do so. Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors!'

'When these Banyas meet with a swarm of ants on the road they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor by day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies which perish in the flame thereof; and if there is any great need of a light by night they have a lantern of varnished paper or cloth, so that no living thing may find its way in, and die in the flame.'

'And if these men breed many lice they kill them not; but when they trouble them too much they send for certain men who live among them and whom they hold to be men of holy life; they are like hermits living with great abstinence through devotion to their gods. These men louse them, and as many lice as they catch they place on their own heads and breed them on their own flesh, by which they say they do great service to their Idol. Thus one and all they maintain with great self-restraint their law of not killing.'[1]

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by M. Longworth Dames, I, 111-12.

Proceeding further with his account of the Banyas of Gujarat, Barbosa characterises them as 'great usurers and falsifiers of weights and measures and of coins.' He adds that their diet was milk, butter, sugar and rice, and they consumed fruit and vegetables to a great extent. Twice a day they had a bath, both men and women, to wash off as many sins as had been committed up to that hour. The men grew very long hair, 'as women do with us,' and wore it twisted up on the head under a turban. They anointed themselves with white sandalwood mixed with saffron and other scents. They were also much given to golden earrings set with precious stones and to golden girdles over their clothes. They kept no arms, except small knives ornamented with gold and silver, and trusted to the Muslim rulers to defend them. The Bania women are described as beautiful and slender, both dark and fair. They went about barefoot and had on their legs heavy anklets of gold and silver with plenty of rings on their toes and fingers. They had holes bored in their ears 'wide enough for an egg to pass through,' in which they had thick gold and silver earrings. The women were kept much at home and shut up.[1]

The Banyas and their manner of life

Barbosa refers to the thoroughly cosmopolitan character of the Muhammadan population of Gujarat, as may be expected at this period when the famous seaports of the country were engaged in active commercial intercourse with so many Islamic nations within and outside the Indian continent. Besides the local Musalmans who had settled down from the days of Ala-ud-din Khalji's conquest, and those who came to Gujarat from Delhi in search of employment and enterprise, there was a considerable immigrant population of Turks, Arabs, Persians, Mamluks (the ruling class in Egypt), Khorasanis and Turcomans. These foreigners arrived mostly in pursuit of commerce and many of their ships were to be found in the various harbours along the coast. Others were attracted to the country by its wealth and the liberal pay offered by the Sultans.[2] The great seaport of Cambay must,

Cosmopolitan Muslim population

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by M. Longworth Dames, I, 112-14.
2. *Ibid.*, 119-20.

at this time, have witnessed that babel of tongues which is today so characteristic of Bombay.

Luxurious life of the ruling classes

The members of the ruling race in Gujarat are described as luxurious in their habits and spending their money with a free hand. The better classes went about, dressed in rich cloth of gold, silk and camlets, and some of them had boots up to the knee worked in dainty devices. Their short swords, finely damascened with gold or silver, according to the rank of the wearer, were borne in their girdles or carried for them by their pages. The men had their heads shaven and wore long turbans or *lungis*. The Muslim women are spoken of as very fair and beautiful with very long hair. They were, however, strictly confined to their homes, and when they went out were placed in horse-carriages entirely covered up to prevent the gaze of strangers, for their masters were 'beyond measure jealous.'[1]

Their methods of warfare

A reference to the large number of elephants and horses possessed by the Gujarat sovereign leads Barbosa to the methods of warfare employed at the period. In accordance with the immemorial traditions of Indian warfare, the Sultans employed a corps of war-elephants as an integral part of their military organisation. Barbosa tells us that the king always kept four or five hundred great and fine elephants for his wars against the Rajput rulers and others. Apart from those hunted in the forests near Dohad, many of these elephants were in the early sixteenth century brought to the seaports by merchants from Malabar and Ceylon and sold for about £750 each in modern currency, a very large sum considering the then purchasing power of money.[2]

When employed during battle, three or four men used to sit on these elephants in well-protected *howdahs* (which

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., I, 120-21.
2. *Ibid.*, 118-19. Barbosa puts the price at 1500 cruzados each, this being a coin formerly current in Portugal and its dependencies. A cruzado being worth about 10*s.*, 1500 gold cruzados would be equal to about £750, or nearly Rs. 10,000 at the present exchange rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* to the rupee.

Barbosa describes as 'castles') with bows, arrows, hand-guns, and other weapons which were discharged against the enemy. Moreover, these beasts were so well trained that they charged the men and horses against them with their tusks with such terrific force as to rout them. But their value as a fighting unit was after all of a doubtful character, for when wounded they took to flight at once, and overthrew one another, and often caused great confusion in their own camp.[1] We might add that though the introduction of artillery gradually eliminated the use of elephants in war in India, they were considered up to the seventeenth century indispensable to the power and prestige of every oriental monarch.

The elephant corps as a fighting unit

After the war-elephants, the next important 'arm' of the Gujarat forces was the cavalry, composed mainly of horses bred in the country and of excellent quality. The riders were expert horsemen seated on high-pommelled saddles, each carrying a strong round shield, two swords, a dagger and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Many of them had coats of mail, and others jackets quilted with cotton, and the foreparts of their horses were likewise caparisoned with steel. A popular pastime among these warriors, who were mostly Persianised Turks, was the ancient Persian game of *chaugan*, the modern Polo, which calls for considerable skill in the saddle.[2]

The cavalry and its accoutrement

After his general account of the country and its Hindu population, and of the Muhammadan rulers who were then in possession of the province, Barbosa gives a survey of the principal towns and their activities, beginning with the two great inland cities of Champaner and Ahmadabad, and then entering on a description of over a dozen of the seaport towns of the kingdom. It is interesting to notice that, following the current practice, he calls this the 'King of Gujarate's Kingdom of Cambay,'[3] describing the Saltanat from the name of its

The 'Kingdom of Cambay': its towns and ports

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., I, 118.
2. *Ibid.*, 119. 3. *Ibid.*, 117.

principal seaport, for long known as Khambayat, and now familiar in its corrupted form of Cambay. We may add that the Portuguese borrowed this practice from the Arab historians. Throughout the Middle Ages the name of this town was used by the Arab sailors and merchants also to designate the country of which it was the principal port.

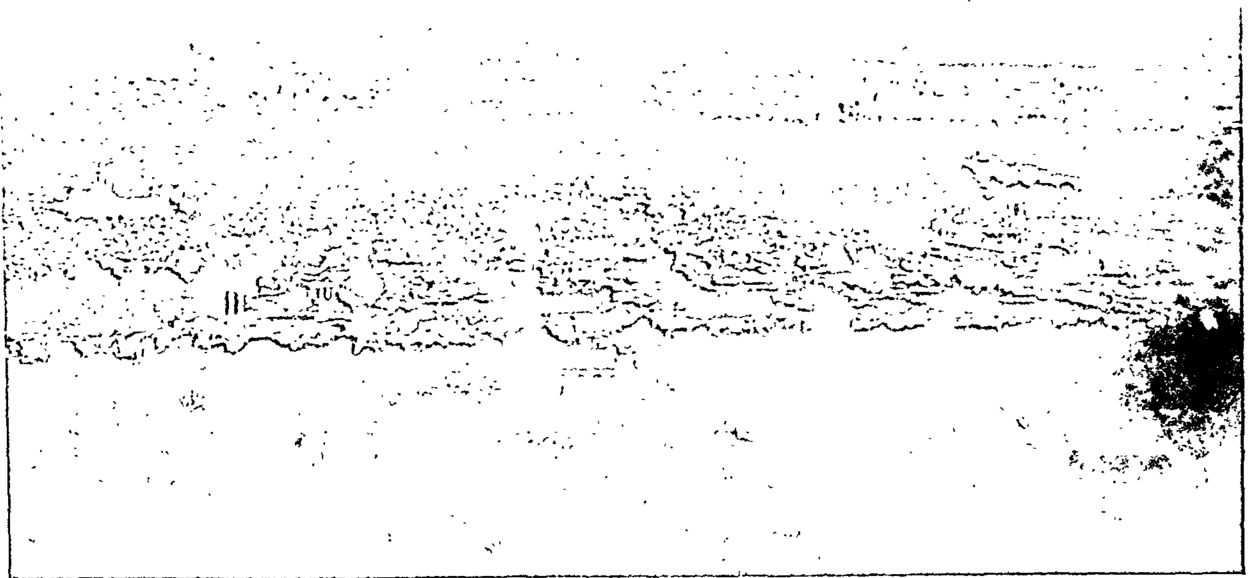
Sultan Mahmud Begada had after his conquest of the ancient city of Champaner from its Rajput ruler held his court in that city and the place continued to be the political capital of Gujarat up to its temporary occupation by the Emperor Humayun in 1535 during the reign of Sultan Bahadur. When Barbosa comes to review the 'great and fair' cities of Gujarat, he says that he would treat in the first place of the city of Champaner, 'where the king always dwells with all his court'. The town may be described as flowing with milk and honey, for the broad plains within which it was situated yielded an abundance of wheat, barley, millet, rice, gram and pulse. 'Here,' says the Portuguese traveller, 'there is enough and to spare of all things'. The King (Muzaffar the Clement) maintained a large number of hawks, falcons, greyhounds, bloodhounds and cheetahs (leopards) for the purpose of hunting and hawking. He had also a menagerie where he kept a large collection of animals for his diversion and had them procured from all parts of the world. One of these, a *genda* (rhinoceros), was sent by the Sultan as a present to the king of Portugal in 1514 through Afonso de Albuquerque.[1]

Champaner, the political capital of Gujarat

We next come to Ahmadabad (mentioned as Andava), which is described as very rich and much greater than Champaner, and 'in which the kings of this kingdom held their courts of old'. Both the towns are praised for their strong walls and fine houses roofed in the western fashion. We get some idea of the absolute methods of the Sultans when we are told that if any officer or collector of revenue was guilty of misdemeanour in the discharge of his duties, he was summoned

Ahmadabad described

1. *The Boo › Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., I, 123-24.



Bird's-eye view of the *Citadel* and *City* of Muslim Champaner

before the king, and, if unable to put up a good defence, was ordered to take a poisoned draught.[1]

The great seaport of Cambay

The ancient and historic seaport of Cambay is at present so far removed from the main channels of oceanic trade and inland communication that few can realise the fact that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it stood amongst the foremost cities of Gujarat and held the position which in the following century was transferred to Surat and is now enjoyed by Bombay. The Italian traveller Varthema, who visited Cambay about 1506, tells us that some 300 ships of various nations passed the port to and fro, and that the city supplied all Persia, Turkey, Syria and Barbary with silk and cotton stuffs. His remarks, however, show that he was evidently confused by the imposing and extraordinary tides in the Gulf of Cambay which are called the *Bore*.[2]

Its buildings and its citizens

Duarte Barbosa is louder in his praise of 'the fair city of Cambay', its wealth and luxury, its industries and its craftsmen, than he is perhaps of any other town in Gujarat. The city was situated in the midst of a pleasant district which was rich in supplies of all kinds. Its streets were well laid out with fine open squares and lofty buildings of stone and mortar with windows and tiled roofs. The inhabitants, both Hindu and Muhammadan, were substantial merchants and many of them were men of great fortune. As the emporium of the trade of all Hindustan, the city had a large foreign element in its population, which is described as being 'quite white'.[3]

Their wealth and luxurious habits

The residents of Cambay were 'a people of great culture, accustomed to good clothing, leading a luxurious life, and given to pleasure and vice'. They were fond of washing themselves often and anointed their bodies with sweet-smelling unguents. Both men and women adorned their hair with jasmine or other flowers and were great musicians. The people went about a great deal in coaches drawn by horses or

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by M. Longworth Dames, I, 123-24.
2. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society), 111.
3. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., 139-41.

oxen. Many of the carriages of the richer classes were 'closed and covered like rooms', richly upholstered with gilt leather, silken mattresses, counterpanes and cushions. In these their women paid visits to friends, or were taken by trusted drivers to games or entertainments, and while completely shut off from the passers-by they sang or played music or did what they pleased within.[1]

The arts and crafts of Cambay

Cambay was famous for its skilled mechanics and craftsmen of all types not less expert than the weavers and other artisans of the Flemish towns of this period. Among the many commodities produced by them are mentioned cotton fabrics of all kinds, silk cloths, velvets, satins and thick carpets. Barbosa specially mentions the great quantity of ivory employed in inlaid and 'cunningly turned' articles such as bangles, sword-hilts, dice, chessmen, chessboards and bedsteads. The place was famous for its lapidaries who made imitation precious stones and pearls of various kinds which appeared real. There were goldsmiths skilled in their craft. A great amount of trade was also carried on in *al-aqik* or cornelians, agates and such stones. In short, 'in this city the best workmen in every kind of work are found.'[2]

The cornelian mines at Limodra (now in Rajpipla State)

Barbosa goes on to say that while Cambay was the centre of the export trade in agates and cornelians from Gujarat to the countries of Europe and Western Asia, the mines where these stones were extracted were situated far inland in the vicinity of Limodra, a place on the banks of the Narbada close to Ratanpur in the present Rajpipla State. Throughout the sixteenth century, Limodra continued to be the principal seat of this flourishing industry. Here the stones were polished and worked into rings, or knobs for hilts of swords and daggers, and into various other shapes, by expert craftsmen, while merchants from Cambay used to go to this place to buy them. There were two principal varieties of these chalcedonies, *viz.*, the red one called *al-aqik* and the white or milky type which was known as *babaghori*. We may add that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the seat

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., I, 141.
2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, 142.

of this industry appears to have been transferred from Limodra to Cambay, to which place, after a preliminary sorting and exposure to fire at Limodra to develop the colour, the stones were taken to be cut and polished and worked up into various shapes.[1]

The great city of Div: it is coveted by the Portuguese

The island city of Div, situated to the extreme south of the Kathiawar peninsula, rivalled at this period the port of Cambay as a great and busy commerical mart, though it lacked that all-round industrial activity which distinguished the latter emporium. Among the causes that contributed to the prosperity of Div, we may mention that it was easy of access, had a very good harbour, and was outside the influence of the dangerous tides and currents of the Gulf of Cambay. Barbosa enumerates a large number of commodities, both raw materials and manufactured goods, which were handled in the great import and export trade of Div with places in and beyond India, and informs us that 'the port brought in an amazingly large sum of revenue to its rulers by virtue of the heavy and precious goods that were laden and unladen there'.[2] We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the possession of Div began from this time to be coveted by the Portuguese who had already made their appearance on the Indian shores, and that its now more or less deserted waters were the scene of many a fierce naval struggle between the intrusive foreigners and the admirals of the Gujarat rulers who were often assisted by powerful armaments from Turkey or Egypt.

Account of Malik Ayaz and his power

The reference made by the Portuguese traveller to Malik Ayaz, the great governor of Div under Sultan Mahmud I and his son Muzaffar II, deserves to be quoted as it bears out the accounts derived by us from other sources about this famous general and administrator whose valour and strategy prevented the foreigners from securing a footing at Div as long as he lived:

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit., 142-45 and *notes*. For an excellent account of the mines near Ratanpur and how they were worked a hundred years ago, see the Appendix to this Chapter.
2. *Ibid.*, 128-30.

'The King of Cambay', says Barbosa, 'has here a Governor named Malinquas (Malik Ayaz), who is an old man, a very good rider, judicious, industrious, and learned. He lives in a very orderly manner and shows a powerful mind in all his affairs. He possesses a very strong artillery which is renewed from day to day. He has also many rowing galleys, well designed and equipped . . . He has built a very strong boom across the harbour, furnished with heavy artillery, and many gunners always present. He is very prudent and holds the might of the King our lord in great dread. He gives great entertainment to our ships and people who put in at his port. The people of the country are properly punished and dealt with justly and according to law'.[1]

Rander on the Tapti described

The old town of Rander on the north bank of the river Tapti, and not Surat on the opposite side, was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the principal commercial centre south of Broach. It was a very ancient town and had been for several centuries dominated by a race of foreign Muhammadans who were called Navayats.[2] These immigrants were Arabs from Kufa who, being Shiahs and persecuted by the orthodox Sunnis, fled from their native country to India and settled at various places on the western coast. According to tradition, some time during the thirteenth century (about 1225), they succeeded in overpowering the Jain population of Rander and became its rulers. Being active and enterprising navigators, they became in course of time very wealthy and successful merchants trading in their own well-equipped ships with Malacca, China, Tenasarim, Pegu and Sumatra in spices, silks, musk, porcelain and other commodities.[3]

These Arab merchants of Rander were evidently persons of culture and liberal views. Barbosa says that they were fair in colour and of gentle birth, and their women are described as beautiful. The latter were not shut up as was the practice

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, 130-33 and *notes*.
2. The term *navayats* is, with some probability, explained as meaning new-comers', from the Sanskrit *nava-ayat*.
3. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, 146.

elsewhere among the Muhammadans, but went forth from their houses much in the daytime with their faces uncovered. The houses of the Navayats were well built and well furnished, and the front or drawing rooms of most of them were surrounded by rows of shelves in which were exhibited the finest and richest porcelain brought over from China. 'Whosoever', says the Portuguese writer, 'would have at his disposal things from Malacca and China, let him go to this place, where he will find them in greater perfection than in any other place soever'.[1]

The wealth and culture of its inhabitants

The decline of Rander began in 1530 with the wholly unprovoked and piratical raid by the Portuguese captain Antonio da Silveira, who sailed up the Tapti and burnt both Rander and Surat. The former town was bravely defended, though without avail, by its warlike Muslim population, while the Banya inhabitants of Surat, a place then far inferior in wealth and commerce, attempted no resistance. Rander was sacked and burnt and never seems to have recovered from this blow, 'and the aimless destruction of this unique and attractive spot is a blot on the Portuguese power in India.' Its wealth and trade decayed while Surat revived its activities and soon took the place of its rival. The European travellers of the following century who visited Rander, *viz.*, Mandelslo, Peter Mundy, Thevenot and Fryer, all refer to the town as a ruined and decayed place. But though the importance of Rander as a commercial centre has long since disappeared, it can never lose its exquisite natural position on the banks of the Tapti, embowered among groves of beautiful trees, over which arise the minarets of the innumerable mosques, which attest its past prosperity and the wealth and piety of its present citizens who still retain their adventurous spirit of commercial enterprise in distant parts of the world.

Sack of Rander by the Portuguese and its decline

Surat, on the south bank of the Tapti estuary, though inferior to Rander, was, according to Barbosa, one of the major seaports of Gujarat, and its custom-house brought in yearly a great sum of money to the 'King of Cambay'. It had, unlike

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* I, 146-48.

Gujarat rulers with the scanty resources of his own once imperial realm, is reported to have said, 'The magnificence of the king of Delhi rests on wheat and barley, whilst that of the king of Gujarat, who has eighty-four ports under him, has its foundation on coral and pearls'.[1]

APPENDIX.

Mr. Copland's Account of The Cornelian Mines Near Ratanpur in the Rajpipla State, 1814

The route from Broach to the mines

An excellent account of the cornelian mines in the Rajpipla State, based on a personal visit, was given more than a century ago by Mr. John Copland, Assistant Surgeon in the Bombay Medical Establishment, in a letter to the Secretary of the Bombay Literary Society. Mr. Copland arrived at Broach at the end of 1814 on a march with some troops from Bombay to Baroda, and took advantage of a few days' stay there to visit the famous tree or grove known as the *Kabir Vad* and the cornelian mines. He left Broach on 3rd December 1814 taking boat on the Narbada river, and, after visiting the sacred grove mentioned above, which is situated on an island in the river 12 miles N. E. of Broach, he and his party sailed up the river and landed opposite the village of Limodra, three miles inland, where they found their horses waiting to take them to the mines. On the way stood the little village of Rotanpur[2], evidently named from its proximity to the mines. From this point onward a narrow path led through the jungle to the mines through rising ground almost the whole way, the soil being stony and unproductive. The hills and valleys, pebbly beds, precipitous rocks, and plains covered with jungle, supplied a romantic diversity of scenery. Between the village of Ratanpur and

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1. J. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 132.
2. Ratanpur is situated in the Rajpipla State, in the Rupnagar subdivision, on the left bank of the Narbada, about fourteen miles east of Broach. In 1705, the Marathas gained a most complete victory near Ratanpur over the imperial army under Safdar Khan Bâbi and Nazar Ali Khan. The celebrated cornelian mines lie about five miles south-west of Ratanpur, and three miles east of the village of Limodra, commonly called Nimodra.

the mines five miles away no human habitations were found on account of the tigers with which the country was said to abound.

The mines, says Mr. Copland, stood in the wildest part of the jungle and were numerous. The shafts, working perpendicularly downward, were about four feet wide, the deepest being fifty feet. The miners resided at Limodra where the stones were burnt. The 'fire-damp' (hydrogen gas) being not uncommon in the mines, the miners did not descend till the sun had risen sufficiently high to dispel the vapours. The nodules weighed from a few ounces to two or three pounds and lay very close to each other and in the greatest abundance. The original colour of the stones was changed when burnt, e.g., no red cornelians were found as such in the mines (excepting jaspers), although a large proportion of them assumed this colour at Limodra. Many stones, after having been burnt, showed double colours, sometimes distinct and sometimes mixed, while the colour was nearly uniform at the mines. Mr. Copland next proceeds to give in elaborate detail the manner in which the cornelians were exposed to the action of fire as explained to him by a native of Broach who was formerly in the trade and used to superintend the process at Limodra. The stones were brought from the mines every evening, spread on the ground, exposed to the sun, and turned every fifteenth day till the time of burning, which was only once a year, when they were exposed in the furnace for one night. From this village the cornelians were carried to Cambay by the merchants who came from that town, and there they were cut and formed into the beautiful and much sought after ornaments for which the place was noted.[1]

How the mines were worked and the stones burnt

Another and more circuitous route leading from the mines to Limodra passed over a hill of considerable height from the top of which an extensive prospect could be commanded. Mr. Copland states that on its summit stood the tomb of the tutelary saint of the country, Baba Ghor, under whose particular protection the cornelian mines were said to be, and to whom the miners recommended themselves for safety before descending into the pits. It may be noted here

The tomb of Baba Ghor, the tutelary saint of the mines

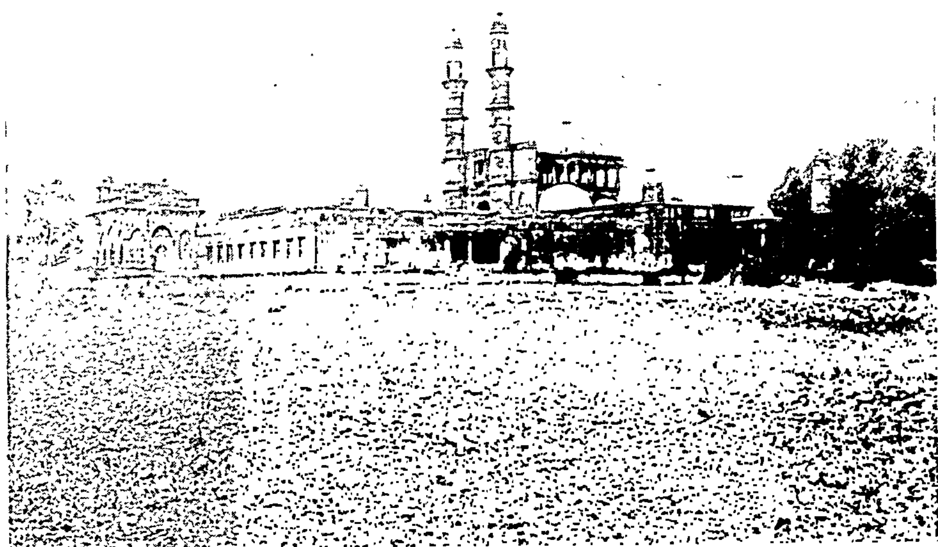
1. For a very elaborate account of the Cambay lapidaries, and of the processes connected with the manufacture and sale of cornelians and agates

that some varieties of agates and cornelians have long been described as *Baba Ghoris* after the name of the saint. Below the saint's tomb is a hollow (answering to a crater) containing a tank of water, well built of hewn stone and having steps on its four sides descending in the most regular manner to the bottom. It was a strange sight for our traveller to find so fine a work of human art in such a sequestered spot, at a great distance from all human habitation, and in a country covered with jungle as far as the eye could reach. On the 12th of Rajab every year, thousands of pilgrims from all parts flock to this place for the anniversary of the saint's death, who, according to tradition, was a prince of the royal house of Ghor, and died a martyr in the field of battle in these parts.[1]

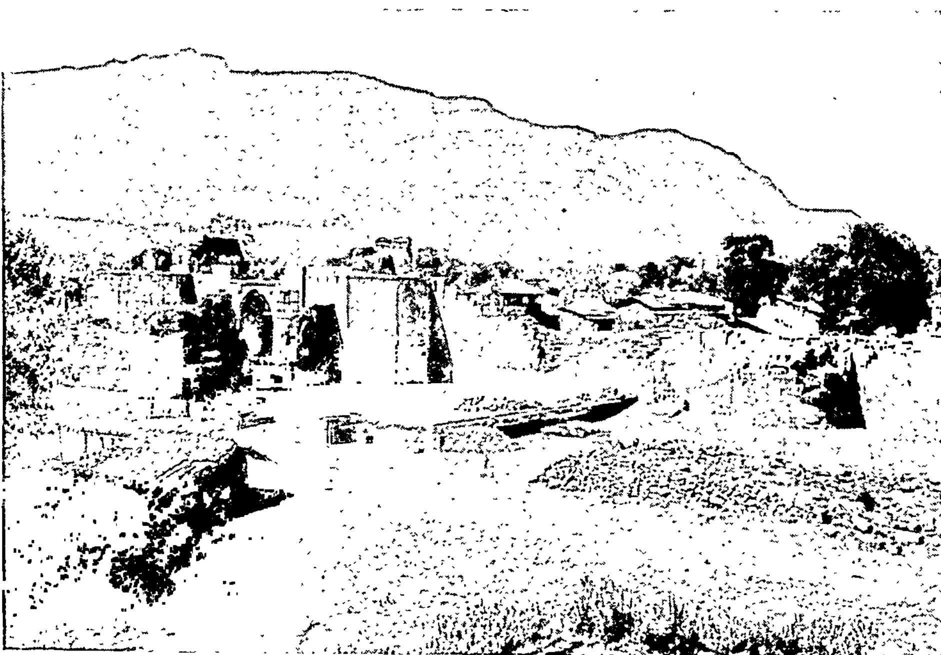
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at this ancient town, as also for the historical accounts of the same left by various European travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, see Bombay Gazetteer, VI, 198-207.

1. Account of the Cornelian mines in the neighbourhood of Broach, by John Copland, published in *The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, I, (1819), 313-320.



The Jami Masjid at Champaner (c. 1487–97) showing the courtyard-walls and the porch



The Godhra Gate of the Citadel of Champaner adjoining the Jami Masjid, with Pavagadh Hill in the background

CHAPTER XXI

SULTAN MUZAFFAR II, 'THE CLEMENT', 1511-1526: POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE REIGN

Rao Bhim of Idar subdued and his capital sacked, 1513: Civil strife at Idar, 1515: Medni Rai, the all-powerful minister of Malwa: Muzaffar II restores the Malwa Sultan to his throne, 1518: Great banquet given to him at Mandu: Character of Medni Rai: Rise of Khush Qadam, Imad-ul-Mulk: Malik Gopi of Surat as minister: He befriends the Portuguese: Rana Sangram of Chitor invades North Gujarat: Malik Ayaz, who is sent against him, makes peace, 1521: Death of the great Ayaz at Una, 1522: His signal services: Prince Bahadur leaves Gujarat for the north, 1525: His presence at the battle of Panipat, 1526: Death of Sultan Muzaffar II.

Summary of the reign

Prince Khalil Khan was in his thirty-seventh year when he succeeded his father to the throne of Gujarat on November 24, 1511, under the title of Muzaffar Shah II. Brave and generous, fervently pious and learned, he is perhaps the only ruler of his dynasty whose character commands our admiration and regard. His mild and merciful administration justly earned for him the title of 'the Clement', but his moderation bordered on weakness, and he was unsuited to those rough times which demanded in the ruler stern and unrelenting vigour. The first signs of the insubordination of the nobles are already visible in Gujarat before his reign comes to a close. The political and military history of the fifteen years of Muzaffar's reign may be reviewed under four heads. In the first place we shall discuss his intervention in the affairs of the Rajput state of Idar on his north-eastern frontier; we shall next consider his relations with the kingdom of Malwa and the important part which he played in restoring the throne of Mandu to its ruler Mahmud II; we shall then trace the history of his contact in arms with the celebrated Rana Sanga (Sangram Singh) of Chitor, the head of all the Rajput princes of India, whose heroic career throws a last ray of splendour

over the dying efforts of Rajput sway in Hindustan; lastly, we shall review the relations of the Gujarat court in the time of Muzaffar II with the Portuguese power on the western coast of India.

Sultan Mahmud I's designs against the great Rajput states of Junagadh and Champaner and his other campaigns had evidently left him little time to interfere with the affairs of the feudatory state of Idar which occupy our attention at the outset of Muzaffar's reign. Raja Bhim Singh of Idar (1509–15), son of Rao Bhan, taking advantage of the preoccupation of this Sultan with the civil war in Malwa, broke out into rebellion in 1513 and raided the country to the east of the Sabarmati. Ain-ul-Mulk Fuladi, governor of Patan, who was on his way to Godhra with his contingent to join the Sultan, turned aside to punish the Raja, but he was defeated, and his brother as also 200 of his men were slain. Muzaffar, on receiving this news, marched in person to Modasa and drove Bhim Singh into the hills. Arriving on the outskirts of Idar, he gave orders for the sack of the city, destroying the temples, palaces and other buildings. The Raja sought the intercession of Malik Gopi, a Hindu and one of the king's ministers, and was forgiven on paying a large tribute and making suitable presents (1513).[1]

Rao Bhim's revolt and sack of Idar, 1513

In 1515 the death of Rao Bhim Singh of Idar was followed by a disputed succession in which Bharmal, the son of the late ruler, was ousted by his cousin Raimal. The contending parties were supported by Muzaffar II on the one side and by Rana Sangram Singh on the other. The latter asserted his claim to supremacy over all the Rajput princes in India and espoused the cause of his son-in-law Raimal. Sultan Muzaffar could ill brook this interference with the internal affairs of a state which had for generations owed allegiance to the Gujarat rulers. He, therefore, deputed Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Jagirdar of Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar), to expel the pretender and restore Bharmal to the throne. This general had a high reputation for bravery and was the son of

Muzaffar helps Bharmal to the throne of Idar, 1515

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 81-82; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 249-50.

the last Raval of Champaner, having been brought up as a Muslim in the court of Mahmud Begada. Nizam-ul-Mulk advanced and replaced Bharmal on the throne; but having pursued the pretender into the hills, he was brought to action and defeated with severe loss. The King reproved his general for having exceeded his instructions and recalled him to the capital. Raimal was not finally subdued till two years later.[1]

Muzaffar intervenes in Malwa affairs

It was in 1510 that Mahmud II Khalji (1510–1531), destined to be the last ruler of the independent Malwa dynasty, usurped the throne of Mandu. His right was disputed by his elder brother Sahib Khan, and, in the protracted civil war that followed, the nobles were divided into factions, and Mahmud owed the preservation of his throne to his Rajput troops and to the fidelity and valour of Medni Rai, the feudatory Rajput chief of Chanderi. The long continued services of this chieftain gave him a complete ascendancy over his master and he at length became predominant in the state. The leading Muslim nobles were removed from the country; the highest posts in the army and in the state were given to Rajputs; and even the royal bodyguard came to be composed of Hindus. Mahmud II found himself at last a puppet in the hands of his powerful minister, and a virtual prisoner in his own capital. Unable to bear this humiliation and the domination of his Rajput allies, he escaped with a single guide to Bhagor on the frontiers of Gujarat, and appealed to Muzaffar II to come to the aid of a brother Musalman.[2]

Mandu restored to Mahmud II, 1518

The chivalrous ruler of Gujarat marched along with his royal guest at the head of his troops into Malwa. When confronted by the army of Gujarat led by the two Sultans in person, Medni Rai left the fort to seek the help of Rana Sanga of Chitor, and having secured it advanced as far as Sarangpur, 50 *kos* from Mandu. He had left his son Rai Pithora in command of the garrison at Mandu with instructions to hold out as long as possible by feigned negotiations as well as by force

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, 83-84; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 252-53 and n; *Arabic History*, I, 100-01.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 252-53, 259-60; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 247-48, 253-55.

of arms. Sultan Muzaffar detached a force under Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Adil Khan III of Khandesh to watch Medni Rai and the Rana while he himself pressed the siege with vigour. On February 23, 1518, the day of the Hindu festival of the *Holi*, Mandu was carried by escalade after the Rajput garrison had performed the rite of *jauhar*. The slaughter that followed was tremendous and the streets of Mandu literally ran with blood. Nineteen thousand brave Rajputs are said to have lost their lives in the final encounter, among them being the son of Medni Rai.[1]

Muzaffar invited to a grand entertainment

All Malwa was now at Muzaffar's feet, but, in order to avoid temptation and the insidious advice of his nobles, he hastily quitted the fortress and handed over the kingdom to its legitimate sovereign. A few days later, Mahmud II invited his benefactor to a sumptuous banquet which he gave in his honour at Mandu. According to Firishta, Mahmud treated his guest with the utmost respect as his Superior, seating him upon the throne and standing himself at the foot of it, and carried his humility so far as to wait on his guest at the entertainment. After the feast was over, two thousand beautiful women of his seraglio, gaily dressed and adorned, and carrying plates of gems and golden ornaments, were presented before the royal guest, and their master declared that they and all he had were at Sultan Muzaffar's disposal. The latter thanked him, but begged that they might be permitted to retire. The historian Husam-ud-din Khan, the author of the lost work on Gujarat history known as the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, and grandson of the famous vazir Muhafiz Khan of Mahmud Begada's reign, says that he was present with Sultan Muzaffar II at Dhar during the operations against Medni Rai in the campaign for the capture of Mandu. He was also, at a later date, employed by Qiwam-ul-Mulk to fetch certain nobles during Rana Sangram's victorious campaign in Gujarat in 1520.[2]

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* present in this campaign

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 84-87; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 256-62; *Arabic History*, I, 105.
2. *Arabic History*, I, 100, 112; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 270.

The real character of Medni Rai can with difficulty be discerned under the mist of calumny in which it is enveloped by the Muslim historians. From their own accounts, however, he appears to have been a remarkable man, distinguished alike for his loyalty and chivalrous courtesy. In the confusion of the civil war in Malwa he gained supreme power, and to retain it naturally employed men of his own nationality. At the height of his power he never forgot the respect which he owed to his master, and his treatment of Mahmud II and his family appears to have been throughout generous and considerate. He, no doubt, hesitated to transform Malwa into an avowedly Hindu kingdom from fear of provoking the jealous hostility of the neighbouring kingdoms, which would be bound in honour to restore the practice of their religion.[1] After the fall of Mandu in 1518, Medni Rai sought the protection of his ally Rana Sanga of Chitor, by whom he was re-established in the strong fortress of Chanderi. In 1527 we find him fighting alongside of Sanga in the memorable battle of Khanua, in which Babur destroyed the power of the Rajput confederacy, and shortly after he perished in the assault and capture of Chanderi by the first Mughal Emperor.

Character of Medni Rai

Two of the great nobles of Mahmud Begada's court, viz., Malik Ayaz and Malik Sarang Kiwam-ul-Mulk, continued to play an active and prominent part during the reign of Muzaffar II also. Another *amir* now appears on the scene in the person of Khush-Qadam, entitled Imad-ul-Mulk, who came into prominence during the siege of Mandu against Medni Rai and his Rajputs in 1519. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* he was a purchased slave of Bibi Rani, the favourite wife of Sultan Muzaffar and a daughter of the Jam of Sind. She was the mother of Prince Sikandar, the eldest son of the Sultan. Hajji-ad-Dabir says in his *Arabic History* that Bibi Rani was the foster-mother of Khush-Qadam and that the latter became a favourite of the Sultan because of this fact and of his good looks. In the troubled period following upon the death of

Rise of Khush-Qadam, Imad-ul-Mulk

1. Bayley's *Gujarat,* 247 *n,* 261-62; Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 258; *Arabic History of Gujarat,* I, 213-14, 393.

Muzaffar in 1526, Khush-Qadam tried to usurp supreme authority in the kingdom and became for a time the king-maker, compassing at the same time the murder of Sultan Sikandar. We shall later describe the circumstances under which, after Bahadur had established his authority, Imad-ul-Mulk's house was given up to plunder and he was ignominiously executed.[1]

Another great noble of the early years of Muzaffar's reign deserves special mention for he was a Hindu and a Brahman whose career indicates that Hindus were not debarred from rising to some of the highest posts under the Saltanat. It is, however, from Portuguese rather than from Persian sources that we are able to gather some details about this remarkable man. We find that he was the chief minister at the court of Mahmud Begada during the last years of the reign of that Sultan and he continued to hold this office during the first two or three years of Muzaffar's reign. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* states that he and Qiwam-ul-Mulk conducted everything in a high-handed manner and that the entire government of the country was in their hands. Malik Gopi, however, who was fond of the most lavish entertainments and had a large seraglio, managed to incur the hostility of the Muslims who could not bear to see so much power exercised by a Hindu, and having fallen under royal displeasure, his house was ordered to be plundered and he was put to death. The Portuguese chronicles describe Malik Gopi as governor of Surat and Broach, and the former town was undoubtedly his native city where his memory is still perpetuated by the Gopi Talav, an extensive reservoir constructed by him, and by the locality known as Gopipura where he probably lived. The lake with its once beautiful environs has now disappeared, but the suburb which goes under his name is still flourishing. We gather also from the Portuguese historians that Gopi befriended their nation, and was their most powerful champion at the Gujarat court in opposition to Malik Ayaz of Div who consistently opposed all concessions to the Portuguese demands. We shall have occasion to refer in more detail to Gopi's activities in our

Malik Gopi and his career

Gopi a great friend of the Portuguese

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 312; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 134.

account of the Portuguese embassy that was sent by Afonso de Albuquerque to Muzaffar's court in 1514. The exact date of Malik Gopi's death is not known, but it was certainly before 1515, for Duarte Barbosa, who visited the Gujarat towns in this year, mentions that Gopi had been executed by the Sultan's orders before his arrival in the country. According to local tradition at Surat, Gopi was an Anavala Brahman. A detailed account of this famous noble and of the Gopi Talav at Surat will be found in a chapter devoted to the subject in the author's *Studies in the History of Gujarat.*

Account of Gopi given in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*

According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Malik Gopi was a man fond of pleasure and of dancing-girls and entertainments. Whenever there was a function at his house, no roses were available anywhere in the bazar for he used to buy them all up. On one such occasion, Ahmad Khan, a near connection of the Sultan, disguised himself as a torch-bearer and entered Gopi's house in order to see a dancing girl of great beauty. He was recognised and belaboured by the servants so that the next day he died. The relations of the dead man demanded blood-revenge, and waylaying Gopi wounded him, but not mortally. When news of this was brought to the Sultan he did not think it advisable 'to spare a wounded snake' and gave the order for the *halan* or plunder of his house and his property. This was done 'in the twinkling of an eye' and Gopi was brought with his hands tied behind him to the Sultan's presence. He pleaded for his life saying that the King's father had by his favour raised him from poverty to his present position and that all he had was the Sultan's. Muzaffar, however, gave orders that he should be put to death, declaring that many Muslims had suffered through his actions.[1]

Rana Sanga of Chitor invades Gujarat, 1520

In 1520 Rana Sangram or Sanga of Chitor (Mewar) was at the height of his power. He had, in the preceding year, won a signal victory over Mahmud II of Malwa, who had rashly offered him battle near Gagraun, but was himself severely wounded and taken captive. By an act of magnanimity, which does him infinite credit, the Rana sent him back to his capital

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 236 and *n*, 275; *Arabic History*, I. 116-17.

after his wounds had healed and restored him to his throne. Flushed with this success, Sanga was ready to measure his strength with the more powerful ruler of Gujarat, and a pretext offering itself, he carried out a short but victorious campaign over the districts of Northern Gujarat. During the absence of the Sultan at Champaner, which was now the political capital of Gujarat, Malik Sarang was governor of Ahmadabad in 1520, and Mubariz-ul-Mulk,[1] another brave noble, was appointed to take charge of Idar. The story goes that a wandering minstrel came to the latter's court and began to extol the generosity and martial prowess of the Rana of Mewar. Incensed at this, Mubariz Khan began to abuse the Rana, and, to show the contempt he had for the ruler of Chitor, he ordered a common cur to be named Sanga and to be chained up at the gate of the fort. When informed of the gratuitous insult offered to him, the Rana marched against Idar at the head of 40,000 Rajputs. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, whose garrison was very small, was persuaded by his officers to fall back on Ahmadnagar on the Hathmati. Sanga set out in pursuit and defeated the Gujarat forces in a great battle before the walls of Ahmadnagar. He plundered this city and carried off the inhabitants; spared Vadnagar at the entreaties of the Brahmans; and captured and sacked Vishalnagar. He was now within sixty miles of Ahmadabad, but setting aside the advice of his followers to march on the capital of Gujarat, he returned victorious to Chitor.

Malik Ayaz leads an army against the Rana, 1521

In this emergency Sultan Muzaffar summoned the famous Malik Ayaz, the semi-independent governor of Junagadh and Div, to come up to the capital to recover the lost reputation of Gujarat. He was given supreme command of an army of more than a hundred thousand horse, and under him were placed Malik Sarang, Mubariz-ul-Mulk, and many other famous nobles (Jan. 1521). On their way towards Chitor the Gujarat troops

1. This noble was the son of Raval Jayasingh, the last ruler of Champaner. After his conversion, he received the name of Malik Husain Bahmani, and was successively raised to the dignity of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk. His Hindu ancestry may account for the subsequent dissensions between him and the other Gujarat nobles. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 266).

captured Dungarpur and Vansvada and reduced them to ashes. But during the siege of the fort of Mandasor the dissensions and lack of co-operation between the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants came to a head. Rana Sanga sent envoys to Malik Ayaz, who patched up a peace against the wishes of his generals and returned with the army to the capital.

The attitude of Ayaz explained

Mahmud II Khalji of Malwa had joined Malik Ayaz with his army during the siege of Mandasor, and as the trenches had been completed right up to the walls of the fort, the stronghold would have been captured and Rana Sangram humiliated. But the jealousy of Malik Ayaz, who feared that Qiwam-ul-Mulk might gain the credit for the victory, led him to patch up a peace with the Rana. Qiwam-ul-Mulk was strongly opposed to this termination of the campaign, and persuaded Mahmud II of Mandu and the other nobles in the camp to join him in an attack on the fort. Malik Ayaz, on being informed of this design, let the Malwa Sultan understand that the supreme command had been entrusted to him by the Sultan and he alone was responsible for the war, and ordered the army back to Ahmadabad. The Sultan received Malik Ayaz coldly, dismissed him to his government in Sorath, and expressed his intention of marching in person against Sangram Singh. As the latter, however, sent his own son to Ahmadabad with offers of goodwill and tribute, the Sultan abandoned his idea (1522).[1]

Death of Malik Ayaz at Una, 1522 : his services

In the year 1522 (Hijri 928), the great admiral and statesman Malik Ayaz died at the 'blessed town' of Una in the extreme south of Kathiawar and he was buried there near the tomb of Shah Shams-ud-din. Our authorities all bear testimony to his great power and to the signal services which he rendered to the Gujarat rulers. Under him the seaport of Div was probably at the height of its medieval prosperity. He exercised complete control over the Gujarat sea-board and maintained a great fleet, and he would not permit any European vessel to enter the Gujarat ports except for the purpose of

1. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 88-95; Bayley's *Gujarat,* 264-75; *Arabic History,* I, 107, 113-15.

trade.[1] The Portuguese chroniclers bear testimony to the manner in which he resisted the persistent efforts of their countrymen to secure a footing on the Gujarat coast. In the reign of Bahadur, however, important concessions were made by that Sultan to the Portuguese at Div, and the serious complications and disasters to which they gave rise form the highest justification of the unbending policy of exclusion so consistently followed by this great admiral of the Gujarat Sultans.

Prince Bahadur leaves Gujarat, 1525-26

In 1525, Prince Bahadur, the second and the ablest of the sons of the Sultan, left Gujarat for Delhi, ostensibly dissatisfied with the smallness of his jagir, but probably to save his life from the evil designs of his elder brother Sikandar, the heir apparent. On his way north by way of Dungarpur, he halted at Chitor, where he was hospitably received by Rana Sanga and his mother. The Rana's nephew invited the guest to an entertainment at his house, during which Bahadur was much struck by a dancing-girl of singular beauty. The Rajput prince came up to him and said, 'Do you know who she is? She is the daughter of the Qazi of Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar). When the Rana sacked the city, I went to the Qazi's house, killed him, and carried off this girl; the rest of his women were carried off by the other Rajputs.' A prince of Gujarat could ill brook this bravado and Bahadur at once cut the Rajput in two. Only the intervention of the Rana's mother, however, saved him from the consequences of his rash action. Leaving Chitor, the prince arrived at Mewat, where the ruler Hasan Khan entertained him hospitably and placed all the resources of the state at his disposal if he desired to attack Gujarat. But Bahadur replied that he had no such wicked intention as a war against his father. He eventually reached the court of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (1518–1526) of Delhi, who was then confronting the formidable invader Zahir-ud-din Babur[2] at Panipat, 40 *kos* from Delhi. Bahadur was well

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 236 and *n*, 275; *Arabic History*, I, 116-17.
2. Among those who invited Babur to the conquest of Hindustan was Alam Khan (Sultan Ala-ud-din) Lodi, son of Bahlol Lodi, and uncle of Ibrahim Lodi. He appears to have been of a turbulent disposition and spent many years in exile at the courts of Mahmud Begada and Muzaffar II. In 1523 he left Ahmadabad to fight with his nephew Ibrahim and assumed the style

received by the Sultan and soon became very popular. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, as Ibrahim's rule had come to be thoroughly disliked both by the Afghan nobles and the people of Delhi, a conspiracy was formed to dethrone him and to put Bahadur in his place. There seems, however, no reason to think that Bahadur was privy to this plot.[1] Under these circumstances, the prince, finding the Sultan becoming cool towards him, left Delhi for Jaunpur, the nobles of which place had sent him secret invitation to come and assume power there. On the way he received news of the death of his father and retraced his steps towards Gujarat.[2]

Bahadur present at the battle of Panipat

As stated above, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi was about to fight Babur at Panipat when Prince Bahadur sought refuge with him, and skirmishes had already begun with the advanced guard of Babur's army, in one of which Bahadur so distinguished himself by his bravery that the jealousy of his host was roused. This is sufficient to explain Sultan Ibrahim's coolness towards the prince even if we do not credit the story of the plot to dethrone him. The battle of Panipat was fought on April 18, 1526, and we learn from Mir Abu Turab's 'History' that Bahadur was present at the battle though he took no part in the fight. The Prince appears to have also sent letters to Babur asking for assistance, and we shall give later an extract from the celebrated *Memoirs* of this great Central Asian conqueror in which he refers to Bahadur's accession to the throne of Gujarat after an orgy of executions, and describes him 'as giving proofs of being a blood-thirsty and ungovernable young man.'[3]

Death of Muzaffar II, April 5, 1526

Muzaffar Shah died at Ahmadabad on April 5, 1526, at the age of fifty-one, and the traditions about his last illness illustrate his singularly unselfish character. The rains had failed and the Sultan prayed

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of Sultan Ala-ud-din, but was ultimately defeated, and fled to Kabul to the court of Babur and gave him such information as led to the overthrow of his own family. His son Tatar Khan Lodi will be mentioned in Bahadur's reign (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 276 and *n*, 277).

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 278 *n*.
2. *Ibid.*, 277-79; 305-06.
3. *Akbarnama*, I, XXV, 294 *n*; *Camb. Hist. of India*, III, 321-22; *Memoirs of Babur*, trans. by Leyden and Erskine, 343.

that he might be taken from this world if thereby his people could be relieved from famine. The rains came, but the King's health began to fail from that time. Finding that he was getting worse, the Sultan left Champaner, his usual capital, for Baroda, and thence by easy stages arrived at Ahmadabad, where his favourite residence was the palace of Ghattamandal on the Kankaria lake. He directed considerable sums to be given in charity, gave salutary advice on government to his eldest son Sikandar, and finally took leave of his harem and all his household and asked for their forgiveness. His body was carried to Sarkhej and he was buried by the side of his father in the royal mausoleum opposite the tomb of the Saint. Some details of his family and personal character will be given in the following chapter.[1]

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 279-81 ; *Arabic History*, I, 122, 129-31.

The Masjid of Rani Sabrai (Sipari) near the Astodya Gate, Ahmadabad, 1514

The Rauza of Rani Sabrai (Sipari) near the Astodya Gate, Ahmadabad, c. 1514

CHAPTER XXII

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF MUZAFFAR II'S REIGN

The Rani Sipari Masjid at Ahmadabad and its inscription, 1514: Persian embassy at the Gujarat court, 1511–13: Portuguese account of the same in Albuquerque's *Commentaries*: The luxury of the Sultans of Mandu: Inscription of this reign in a Mosque at Halol, 1524: Character and family of Muzaffar II.

The Rani 'Sipari' Mosque at Ahmadabad, 1514

The year 1514, the fourth regnal year of Muzaffar's reign, saw the erection of the Rani Sipari (Sabrai)[1] Mosque, which is regarded by competent critics as the most beautiful architectural work in Ahmadabad. It stands near the Astodiya gate, and, according to the inscription as now interpreted by many scholars, the mosque was built by Rani Sabrai, the widow of Sultan Mahmud Begada and the mother of Prince Abu Bakr Khan. 'Notwithstanding the smallness of its dimensions,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'it may be considered the gem of Ahmadabad, and, in its class, as one of the most exquisite buildings in the world.' The mosque is entirely trabeate in construction. The exquisitely designed minarets have no internal stairs and no galleries from which the *azan* or the call to prayer could be recited. They are pure ornaments, but of the most graceful kind. Sir John Marshall, after declaring that Fergusson's judgment on this graceful structure was not exaggerated, adds:

> 'East or West, it would be difficult to single out a building in which the parts are more harmoniously blended or in which balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm combine to produce a more perfect effect. The mosque is a small one—only 48 feet by 19 feet—but this very smallness is an asset in its favour, since the delicate traceries and jewel-like carvings of Gujarat, suggestive as they are of an almost feminine grace, show to less advantage in bigger and more virile structures.'[2]

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1. After more than half a century of variant readings, the name of the queen who built this famous masjid has now been definitely deciphered by competent scholars as Rani Sabrai and not Sipari.
2. *Cambridge History of India*, III, 616.

The inscription in Rani Sabrai's mosque, mentioned above, after the usual introductory verses which are generally quoted in all the epigraphs inserted in the local masjids, goes on to state:

The inscription in this masjid

> 'This masjid was built during the reign of the great king, who is assisted by the aid of the All-Merciful, Shams-ud-dunya wa'd din Abun-Nasir Muzaffar Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan—may Allah perpetuate his kingdom! The builder of this masjid is the mother of Abu Bakr Khan, son of Mahmud Shah Sultan, who is called Rani Sabrai. During the months of the fourth regnal year, in 920 (A.D. 1514).'[1]

The mosque is the pride of Ahmadabad

Ahmadabad might well be proud of a monument which has elicited such unstinted praise, couched in language that could hardly be more felicitous, from two eminent historians of Indian and Eastern architecture. One cannot, however, but regret that the mosque stands at present amid surroundings that fail to set off its exquisite beauty for lack of an adequate open space and courtyard all about the structure. Right in front of the masjid stands the Rauza which contains the remains of the Rani.[2] It is also a very beautiful structure surrounded by trellised walls, and typically representative of the local style.

During the month following upon his accession to the throne, the Sultan gave audience to the Persian ambassador Yadgar Beg who with forty followers appears to have been waiting near the capital ever since Sultan Mahmud's death. All the nobles were instructed to escort him to the court, and

1. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 84. The inscription is transcribed in Burgess and Cousens' *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, 290.

2. When H. G. Briggs visited the Rani 'Sipari' Mosque in December 1847, he found that an old Multani had made it his abode, and "his 'charpai' and 'chula', his clothing and crockery, graced the walls and the rifled marble pavement." The mosque had been his dwelling place for the preceding twenty years. The mausoleum opposite the masjid was filled with grass and the entrance to it was locked (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, 245).

among the presents which he laid before the Sultan were a turquoise cup of great value, a chest full of jewels, and thirty Persian horses. Muzaffar soon left Ahmadabad for Baroda on his way to Champaner, to which capital he appears to have been followed by the ambassador and his suite. At Baroda, Prince Sahib Khan, the eldest son of the late Sultan Nasir-ud-din of Malwa, waited upon the Gujarat ruler to bespeak his help to recover the throne of Mandu which had been usurped by his younger brother Mahmud II. The Sultan promised to enquire into the merits of his claims and to lead a campaign in his favour at the end of the rainy season. Meanwhile, Sahib Khan was offered the royal hospitality at Champaner along with his followers.

A Persian envoy and a Malwa Prince at the court, 1511-13

It appears that while the Persian envoy and Prince Sahib Khan were both at the court of Sultan Muzaffar at Muhammadabad (Champaner) some differences arose between their followers in consequence of gross misconduct on the part of the Persian Mirza. According to the account given in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* the Prince, who was young and inexperienced, visited the *serai* in which the ambassador and his suite had been housed, and was there made a prisoner for the night. He managed to escape early the next morning excited and affronted, and his followers started a rumour in the bazar that the Sultan had ordered the embassy to be looted and all the Qizilbashes to be put to death. Upon this, the door of the *serai* was burst open, several of the Persian 'red-hats' who defended it were slain, the buildings put on fire, and the mob set to work to plunder. Sultan Muzaffar, on being informed of this riot, at once sent his minister Khush Qadam, entitled Imad-ul-Mulk, to put down the strife and to see that the Qizilbashes were protected. The ambassador himself was conveyed to the royal apartments for safety and was fully reimbursed for all the losses which he had sustained in the plunder. The Malwa Prince was so ashamed of the situation that he quitted the court without taking formal leave, and sought refuge first with Adil Khan III of Asir and Burhanpur and later with the ruler of Berar. The Sultan, soon after this, despatched the Persian ambassador

Conflict between the Prince's men and the envoy's suite

on his return journey, appointing a noble named Kharasan Khan to escort him to the coast where two large ships were provided to convey him and his followers. He was presented at departure from Champaner with seven elephants, some wondrous horse-armour, a rhinoceros and other animals and birds, and various curiosities.[1]

Account of the embassy in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*

The information about the visit of the Persian ambassador at the Gujarat court derived from Firishta's history or the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and other oriental sources, is supplemented by a foreign and independent authority, viz., *The Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* written in Portuguese. The account given in this work is valuable as it is based on contemporary records. The ambassador's visit is mentioned in connection with the activities of Albuquerque in the Indian ocean during the year 1513. We may, therefore, presume that the Persian envoy who arrived in Gujarat during the last days of the reign of Mahmud Begada made a fairly prolonged stay of about two years, for it is not very likely that a fresh embassy was sent by the Persian ruler to the court of Muzaffar II.[2]

Its version of the envoy's misdemeanour, 1513

The details given in the Portuguese chronicle are to the effect that, in 1513, Shah Ismail[3] of Persia sent two ambassadors to the kings of Cambay and of Bijapur, both of them being equipped with a hundred saddle-horses, very richly furnished tents for their lodgings, and services of silver plate for their tables. The instructions they carried were to the effect that these Indian rulers should be asked 'to accept Ismail's cap[4] and cause the special book of prayer which he

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 79-81; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 244-47; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 97.
2. It may be noted that Firishta (Briggs, IV, 77) gives the name of the envoy who came to Sultan Mahmud I and his son Muzaffar II as Yadgar Beg Qizilbash, while the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Fazlullah, 93) mentions one Mirza Ibrahim as the ambassador who stayed at the court of Muzaffar II.
3. 'Xeque (Shaikh) Ismail' is the name invariably used by the Portuguese in alluding to Shah Ismail I, the founder of the famous Safavi dynasty of Persia, who reigned from 1502 to 1524. His ancestors had no higher title than that of Shaikh, and he was often taunted by his enemies with his obscure origin.
4. This is the famous red head-gear of the *Qizilbashes* which denoted the members of the seven Turki tribes of Northern Persia, who were devoted Shias and the principal supporters of Shah Ismail I in his early career.

used to be read in their mosques.' The envoy who was sent to Gujarat reached Champaner and was very well received by the king, but his departure 'did not end very favourably on account of a misadventure.' A few days before his arrival, the eldest son of the king of Mandu had come to the Gujarat court with his attendants in order to beg for military assistance from the Sultan against one of his younger brothers who had risen against him. What followed may be given in the words of the *Commentaries*:

> 'The ambassador fell into conversation with this young man when he was at court and frequently invited him to an evening banquet; and it chanced that one night when they were alone, after the banquet was over, the ambassador laid hold of him and treated him rudely (for these Ismaelites are more given to this, if report be true, than any other Moors in those parts of India). The young man began to cry out, and immediately all his people ran in to help their master. The ambassador, when he perceived the uproar, pushed the young man out, and barricaded himself in some houses. When the news of all this reached the king of Cambay, he sent all his guard and put down the rioting, but not before seventy or eighty people on one side or the other had lost their lives. The son of the king of Mandu, ashamed of what had taken place, went away to the Rajputs (*Reys Butos*), who border on his realms, and they afforded him assistance against the rebel brother.'[1]

The Persian envoy departs from court: he sails from Surat

We are further informed that the Gujarat Sultan, disgusted at the conduct of the ambassador, made haste to send him away, having given him to understand that the object with which his master had sent him would not be obtained. At his departure the king gave him two elephants, a *genda* or rhinoceros, and other articles in return for the gifts which he had brought. Orders were given that he should be conveyed to Surat and there placed on board a ship along with his baggage. On reaching this port, the ambassador lost

1. *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque*, op. cit., IV, 84.

no time in getting on board a vessel which was on the point of sailing for Hormaz. As the envoy had made a request for a special ship to be given to him, the officers at Surat got one ready in which they embarked the elephants and the 'beast' (the *genda*) and all the baggage. But not overpleased with the ambassador's request, they put a faulty mast into the ship, with the result that when the vessel was a little way from the shore, and experienced a somewhat stiff breeze, the mast broke and those in it were compelled to put back into Surat, 'and from this circumstance the King got his present again'. The ambassador continued his voyage in the other ship, 'not much pleased, it is true, with the sorry entertainment which the King of Cambay had given him, and somewhat less pleased when he learned the trick which the Moors had played with his servants'.[1]

Portuguese reference to the Mandu Sultans

We may mention here that the accounts given in detail by Firishta and other writers about the seraglio of Ghiath-ud-din, one of the Malwa rulers, and of his bodyguard of armed women, find unexpected confirmation in the Portuguese chronicles of the sixteenth century as will be seen from the following reference in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque,* a work compiled by the nephew of the great Portuguese Governor:

> 'The former King, father of this youth (the Mandu prince), used constantly to carry about with him for show seven or eight thousand women riding on horses with their bows and arrows. They used to go a hunting with him but in war he did not make use of them. As soon as the son was in possession of the kingdom he abandoned this custom, and would not have them any more with him.[2]

Firishta's account of Ghiath-ud-din's harem

A fuller account of the extravagant luxury indulged in by the Mandu ruler is given in Firishta's history, which says that Sultan Ghiath-ud-din (1469–1500), grandfather of both Mahmud II and Sahib Khan, found his chief pleasure in the administration of his harem which was organised as a kingdom

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1. *Commentaries*, IV, 85.
2. *Commentaries*, IV, 84-5.

in miniature. The royal bodyguard consisted of two corps of females. Five hundred handsome young Turkish girls in men's clothes and armed with bows and quivers were drawn up to the right of the throne; and a similar number of Abyssinian females, also dressed in uniform and provided with fire-arms, stood to the left. Besides these, there were 1,600 women in the seraglio who were taught all kinds of arts and crafts and were organised under various professions. Thus, besides the musicians, dancers, embroiderers and school-mistresses, there were women goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, wrestlers, etc. The King himself regulated with meticulous nicety the pay and allowances of all of them. The Emperor Jahangir, who visited Mandu in 1617, gives in his *Memoirs* a similar account, adding a few more details. He states that Ghiath-ud-din had collected at one time 15,000 women in his harem and had a whole city of them including 'artificers, magistrates, qazis, kotvals, and whatever else is necessary for the administration of a town.' The Sultan had also made a deer-park and collected all kinds of animals in it and often used to hunt there with his women.[1] Mandu might be said to have deserved during this reign more than ever before the title of *Shadiabad*, or The City of Joy, which had been given to it a hundred years before.

Inscription of the reign at Halol near Champaner, 1524

The importance of the town of Halol, in the Panch Mahals, during Muzaffar II's reign, when it was a flourishing suburb of the capital city of Champaner, is shown by an interesting inscription located in one of its masjids.[2] The epigraph consists of three lines of beautifully interlaced letters. It is written in mixed Persian and Arabic, and is rendered below:

> 'In the reign of the great Sultan, the most just among the Sultans of Arabia and Persia (Ajam), Abun Nasr Muzaffar Shah, bin Mahmud Shah, bin Muhammad Shah, bin Ahmad Shah, bin Muhammad Shah, bin Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan, may God

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 236-37; *Memoirs of Jahangir*, ed. by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 366-67.
2. The inscription was brought to light by Mr. M. Abdulla Chughtai, of the *Idara-e-Maarif-e-Islamia* at Lahore, in Jan., 1936.

perpetuate his kingdom and authority. This mosque was built by the slave of the Beneficent Lord who has the title of Ahmad Khan. May God forgive his sins. In the year H. 930 (A.D. 1524).'

Sultan Muzaffar's family

Sultan Muzaffar II had eight sons and two daughters. His chief queen was Bibi Rani, the mother of Sikandar and of the two daughters, viz., Raji Ruqaiyah, who became the wife of Adil Khan Faruki of Khandesh, and Raji Ayesha, who was married to the Prince of Sind. Bibi Rani is said to have been a lady of great abilities, mature judgment, and firm decision, and the control of the household and of the army was in her hands. Seven thousand state servants were in her employ, and she was a counsellor of great influence in the affairs of the kingdom. She died in 1524.[1] Prince Bahadur's mother was Lakshmi Bai, the daughter of a Gohel Rajput. The mother of the third son, Prince Latif Khan, was Rajbai, the daughter of Rana Mahipat.[2] She survived her husband no less than sixty-five years, and was buried in 1590 at Sarkhej in the mausoleum of the queens. The Sultan had granted to each of the princes two or three villages for their maintenance. As the Jagir of Bahadur lay in the vicinity of Vatva, he was very frequently at that place, having become a disciple and intimate friend of Saiyid Shah Sheikhji, then the head of the sect of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat.[3]

His clemency and weak rule

Of the clemency of Muzaffar II many stories are related. Only one may be mentioned. Owing to the carelessness of the water-carriers of the palace, a musk-rat fell into the boiler at night. It was boiled down and its remains poured over the Sultan's head during his bath the next day. Soon after, the king summoned the offenders, who came despairing of life. The Sultan said: 'I am an old man and can pardon the offender; but my sons are young—how will you satisfy them? Will your lives be safe with them, you miserable men, if you are equally careless with them?' We are told that ultimately,

1. Bibi Rani was buried in the mausoleum of the Sultan's mother, near the Ghattamandal palace, at Ahmadabad. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 276; *Arabic History*, I, 120, 137).
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 276, 300. 3. *Ibid.*, 303-04.

during the reign of Sultan Bahadur, these same men poured some water a little too hot on the king's hands, and he punished them by ordering boiling water to be poured on the tenderest parts of their bodies so that they died on the spot.[1] Owing to his extreme clemency, Muzaffar failed to punish even the turbulent and the guilty, and the administration became weak and inefficient. Criminals and rebels lost all fear of punishment and took to highway robbery, and acts of lawlessness began to prevail even in the capital. But the Sultan 'would not extend the hand of punishment from out of the sleeve of patience.' The entire government was handed over to Malik Sarang, entitled Kiwam-ul-Mulk, and to Malik Gopi, a Brahman. Though the former became overbearing and did not show proper respect to his master, the Sultan continued him, as an old associate of his father, in the office of *abdar*. He, however, suspected the minister's loyalty.[2]

His religious piety

During his reign Muzaffar regularly celebrated the birthday of the Prophet by a great feast to which were invited the Saiyids and the Ulama. Moreover, a fixed sum was set apart for the poor of Mecca and Medina, and was regularly remitted to those places every year. Ships were provided, free of cost, to those who wished to make a pilgrimage to the holy shrines, and their expenses while on board were also met from the state treasury. The Sultan is said to have strictly observed the religious injunction against intoxicating drinks. His favourite horse was one day seized with gripes, and, when all other remedies failed, he recovered on being given pure spirits. The Master of the Horse reported the incident to his sovereign. 'The Sultan bit the finger of sorrow with the tooth of regret,' but he never rode that horse again.[3]

His accomplishments

Muzaffar had inherited all the personal bravery of his forefathers, and was a finished horseman, a practised swordsman, and a skilful wrestler. He was also an accomplished musician, able to play on many instruments and to hold his own against any master of musical science. He excelled in calligraphy (an accomplishment highly valued throughout the

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 287-88.
2. *Ibid.*, 286, 295.
3. *Ibid.*, 283, 285, 292.

East), and transcribed in a beautiful hand several copies of the Quran which he sent to the sacred shrines at Mecca or Medina. The Sultan also greatly promoted learning, and men of letters from Persia, Arabia and Turkey found a welcome in Gujarat during his liberal and tolerant reign.[1]

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 288, 292-94; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 97.

CHAPTER XXIII

RELATIONS OF MALIK AYAZ WITH ALBUQUERQUE AND THE PORTUGUESE, 1512-21

Diplomatic intercourse between Albuquerque and the Sultan, 1512: Meeting between Ayaz and the Governor: The latter receives an envoy from the Gujarat court: Affairs at Div: Arrival of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira at Goa: His attempts against Div, 1521.

Tristao Dega sent to Gujarat for a treaty, Dec. 1512

Under Muzaffar II the policy of diplomatic intercourse between the Gujarat ruler and the Portuguese power in India was pushed forward with considerable vigour and envoys from the Sultan were always going up and down Goa for this purpose. By December, 1512, Albuquerque was in receipt of the conditions which his master Dom Manuel of Portugal had laid down as the basis for an alliance with Gujarat. He, therefore, decided to send one Tristao Dega to the Sultan with a number of presents. The instructions which Tristao carried were, first, to demand permission to erect a fortress at Div for the security of the persons and property of the King of Portugal's subjects.[1] Next, the Gujarat traders were to send their merchandise to Goa only, and nowhere else, and they were to be assured of finding at that port all that they required for a homeward-bound cargo. Lastly, the Gujarat ruler should agree not to receive in his kingdom any Rumes or Turks 'because they were capital enemies of the Portuguese.'[2]

Albuquerque's next action was to send back a messenger who had come from Malik Ayaz, the powerful governor of

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1. In this connection Afonso D'Albuquerque often used to say that for the preservation of Portuguese sway in India, and to prevent trouble from the native powers, there were four places the possession of which must be made very strong and certain. These were: Aden, in order to control the Straits of Mecca before the Grand Sultan of Egypt should forestall them in seizing it; Hormuz, so as to have supreme rule over the Straits of Basra; and Div and Goa, for sovereignty over the Indian coast. All four places were to be provided with very strong fortresses. (*Commentaries*, IV, 24).

2. *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, trans. by Walter de Gray Birch (Hakluyt Society), III, 244-45.

Div, to visit him many months back. In order, however, to impress him with the might and military resources of the Portuguese in India, the Captain-General gave orders that he was to be taken round to inspect the royal arsenals at Goa which were at the time full of artillery, saddles, horse-gear, and all kinds of munitions of war, while the stables were full of horses. Moreover, a general review of all the cross-bowmen and musketeers was ordered. Of these the number was very large, since every householder at Goa, whether married or single, was obliged to carry one of these weapons for the defence of the city. In order further to bring home to Malik Ayaz the greatness of the Portuguese power, Albuquerque ordered that the messenger should be taken to inspect the famous fortress of Benastarim (on the mainland due west of the Island of Goa), which the Bijapur ruler had fortified with ramparts and guns, but which the Portuguese had two years before rammed with their ships and taken by assault. By the Governor's wishes, the Gujarat messenger was taken within the fortress and shown the destruction that had been wrought therein, 'in order that he might tell his lord not to place much confidence in the ramparts of Div if the king of Portugal were to command him take it.'[1]

The might of the Portuguese brought home to Ayaz

On the 4th August 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque, after an ineffectual attempt to take Aden, sailed from that harbour with his whole fleet for India and in due course arrived at Div on the Kathiawar coast. The governor of this port, Malik Ayaz (*Maliqueaz*), received him very kindly and offered him and his captains many presents. He also paid Albuquerque a visit on board his ship, when 'the two conversed on matters of no importance.' The Portuguese commander remained here for six days for repairing his ships' boats which had become much dilapidated from constant service. He told Malik Ayaz that he wished to leave at Div a ship laden with merchandise for sale and requested that the 'factor' and the officers who remained with it might be well treated. Malik Ayaz replied with ample offers, and

Albuquerque and Ayaz meet at Div, c. Sept. 1513

1. *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, op. cit., III, 245-46.

Albuquerque 'paid him in the same coin', and took his leave with many marks of friendship. He set sail for Goa after his ships had taken in their store of water, leaving behind the Portuguese ship *Enxobregas,* with all the merchandise she carried, in charge of one Fernao Martinz Evangelho as factor.[1]

On arrival at Chaul during the voyage south, Albuquerque found that Tristao Dega, whom he had sent as ambassador to the Gujarat king, had reached this port two days before on his return journey, and with him was an envoy sent by the king to Goa. Tristao Dega recounted that he had been very well received by the king, and he delivered to Albuquerque a letter from Malik Gopi (*Milecopi*), one of the principal nobles of that kingdom, 'manifesting a desire to serve the king of Portugal'. Dega went on to relate that when he arrived at Cambay he found that the King had gone on an expedition to the furthest limits of the kingdom of Mandu with a large army, and that he, therefore, awaited the King's return at Champaner and there delivered to him the letters which he had brought. The Sultan, however, had answered coldly with regard to the request about a fort at Div and had turned it down, but after further conversation on the subject he had offered certain other islands along the Gujarat coast where the Portuguese might build a fortress and make a settlement. But Tristao would not accept them on behalf of his country because he held no orders from De Albuquerque to do so. He went on to say that he had learned from Malik Gopi that Malik Ayaz 'was at the bottom of all this, being annoyed at finding himself kept out of Div.' As for the condition about the Rumes or Turks, the Gujarat ruler had agreed not to allow them to enter his territory again.[2]

Tristao Dega recounts the history of his mission

De Albuquerque next gave an interview at Chaul to the envoy from Gujarat who had accompanied Tristao Dega. The envoy conveyed his master's request for permission to send a trading company of Gujaratis to Malacca and also for a safe-conduct for the Gujarat ships to navigate in those parts. He also complained of the capture of a ship

Albuquerque interviews at Chaul an envoy from Gujarat

1. *Commentaries*, IV, 58-59.
2. *Commentaries*, IV, 59-60.

which belonged to the Sultan, at a time when he was at peace with Portugal, and asked for its restitution. Albuquerque in reply assured the Sultan that he had 'never made war upon him, nor burned his villages, nor bombarded his fortresses'; but that if the ships and the subjects of the Gujarat ruler had received any harm at the hands of the Portuguese it must have been on account of his having taken the side of those rulers with whom the king of Portugal was at war, principally the kings of Malacca and of Hormaz, to whom the Sultan had supplied many ships laden with arms and filled with men. To Malik Gopi (*Milecopi*), 'Albuquerque wrote many thanks for the care he had taken in the affairs of the king of Portugal leading him to indulge in hope of a great reward for his services.' As for the royal ship he declared that he had caused it to be refitted at Cochin and would return it to the Sultan through the ambassador. The Gujarat envoy wrote a full account of this interview to his sovereign, while he himself accompanied the Portuguese fleet to convey the captured ship back, and having reached Goa he returned in that ship to Cambay.[1]

News sent from Div by Fernao Evangelho

Fernao Martinz Evangelho, who had been left behind at Div by Albuquerque as factor in charge of the Portuguese ship and its merchandise, had evidently secret instructions to report on political matters. We thus find him sending a despatch to Albuquerque that a ship had arrived at that port with an agent from the Qadi of Cairo bringing rich apparel for the kings of Gujarat and of Bijapur and encouraging them with blessings to make war upon the Christians.[2] Fernao further sent news that the king of Aden was advising all his Muslim subjects who were at Div to return at the first opportunity for he had certain information that the Portuguese were making ready to renew the attack upon him. But what most disconcerted the Captain-General was the information sent by Fernao that Malik Ayaz had set out

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1. *Commentaries*, op. cit., IV, 60-61.
2. The same boat which came from the Red Sea brought another piece of news to the effect that in Cairo 'the pestilence was raging to so great an extent that twenty thousand persons died every day of it.' (*Commentaries*, IV, 76).

for the Gujarat court to discuss in person the matter about Div, taking with him a great quantity of silver and gold, jewels and rich cloths, as also two hundred horses, to win over the king and his officers. Ayaz had also carried with him, as a present for the king, the sword which Albuquerque had at a former time presented to him. In order to counteract the effects of this personal visit of Malik Ayaz to the Sultan, and to press his own demands for permission for a fortress at Div, the Captain-General decided to send an imposing embassy to the Gujarat sovereign, the history of which we shall describe in the following chapter.[1]

Diogo Lopes de Sequiera and Malik Ayaz, 1520

After the recall of Albuquerque by his ungrateful master in 1515, Diogo Lopes de Sequiera became Governor of Portuguese India from 1518 to 1521 and the orders he received on his appointment included the building of a fort at Div. The reason why this place was so important a factor in Indo-Portuguese politics for fully half a century was the fact that in Portuguese eyes it was the stronghold where, so long as it continued in Muslim hands, their mortal enemies the Turks could always find a footing in India. Towards the end of 1520 Diogo Lopes visited Div, on his return journey from Hormaz to India, with the intention of surprising the town. Malik Ayaz, however, whether he was prepared or not, showed such a bold front that the Governor, after tasting the hospitality of the Gujarat admiral, sailed away for Goa. Ayaz had, however, gathered enough from his talk to realise his danger, and he employed Sidi Ali, the one-eyed envoy who had done him good service before, to follow the Portuguese Governor to his capital. His reports revealed such designs that no pains were spared to strengthen the fortifications of Div and to replenish the magazines, the mouth of the harbour being also guarded by a chain.[2]

Finding that his attempt to secure permission for a fort at Div by negotiations had failed, Diogo Lopes the next year determined to effect his object by force. On February 9, 1521, he arrived again before the island with forty-two vessels

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1. *Commentaries*, op. cit., IV, 75-77.
2. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 191-92.

carrying 2,000 Europeans and 1,800 native troops. But the sight of the preparations which Malik Ayaz had made produced such an impression on his council of war that it again refused to fight, and the Governor, after landing an envoy for the Sultan, sailed on to Hormaz. Diogo Fernandez de Beja, who had been sent as ambassador by Albuquerque to Muzaffar's court in 1514, was left behind with a few ships to get off the Portuguese factor in Div who had been posted there several years before. This action was regarded as an act of hostility, and the Gujarat flotilla under Agha Muhammad went forth to attack the Portuguese ships. Their artillery was so effective that De Beja's vessels cut their cables and escaped as best they could and reached Hormaz ten days after the governor.[1]

Abortive expedition of the Governor to Div, 1521

Towards the end of this year 1521, the Portuguese governor, finding that De Beja had been twice worsted before Div, tried, on his return journey from the Red Sea, to put into effect another plan. This was to build a fort at Muzaffarabad (now called Jafarabad)[2], twenty miles from Div, and thence to plunder the coast. As he was so undiplomatic as to discuss his plans openly with his council, there were spies enough to listen and to convey the information to Malik Ayaz. Among the governor's ships there was one which carried all the stores and munitions. Some captive Muslims in the fleet, preferring death to slavery, set fire to the ship with the result that the magazine exploded and the vessel was blown up. The coast-towns of Gujarat were now on the alert and Lopes was forced to give up all attempt at building a fortress at Muzaffarabad, and he turned his attention to Chaul where the necessary permission to erect a fort had been secured from Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to whom the port

Diogo Lopes attempts to take Muzaffarabad, 1521

1. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 192-93 ; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 348.

2. Jafarabad, the chief town of Babriavad in the south of Kathiawar, is a flourishing sea-port situated on a fine creek about a mile distant from the ocean. It derives its name from Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat who built the fortifications. Hence the town was called Muzaffarabad, and by contraction it came to be known as Zafarabad or Jafarabad (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 452).

belonged. Here also Malik Ayaz sent his flotilla under Agha Muhammad to impede the governor's design, and, in the sea-fights that followed, the famous ambassador De Beja was killed.[1] The next year, in 1522, Malik Ayaz died at the ancient town of Una, opposite the island of Div, and with his death we reach the close of the first, and on the whole successful, phase in the long duel of nearly half a century between the Gujarat Sultans and the Portuguese power on the Western Coast.

1. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 194-95.

CHAPTER XXIV

PORTUGUESE EMBASSY FROM AFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE TO THE COURT OF MUZAFFAR II, 1514

Value of the *Commentaries of De Albuquerque*: Journey of the Portuguese Ambassadors from Goa to Ahmadabad, 1514: Stay at Surat: Meeting with Gopi at Champaner: Arrival at the capital: Muzaffar's reception of the mission at the royal court: Business conference with the minister Khudawand Khan: Sites at places other than Div offered for a fortress, but refused: Departure from Ahmadabad with the Sultan's reply: History of the rhinoceros sent by Muzaffar II as a present for the King of Portugal: Other information about Gujarat in the *Commentaries.*

Value of the Portuguese historians

It is perhaps not generally known that the Portuguese histories and chronicles relating to their dominion in the East furnish a valuable and contemporary source of information for the history of Gujarat during the first half of the sixteenth century. The political embassy sent by Afonso De Albuquerque in 1514 to the court of Muzaffar II was perhaps the most imposing ever sent by the representative of the Portuguese sovereign in the Indies to the ruler of Gujarat during a period of about forty years during which they were brought into friendly or hostile contact with each other. A very detailed account of this mission, which was led by Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira, is given in the *Commentaries* of De Albuquerque written by his son, and covers no less than fifteen closely printed pages in the English translation of this work made for the Hakluyt Society fifty years ago.[1] This absolutely contemporary account may be supplemented by reference to the pages of the famous historian Gaspar Correa, whose great work entitled *Lendas da India* was compiled about the year 1561. Correa went out to

1. *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque,* trans. by Walter de Gray Birch (Hakluyt Society), IV, 93-108.

India in 1512 and served there under Albuquerque; and from this period up to 1550 he was an eye-witness of and not infrequently taking part in the events he describes. In the second volume of Correa's *Lendas* there is a parallel account of the mission of the Portuguese ambassadors in which he gives a long and very minute record of the history of the embassy.[1]

The envoys and the presents entrusted to them

The immediate cause which led to this political mission was the news sent to Albuquerque by his factor Fernao from Div to the effect that Malik Ayaz had undertaken a journey to the Sultan to oppose the Portuguese demands as regards Div. The Captain-General, who had great hopes of success on the strength of the news which Malik Gopi had sent to him, was much disappointed. But in furtherance of the same policy he decided to send two of his best captains, viz., Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira, as ambassadors to negotiate on this matter with the Gujarat sovereign. They carried with them several rich presents for the Sultan, viz., a collar of gold enamelled, a dagger with its sheath decorated with gold and niello-work, several yards of black velvet, a piece of green brocade from Persia and two other pieces from China, and a washing basin well gilded. In order to enhance the prestige of this embassy, Albuquerque sent as additional presents twenty horses equipped with harness as also silver vessels for the service of the royal table. After these had been handed over to the envoys, the Governor drew up written instructions for their guidance. Two agents, Pero Queimado and a Hindu named Ganapati, who was well acquainted with the Gujarati language, were sent in advance to inform the Gujarat ruler of the embassy and to ask for a safe-conduct for the envoys and their retinue.[2]

Their arrival and stay at Surat, Mar. 15-28, 1514

Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira reached Surat on the 15th March 1514 having experienced considerable delay on their voyage. As Pero Queimado had not yet returned to this place from the court, they requested permission from Dastur Khan, the governor, to disembark. This officer having already received orders from the king to welcome them.

1. Correa, *Lendas da India*, II, 368 *et seq.*
2. *Commentaries*, IV, 93-94.

sent Miababu, a brother of Malik Gopi, in whose house they were to be lodged, to receive them with a posse of riding horses. After the ambassadors had disembarked they went on a visit to Dastur Khan who was ill in bed at his house. The governor presented them with silk dresses of honour (*Kabas*), and after taking leave of him they proceeded to their quarters in Malik Gopi's house. Some days later, the governor sent word that a letter had arrived from the King with orders to supply them with everything for their journey, and asking to know when they proposed to start. But at this juncture Pero Queimado arrived 'bringing them news that Milecopi (Malik Gopi) was *out of the court and out of favour with the king*'. The envoys were in a quandary at this unexpected report for in the instructions given to them they had been enjoined to do nothing without consulting Gopi. They accordingly sent word to Dastur Khan to say that they learnt from Pero that the King had gone to Patan to make war on the Rajputs, and since Albuquerque had commanded them to be back in Goa for the rains, and the fair season was now far advanced, they had decided to return to Goa and to come back the following year. The governor was not to be deceived by such specious arguments, and sent a reply with Miababu that having received their safe-conduct and everything they required for the journey it would be discourteous on their part not to make their way to the King; neither could he feel certain of his own safety if he were to allow them to return. In short, the Sultan would have to be informed of this alteration in their plans and on receipt of his reply they must do as he should command them. The firm attitude of the governor made the ambassadors again change their plans and they declared themselves ready to start on the journey to the court.[1]

Interview with Gopi at Champaner

The governor of Sūrat deputed an officer with thirty peon-archers to accompany the envoys and to arrange for their halting places. The party left Surat on March 28 and arrived at Champaner on the 4th of April. The ambassadors were given quarters in a garden near the city, and, having clothed themselves in their best, they made themselves ready to visit Malik

1. *Commentaries*, IV, 95-97.

Gopi who was at the time in Champaner. The latter sent his son with a large retinue to escort them to his house where the envoys passed the night, 'being richly entertained and nobly banqueted by Melecopi'. Diogo Fernandez de Beja delivered to him the letter which he had brought from Albuquerque along with a present. Gopi told them that, after the departure of Tristao Dega, Malik Ayaz had gone to the King's court and had advised him on no account to grant a site for a fortress at Div to the Firangis, 'for, if they wished to build it there, it was in order to wrest his kingdom eventually from him'. The Sultan had accordingly strongly fortified Div and had now no fear of any power prevailing against it. After further talk with Malik Gopi, in which he gave them plenty of advice, the envoys set out for Ahmadabad (*Madoval*) where the King was holding his court at this time, being accompanied on the journey by a member of Gopi's household.[1]

The embassy reaches Ahmadabad

On approaching the capital city of Ahmadabad, Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira sent forward the officer who had been their *attaché* from the time they left Surat to inform the vazir Khudawand Khan (*Codamacao*)[2] of their arrival. The next morning the minister invited them to a banquet at his residence to which they were escorted by thirty horsemen and a large number on foot bearing trumpets. On arrival, Diogo presented the articles brought as presents for the vazir and a letter from Albuquerque. They were told that the King had gone out hunting, but that the minister would wait on him on his return and acquaint him of their arrival.[3]

Muzaffar II receives the mission at his palace

The next day the ambassadors were informed that the King awaited them at the palace and so they proceeded there escorted by mounted men. The Sultan was seated upon a low sofa with all his captains standing in rows against the wall, each in his due place according to precedence. Carrying their presents before them the envoys approached the King and

1. *Commentaries*, III, 97-98.
2. On the accession of Muzaffar II in 1511, a nobleman named Rashid-ul-Mulk was distinguished with the title of Khudawand Khan and made Vazir (*Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans. by Fazlullah, 91).
3. *Commentaries*, IV, 98-99.

made obeisance according to the Portuguese fashion. The King expressed his pleasure at their coming, and, after all the members of the mission had kissed his hands, Diogo Fernandez presented to him the letter which he had brought from Albuquerque, which the King 'read forthwith for it was written in Arabic'. The ambassadors then told him that the Captain-General of India sent him greetings and an offer of the whole fleet of the king of Portugal to serve him therewith. After the King had thanked him and enquired how they had borne the fatigue of their journey, an official drew aside the members of the embassy to the top of the courtyard and there brought two *Kabas,* or dresses of honour, made of brocade for the ambassadors and others of coloured velvet for the rest of the party. When all were attired in these new robes they made another obeisance to the Sultan after the native fashion, and were told to return to their lodgings and to give an account of their business to Khudawand Khan who had orders to despatch it without delay.[1]

The following day after dinner took place the most important business interview with Khudawand Khan at his house.

Business conference with the minister

Diogo Fernandez informed him that the principal cause of his coming was to request a site at Div where the King of Portugal might construct a fortress for the safety of his men and property. He added that Albuquerque also hoped to carry on a great trade with Gujarat, and thereby the custom-house would bring in to the Sultan twice as much revenue as heretofore. To this Khudawand Khan replied that upto that time no mention had ever been made about a fortress except at Bacar (?), which site had been conceded to Tristao Dega, and added that this was quite sufficient for the purpose of trade. Diogo Fernandez made a rejoinder that the King of Portugal's men and property could not be put into Bacar, but that a strong fortress was necessary, 'so that the property should not be exposed to robbery or the men to slaughter'. He added that such injuries had been inflicted on the Portuguese at Calicut, Quilon and Malacca, and these would have been avoided if they had fortresses at these places, as now they had them, and peace and

1. *Commentaries,* IV, 99-100.

friendship with the native powers would not have been broken. The request, therefore, for the site of a fortress at Div was made with a view to maintain true friendship with the king of Gujarat. The interview terminated by the vazir promising to place all the arguments urged at the conference before the Sultan.[1]

The final despatch: various sites offered for a fort

Three days later, Khudawand Khan sent for the ambassadors again at night to discuss with them the despatch which the King had dictated. It stated that in order to maintain friendship with the King of Portugal, and also because Albuquerque had sent an embassy to make the request, the King would be happy to grant him the site for a fortress at any one of the following places, *viz.*, Broach, Surat, Mahim, Dumas, or Bacar, and the Captain-General might send him word as to which of these places he would like to have; but if the latter declined to accept these terms, the King would consider 'that the heart of the Captain-General was not good'. Diogo Fernandez replied that he carried no instructions enabling him to accept any site for a fortress other than at Div. At the same time he pointed out the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom of Gujarat if the Portuguese carried on trade in the land, and how the revenues would increase, and how the merchant ships would perform their voyages in safety.[2]

Further arguments between the plenipotentiaries

The arguments between the plenipotentiaries that followed are of interest. Khudawand Khan enquired whether, if the Sultan was in alliance with the Portuguese, the latter would hinder the Gujarat ships from making their voyages to Aden and the Straits of the Red Sea provided they carried no spices. Diogo Fernandez replied that since the King of Portugal was at war with those states it would not be reasonable for the Gujarat ships to make voyages to those parts, for true friendship 'must hold friends of friends for friends and enemies of friends for enemies'. On this the minister asked what profit his master was to expect from an alliance if the ships of Gujarat were unable, under this rule, to make voyages to those very places which were the principal centres of their

1. *Commentaries*, IV, 100-01. 2. *Commentaries*, IV, 102.

commercial traffic. He added that as for the request for Div which Albuquerque had made, the king 'had already given it to his slave Miliqeaz (Malik Ayaz)', and, if the terms of the despatch were unwelcome to the envoy, the minister could not undertake to broach the subject any further to the Sultan. The Portuguese envoy's rejoinder was to ask why the Gujaratis should not be content with making their trading voyages to Malacca, Pegu, Martaban, Bengal and Hormuz, all of which were allied with the King of Portugal, without seeking to visit the Red Sea and Aden where he was carrying on war. He added that after the Captain-General had visited and destroyed these latter places, and effected a settlement of those parts, the Gujarat ships might go there with their merchandise. He concluded by stating that, since the minister would not trouble the King further with the matter, the despatch with the conditions mentioned might be delivered so that he might give an account of his mission to Afonso de Albuquerque, for they were determined to be gone.[1] .

Formal leave taken of Muzaffar II and arrival at Surat (May 8, 1514)

After an interval of three more days the ambassadors were asked to take formal leave of the King. They arrived at the palace with the usual escort of mounted men and were presented with fresh robes of honour as also daggers and sword belts which they put on. Thus accoutred they proceeded to kiss the King's hands who told them that Khudawand Khan would deliver the despatch to them, after which they were dismissed. The minister gave them the despatch at his house and some presents; also an animal called genda[2], or *rhinoceros*, 'because *it* was *a* monstrous *thing* never before beheld in those parts'. The 'creature' was at this time at Champaner but the minister was to forward it to them at Surat. Taking their farewell, the envoys started on their return journey after about a fortnight's stay at the royal capital. The

1. *Commentaries*, IV, 103-04.
2. The Portuguese writer Duarte Barbosa in his 'Book' refers to the incident in the following sentence: 'The king of Guzarate sent a *Ganda* to the king our Lord, as they told him he would be pleased with it.' Barbosa's work was first edited and translated into English for the Hakluyt Society by Lord Stanley of Alderly, and he explained the *ganda* 'as a woman of Gond tribe', —a ludicrous annotation which Colonel Henry Yule in *Hobson-Jobson* rightly describes as 'a marvel in the way of error'. (*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by Dames, I, 124).

mission reached Surat on the 8th of May, 1514, but as the weather had by this become unsafe for the voyage to Goa, the rainy season was passed in this city.[1]

Departure from Surat and arrival at Goa, Sep. 15, 1514

When the rains were nearly over, some time early in September, the ambassadors desired Dastur Khan, the governor of Surat, to supply them with a transport, and three small vessels, called *cotumbas,* were placed at their service. In these they placed their baggage as also the 'creature' which had by this time arrived at Surat. The animal was subsequently sent to Portugal by Albuquerque and its later history will be referred to presently. Taking leave of the governor, the ambassadors sailed for Goa which they reached on the 15th September, 1514. Their total stay in Gujarat had lasted for about five months and a half. At Goa they found Albuquerque in a state of great alarm for he had given them express orders on no account to pass the rains in Gujarat, and, moreover, he had received no news of them up to that day. Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira related to him the details of all that has taken place, pointing out the King's unwillingness to grant them a fortress at Div, 'for Miliqeaz was intriguing against it by means of corrupt bribes which he was constantly giving to Bilirrane (Bibi Rani), the king's chief wife, who ruled him'.[2]

History and tragic end of the *genda* presented by the Sultan

The interesting history and tragic end of the *genda* or rhinoceros sent by Muzaffar II from Champaner as a present for Afonso Albuquerque has been related by the Portuguese historians. The Governor at Goa decided to send this curiosity to his sovereign, King Manuel I of Portugal. The animal reached Lisbon safely in 1514 and remained in the royal menagerie till 1517. In February of that year the King arranged for a fight between the *genda* and an elephant which he owned, and the two beasts were made to confront each other in a large enclosure. The rhinoceros charged but the elephant with loud trumpeting fled to its stall. Some months later, the King sent the *genda* as a present to Pope Leo X at

1. *Commentaries,* IV, 104-05.
2. *Ibid.,* IV, 105-06.

Rome, and the vessel carrying the animal left Lisbon in October, 1517. When the ship touched at Marseilles, Francis I, who happened to be at this port, had an opportunity of inspecting the curiosity. On its voyage further east, the ship was caught in a storm and sank off the coast of Italy. The *genda* perished along with every one else on board, but its carcass was washed up on the shore. It was subsequently skinned and stuffed and taken to the Pope.[1]

After relating in detail the history of the Portuguese embassy, the author of the *Commentaries of Albuquerque* proceeds to offer some general remarks on the kingdom of Gujarat and its ruler which are valuable. We are told that its seaboard extended from Barapatane (Prabhas Patan) to 'a port which lies between Chaul and Maim (Mahim), a distance of about a hundred and thirty leagues.' The mild Sultan of Gujarat is described as a man of forty years of age, married to a Rajput, 'a woman of great worth and estimation called Belirrane (Bibi Rani)', and besides her he had five hundred others. He was a great 'falconer' and when he went to the chase he was accompanied by three hundred huntsmen on horses. He spent most of his time in the city of Ahmadabad because it was close to the mountain ranges of the Rajputs with whom he was constantly at war. The capital city is described as 'about a good league in length, very luxuriant, and supplied with plenty of fresh water, many entertaining sights and many palatial houses'. All the royal treasure, artillery and munitions of war were, however, kept at Champaner because of its great strength. Here there was a fortress on a hill (*i.e.*, Pavagadh) where there were posted some trusted nobles who were always on guard with a large standing force of cavalry. The Sultan's chief minister was Khudawand Khan, a Turk by nationality, who had been the king's tutor and had taught him to read.[2]

References to Gujarat and its ruler in the *Commentaries*

1. All the references to the history of the animal made in the Portuguese chronicles have been got together and translated by Prof. A. X. Soares in his interesting article in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, I, Part III, 94. See Damiao de Goes, *Chronica*, 276-77; Gaspar Correa, *Lendas*, II, 373; Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 2, 1.
2. *Commentaries*, IV, 106-08.

Gujarat navigators and merchants in the Far East

From stray references in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque* we gather some interesting information about the high reputation enjoyed in the Far East by the Gujarat seamen as expert navigators, and also about the influence exercised by the merchants from Gujarat in distant ports. Thus, during a voyage from Cochin to Malacca, Albuquerque's fleet captured a native ship near Ceylon, and the Captain-General was very glad to learn that it belonged to Gujarat, for he felt that his voyage would now be carried out in safety, 'as the Gujaratis understand the navigation of those parts much more thoroughly than any other nation on account of the great commerce they carry on in those places'.[1] Some time later, when Albuquerque arrived at Malacca, and desired from its ruler restitution of the Portuguese captives and a treaty of alliance, he found that 'those who laboured most to prevent peace being made were the Gujaratis, for all the trade of Cambay lies at Malacca, and they offered to help the king with six hundred whites, all well armed, and forty bombards'.[2] Besides the Gujaratis, there were Muslims of various foreign nationalities such as Turks and Khurasanis trading at this place, and all of them were giving large bribes to the king and his officers in pursuit of their designs. The Shahbandar (*Xabandar*) of the Gujaratis was particularly influential, for he went to the king and argued how trade at Malacca by the Muslims and by the Portuguese was bound to be mutually exclusive owing to the rivalries that it would endanger, and that the Portuguese, if permitted to settle there, would effect his ruin and the destruction of them all.[3]

1. *Commentaries*, III, 58.
2. Bombard is an engine or great gun for throwing bombs. The word s now obsolete.
3. *Commentaries*, III, 69-70 ; 94.

CHAPTER XXV

SULTANS SIKANDAR AND MAHMUD II, 1526

Brief reign of Sultan Sikandar: Saiyid Shah Shaikhji of Vatva: The Sultan murdered at Champaner by the orders of the minister Khush-Qadam: Mahmud II as a puppet-ruler: Inscription of his reign in the tank at Una: Prince Bahadur invited by the nobles to return: He is crowned at Patan (July 6, 1526) and holds court at Ahmadabad: He marches to Champaner: Fate of Khush-Qadam: Mahmud II and Prince Latif Khan poisoned: The Mausolea of Sultan Sikandar and his brothers at Halol in the Panch Mahals.

Brief reign of Sultan Sikandar, April-May, 1526

The combined reigns of the next two nominal rulers of Gujarat occupy less than six months. According to the dispositions made by Muzaffar II during his lifetime, his eldest son Sikandar, son of Bibi Rani, came to the throne on the day of his father's death (April 5, 1526) and within three days left Ahmadabad for his capital at Muhammadabad-Champaner. Sikandar was on all accounts a person of a very handsome presence but he was destitute of all political capacity. He estranged the old nobility of the court by lavishing favours and honours upon his personal favourites, and so completely gave himself up to pleasure that 'all his days were like the days of the '*Id* and his nights like the night of *Barat*'.[1] Imad-ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam had been the principal supporter of the new ruler, having been specially requested by Bibi Rani at her death to befriend Sikandar. He, however, resented the continuance of Khudawand Khan as vazir by the young Sultan, for he expected this office to be bestowed on himself. Before long, some mischief-makers represented to him that the Sultan was compassing his death, and Khush-Qadam, therefore, decided to forestall him.

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1. On Sikandar's accession, his third brother Prince Latif Khan rose in revolt and assembled his forces at Nandurbar, and an army under Sharza Khan was sent against him. But the Prince retired into Baglan, and when Sharza Khan followed him there, the latter was defeated and slain by the Rajputs and Kolis of the place. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 308).

The Sultan and the Saiyids of Vatva

We may mention the fact that the powerful influence of the Bukhari Saiyids of Vatva, the descendants of Saint Burhan-ud-din Qutb-i-Alam, was directed against Sultan Sikandar and was partly accountable for his unpopularity. Saiyid Shah Shaikhji was at this time the head of the house and was a friend and partisan of Prince Bahadur whose jagirs were situated near the saint's headquarters. He had, during Muzaffar's reign, prophesied that Bahadur would eventually succeed to the throne of Gujarat. This prediction naturally incensed Sikandar who gave vent to his feelings by abusing the holy person in the grossest terms. When the young Sultan, after his accession, left Ahmadabad for Champaner, he did not make the customary halt at Vatva to visit the great shrine there, nor did he speak to Saiyid Shaikhji, but remarked to those about him: 'This is the man who said that Bahadur Khan would be Sultan of Gujarat. He lied, and the man himself is a wanderer on the face of the earth'. We are told that, more than a month later, the Sultan had a distressing dream at Muhammadabad-Champaner on the night before his murder in which he saw saint Qutb-i-Alam and his son Shah Alam. Sultan Muzaffar was also with them and addressed his son, saying, 'Sikandar! Sikandar! descend from the throne, for it is meant for another'. The Sultan awoke greatly alarmed and related the dream to his companions. The story is mentioned both by Firishta and the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari.*[1]

Murder of the Sultan at Champaner

On the night of May 26, 1526, when Sikandar had returned to his palace after a game at *chaugan* (polo) with his companions, and was asleep, Imad-ul-Mulk entered the compartment with his hired bravos and gave orders for the Sultan to be murdered. The mutilated corpse of the unhappy ruler was carried through the bazaar, placed on a bedstead and with the feet hanging down, to the village of Halol, four miles away, where his Rauza may still be seen. Sikandar's reign had hardly lasted for six weeks. He was the first of the Sultans to be assassinated, and after him every ruler, down to the last Sultan Muzaffar III, met a violent death. "It seemed", says the

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 98-100; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 307-08,

historian, "as if the blood of Sultan Sikandar washed away the words 'tranquillity' and 'prosperity' from the tablet of the kingdom of Gujarat", and the justice of this remark will be found abundantly illustrated in the sad history of the next fifty years.[1]

Khush-Qadam raises Mahmud II to the throne, May, 1526

After the assassination of Sikandar, the traitor Imad-ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam went to Sultan Muzaffar's harem and bringing out a young son of that ruler named Nasir Khan, a child six years old, proclaimed him Sultan under the title of Mahmud II. His object was no doubt to retain the government entirely in his own hands as the army was still largely under his control. The majority of the nobles and officers came to the court to render allegiance to the king-maker. The name of the boy-ruler Mahmud II, who was for a time proclaimed Sultan by the faithless Imad-ul-Mulk after the murder of Sultan Sikandar, is found in a Sanskrit inscription in the Tank at Una[2] in the extreme south of Kathiawar. The epigraph is dated the 8th of the bright fortnight of Shravan in the year 1582 of the Vikram era (17th July 1526), and the Sultan Mahmud referred to therein is evidently Sikandar's younger brother who was nominally ruler of Gujarat for a few months during this year. The inscription records the fact that at Unat-durga (Una), on the date mentioned above, Lalima, Dai and Haribari, the three wives of Pata the son of Mata, of the Kayastha caste, who was the governor of Sorath, caused the tank to be repaired.[3]

Inscription in the tank at Una, 1526

It was not long, however, before the supreme power of the traitor Imad-ul-Mulk was challenged by the Gujarat aristocracy. Three of the leading members of the old nobility

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 307-12.
2. Una and Delvada, situated on the bank of the river Machundri, are twin-towns in the Junagadh State. The ancient town of Una was called in Sanskrit Unat-Durg ('the lofty fortress'). Under the Sultans of Gujarat both towns were of much importance owing to their proximity to the great island fortress of Div, from which Delvada is about 4 miles and Una 7 miles distant.
3. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 668. A transcript of the inscription was kindly supplied to the author by Sir Patrick Cadell, Kt., when he was Diwan of Junagadh State. The inscription has not yet been published, but Mr. G. V. Acharya, who has helped in its translation, proposes shortly to do so.

Hostility of the nobles to the king-maker: his appeals to various powers

kept sullenly aloof and would have nothing to do with the freedman who had usurped supreme power in Gujarat. The first was Khudawand Khan Masnad 'Ali, who had been vazir under Muzaffar II; the other was Taj Khan Narpali whose jagirs were at Dhandhuka; and the third was Majlis-i-Sami Fath Khan Baluch, Prince of Sind, son-in-law of Sultan Muzaffar, whose wife was the full sister of Sikandar. They consulted together and sent express messages to Prince Bahadur in the north to march to Gujarat and claim his father's throne.[1] Faced with this crisis, and apprehensive of Bahadur's popularity and of his claims and capacities, Khush-Qadam wrote in his terror to various Muslim and Rajput princes promising substantial rewards if they would come to his help. He also sent jewels and money to Burhan Nizam Shah to induce him to invade Nandurbar. The Ahmadnagar ruler accepted the money but did nothing in return. The minister also wrote to Raja Udai Singh of Pol to advance on Champaner in support of the infant king. We also learn that he sent a letter to Babur, who was consolidating his power in the north, to despatch a force by way of the Indus to Div to support him, and promised a crore of *tankas* and the allegiance of Gujarat. Firishta expressly states that this appeal never reached Babur for the Raja of Dungarpur intercepted the message. This last move, when it became known, only increased the resentment against the regent. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* says that he was at Vadnagar when he learnt about it, and wrote immediately to Taj Khan Narpali and to Prince Bahadur informing them that Imad-ul-Mulk had sought the protection of Babur Badshah, and that 'this act would transfer the throne from the reigning dynasty of Gujarat'.[2] The regent's action on this occasion was abortive, but his policy was repeated forty-six years later by another 'king-maker', Itimad Khan, whose appeal to the Emperor Akbar in 1572, during the political confusion and distraction of that period, ended in the Mughal invasion of the country and the extinction of the Gujarat kingdom.

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1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 312.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 318-19; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 101-02.

Prince Bahadur leaves Delhi for Gujarat

Prince Bahadur had left his host Sultan Ibrahim Lodi on the field of Panipat in April, 1526, and was halting at a small place called Baghpatha[1] near Delhi, on his way to Jaunpur in response to the invitation of the nobles of that kingdom, when he received a letter from his friends in Gujarat informing him of his father's death and the succession of his elder brother Sikandar. The letter also conveyed the news of the dissatisfaction of the army and of the nobles with the new ruler and urged that his arrival was eagerly awaited. Declining the offer from Jaunpur, Bahadur at once turned his steps in the direction of Gujarat. Firishta and others relate that, unable to decide upon his course, Bahadur determined to be guided by his horse and threw the reins on its head. The animal took the southern road, and the Prince, believing in the omen, proceeded towards Ahmadabad. Though this story has probably no historical basis, the decision arrived at indicates that Bahadur, when in Hindustan, was in complete touch with affairs in Gujarat, perhaps through his friends the Bukhari Saiyids of Vatva. He was probably not yet aware of Sikandar's murder, but he had so strong a following in Gujarat that it was worth his while to try for the rich prize which the throne of Gujarat afforded, and he had evidently little compunction about disputing his elder brother's title.[2]

The Prince receives news of Sikandar's murder

When Prince Bahadur arrived at Chitor on his journey south, he was met by one Ali Sher, son of Muin-ud-din Afghan, who informed him of the murder of Sikandar, the treason of Khush-Qadam, and other events. Though the Prince declared that he would impale the traitor when he reached Muhammadabad, the news of Sikandar's death must have come to him as a relief. At Chitor his two younger brothers Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan joined him. The former preferred to remain at Sanga's court and subsequently found refuge at the court of Mandu, while Ibrahim Khan went along with Bahadur. From the time he reached Dungarpur, Bahadur's retinue

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1. Baghpatha (the Vyaghra-prastha, or 'tiger-town', of the Mahabharata times) is now a small town on the left bank of the Jamna, a little to the N. W. of Delhi, in the Mirat district.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 319 and *n*,

began daily to be swelled by the influx of the nobles and the officials of the Gujarat kingdom. He now assumed the royal title of 'Shah' and sent to Taj Khan Narpali a moderately worded manifesto for publication. It may be mentioned that Taj Khan had taken the lead among the nobles and espoused the cause of Bahadur ever since Muzaffar's death.

He reaches Patan and is crowned, July 6, 1526

Imad-ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam, when he heard of the near approach of Bahadur and the great support accorded to him, became thoroughly alarmed and began to lavish the royal treasures at Champaner in raising troops. He sent his trusted officer Azd-ul-Mulk with 600 horse and fifty elephants to Modasa to intercept Bahadur's communications. But he found the Prince's forces so greatly increased that he retreated without a fight. Bahadur having reached Modasa, where Taj Khan delivered to him the royal jewels, proceeded by way of Harsol[1] and Singargaon to Patan the ancient capital of Gujarat. Here he visited the tombs of the saints and of his ancestors Muzaffar Shah I and his son, and on July 6, 1526 went through the ceremony of his formal coronation as Sultan. Taj Khan and a great many nobles, including the author of the 'Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi', had come here from Ahmadabad to do him homage. From this date, therefore, we may consider the reign of Bahadur Shah to have formally commenced though his title to the throne was not definitely established till he had overthrown the power of his young brother and his powerful regent.[2]

He holds court at Ahmadabad, July 11, 1526

Sultan Bahadur, having assumed royal pomp and state at Patan Anhilvad, left the next day on his march to the two later capitals of Gujarat. After the usual halt at Sarkhej, he entered Ahmadabad by the Kalupur gate, and visiting the mausoleum of Ahmad Shah in the Manek Chok, took up his residence in the Bhadra. On the morning of the *'Id-ul-Fitr*

1. Harsol is a town in the Parantij sub-division of the Ahmadabad district, thirty miles north-west of the capital, and situated among ravines on the banks of the Meshva. Under the Sultans it was a place of some consequence, the centre of 84 villages. There is an old Jami mosque and a tower to the east of the town with an Arabic inscription (Ahmedabad Gazetteer, 345).

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 326-28; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 102-04.

(July 11) he held a grand *darbar* in the hall of the Sangar Mandap palace, with a parade of the royal elephants, and on this occasion thirty-two nobles were granted new titles. After the *darbar* was over, the Sultan proceeded in state through the city to offer prayers at the 'Idgah amid the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. The following day he went to the Ghattamandal palace and then continued his march, for immediate action was necessary against the traitor at Champaner.[1]

Bahadur's march from Ahmadabad to Champaner

Imad-ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam was now almost at the end of his resources. In vain he advanced to his supporters an year's allowance from the treasury. The nobles took the money, but went quietly out of the city to join Bahadur Shah. Khush-Qadam now ignored Nasir Khan, and secretly sent for Prince Latif Khan, who was clever and of full age, in the hope that if war began he would give this Prince the insignia of royalty and oppose Bahadur. But the continuous defections among his sworn allies and the accomplices in the crime he had committed upset all his designs. He sent a force under Azd-ul-Mulk to Baroda in order to distract Bahadur's attention, but all attempts to delay or hamper the latter's march proved unsuccessful. Bahadur's journey towards Champaner was, however, made difficult by the heavy rains. He marched to Mehmdabad and thence to Nadiad where he halted for two days and received the submission of Khush-Qadam's bosom friends. On July 21, he crossed the river Mahi at the Khanpur-Vankaner ford, and without waiting for the whole army to cross over, pushed on rapidly with 400 horse and some elephants to the village of Halol. Here he paid a visit to the tomb of his brother Sultan Sikandar and sent forward Taj Khan in advance to surround the house of the regent Imad-ul-Mulk. On the news of the Sultan's arrival at Halol, the friends of Khush-Qadam advised him to seek safety in flight, but he now lost all nerve, saying 'How can I fly? Naked swords surround me on all sides.'[2]

The fate that overtook Imad-ul-Mulk and his associates in the murder of Sikandar may be briefly described. When

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 328-30. 2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 330-31.

Taj Khan with his troops surrounded his house, Imad escaped to a friend, while his residence was plundered by the people and all his women carried off. The Sultan, on entering the city, visited the old vazir Khudawand Khan, after which he took up his residence in the royal palace. The ex-regent was arrested soon after, and brought to the court with every kind of ignominy, having his hands bound and his head and feet bare. Bahadur ordered him to be confined in a cell in the Dilkusha palace. The Sultan next inspected the spot where his brother had been murdered, and summoning Taj Khan and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* he heard the details of the assassination and gave his final orders. On July 26, Khush-Qadam was executed with two other nobles who had been present at the murder. The villain who had actually committed the foul deed, a man named Baha-ul-Mulk, had his skin torn from his body by the royal orders and his body was exposed on a gibbet. After these terrible acts of vengeance, the Sultan's administration might be said to have begun.[1]

Fate of Khush-Qadam and his associates, July 26, 1526

On August 14, 1526, Sultan Bahadur went through a second coronation ceremony at Champaner, that city, as Firishta says, 'having been considered during the last few reigns the capital of the kingdom'. Prince Latif Khan, however, had still to be disposed off. He had remained concealed at Champaner up to the time of Bahadur's entry into the town, but had since fled and taken protection with the Raja of Pol where several of the malcontent nobles had joined him. On the Prince advancing towards Sultanpur, Ghazi Khan, the governor of that district, attacked and defeated him. Latif Khan was severely wounded in the action and taken prisoner. The Sultan deputed some nobles to see that his wounds were properly attended to and to remove him to the capital. The Prince, however, never recovered and died on the way.[2] He was buried at Halol by the side of the late Sikandar in the Rauza which was erected at that place. Shortly after this, the

Death of Latif Khan and other brothers of Bahadur, Aug., 1526

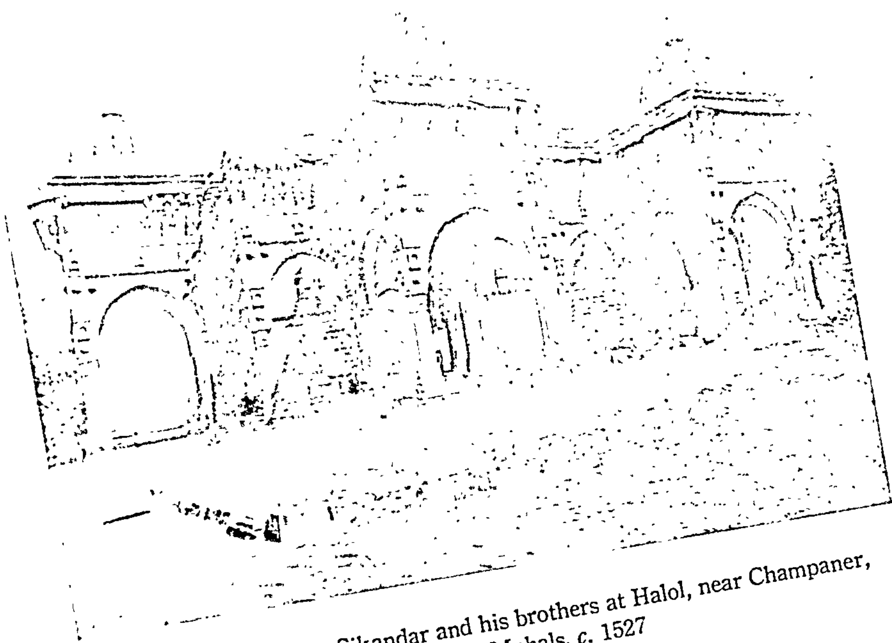
1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 331-33.
2. After Bahadur's death in 1537, Prince Latif Khan's son succeeded to the throne of Gujarat as Sultan Mahmud III.

boy Nasir Khan (Mahmud II) and three other Princes were poisoned by the Sultan's orders, and they were also interred beside the tomb of the late Sultan Sikandar. Thus one after another the sons of Muzaffar II perished before the rising fortune of Bahadur. Chand Khan alone of the Sultan's brothers escaped the fate that overtook the others, having taken refuge at the court of Mandu. Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa refused to give him up to be murdered with his other brothers, and this policy, as we shall see, dissolved the alliance between the Gujarat and the Malwa rulers which had been subsisting for a considerable period.[1]

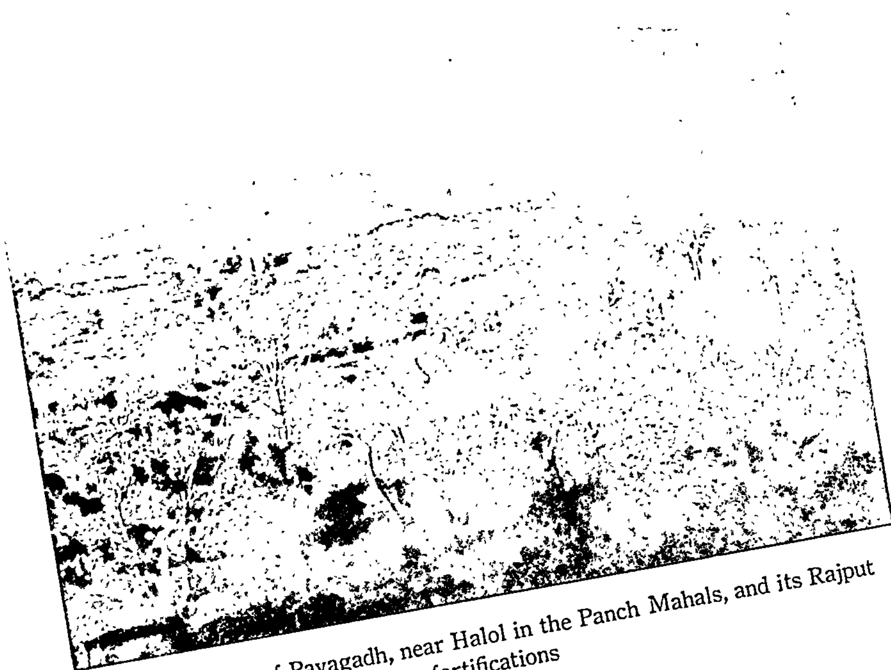
The mausolea of Sikandar and his brothers at Halol

Halol is now the headquarters of a petty division of the same name in the Kalol taluka of the Panch Mahals district, situated on the high road to Jambughoda about four miles north-west of Pavagadh hill. Here was laid out in the time of Sultan Mahmud Begada the most beautiful of all the gardens for which Champaner and its suburbs were famous. A reservoir of considerable size, situated to the north-east of the town, attests its former prosperity as a suburb of the some-time political capital of Gujarat in the sixteenth century. Within the limits of the town stand two beautiful mausolea, closely touching each other, raised by Bahadur Shah in honour of his murdered brother Sikandar and also as the last resting place of Latif Khan and Nasir Khan who perished in 1526.[2] These Rauzas at Halol were described by James Forbes, who saw them in 1785, as structures with two large and five small domes, all of admirable workmanship, and containing marble tombs adorned with excellent skill.[3] These marble stones have disappeared. There is now only a single grave on one side of the first mausoleum with a low pillar near it to indicate the resting place of a martyr. In the adjacent Rauza all signs of the graves have disappeared. The mausolea are constructed in the best Ahmadabad style with beautiful porches and elegant pillars. The central domes of both have fallen down, but the small well-proportioned fluted cupolas above the porches are in excellent preservation. The Rauzas stand by the side of the main road and have been

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 333-35 ; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 106-08.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, III, *Kaira and Panch Mahals*, 316.
3. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs, London*, 1813, III, 476.



Mausoleum of Sultan Sikandar and his brothers at Halol, near Champaner, in the Panch Mahals, *c.* 1527



The Hill-Fort of Pavagadh, near Halol in the Panch Mahals, and its Rajput fortifications

taken good care of by the Archæological Department but for whose efforts they would now be in ruins. At the time of their construction a suitable establishment was endowed to say daily prayers for the Princes' souls.[1]

Reference to Bahadur in Babur's *Memoirs*

As indicated in a preceding chapter, the great Central Asian conqueror Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, who established his authority in India in the same year as the accession of Bahadur Shah to the throne of Gujarat, makes a very interesting reference to the latter in his famous *Memoirs* which deserves to be quoted:

> 'This same year (H. 932) Bahadur Khan, the son of Sultan Muzaffer of Gujrat, succeeded his father in the throne of Gujrat, of which country he is now king. Upon some difference with his father, he had fled to Sultan Ibrahim, by whom he was treated with great slight; during the time that I was in the vicinity of Panipat, I received from him letters asking for assistance. I returned him a gracious and encouraging answer, inviting him to join me. He at first intended to wait upon me, but afterwards changed his plan, and, separating from Ibrahim's army, took the road of Gujrat. His father, Sultan Muzaffer, having died at this very crisis, his elder brother Sikandar Shah, the eldest son of Sultan Muzaffer, succeeded his father in the throne of Gujrat. In consequence of his bad conduct, one of his slaves, Emad-al-Mulk, conspired with some others, and put him to death by strangling him. They then sent for Bahadur Khan, who was still on the road, and on his arrival, placed him in his father's throne, under the name of Bahadur Shah. This prince acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation, by putting to death Emad-al-Mulk, who had behaved so treacherously; but unfortunately, besides this, he put to death a number of his father's Amirs, and gave proofs of his being a blood-thirsty and ungovernable young man.'[2]

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 108.
2. *Memoirs of Baber*, trans. by Leyden and Erskine, London (1826), 343.

CHAPTER XXVI

SULTAN BAHADUR SHAH, 1526-1537: MILITARY HISTORY OF THE REIGN

The expansion of the Gujarat Kingdom: War with Ahmadnagar, 1528–30: Interview with Burhan Nizam Shah, 1531: Causes of the war with Mahmud II of Malwa, 1531: Mandu taken by assault: Extinction of the Malwa Saltanat: War with Silhadi of Raisin, 1532: Tragedy of Durgadevi and 700 women: Invasion of Chitor, 1533–4: Story of the *Rakhi* sent to Humayun: Col. Tod on the institution of the 'Rakhi': Capture of Chitorgadh and the *jauhar* of the Rajput women: Monuments on Chitor Fort.

Stirring events of the reign

Bahadur Shah was only twenty years old when he ascended the throne, but in a brilliant reign of less than eleven years he arrested for a time the forces of disorder and revived the aggressive policy of his great predecessors. 'The entire country of Gujarat,' says the historian, 'which had been left in darkness by the setting of the sun of government, began again to flourish on the rising of this sun of the kingdom, Bahadur Shah.'[1] Events of the most stirring and conflicting character are comprised within this short period of eleven years. Bahadur annexed the kingdom of Malwa to his own, compelled obedience and homage from the kings of the Deccan, captured the almost impregnable stronghold of Rana Sanga (the ruler of Mewar), and defeated the Portuguese in the greatest naval action of the time. Elated by a sense of his power and invincibility, he appears to have aspired to the Empire of Hindustan, and rashly measured his strength with the rising power of the Mughals under Humayun. The result was disastrous to his throne, and for many months he was an exile and a fugitive. From the depth of despondency he was restored to his kingdom by a strange reversal of fortune only to meet a watery grave at the hands of the Portuguese whom he had alternately befriended and opposed.

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 328.

On the downfall of the great Bahmani Empire of the south at the end of the fifteenth century, its territories had been divided up among the five independent Deccan kingdoms that rose on its ruins. These states were engaged in constant wars with each other and with Khandesh, and, soon after his accession, Bahadur's intervention was invoked in the affairs of these kingdoms. The reason is sufficiently evident. More than a century of brilliant and prosperous sway had naturally given the Sultans of Gujarat a lofty position in Indian politics, and their power was held in respect and fear by the rulers of the comparatively younger dynasties that had risen in the south. Miran Muhammad Shah Faruki, the ruler of Khandesh at this period, was the nephew of Bahadur Shah, being the son of his sister Raji Ruqaiyah. This prince, in confederation with the king of Birar, called in Bahadur's help against Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was assisted by the Bidar ruler and other chiefs. During the years 1528–30 Bahadur was engaged in two expeditions in the Deccan, and we shall briefly give the history of these campaigns though the accounts given by the various historians show considerable discrepancy.

1. Wars in the Deccan against Ahmadnagar, 1528-30

The Sultan marched in person with a huge force in September, 1528 for the Deccan, and advanced by way of Baroda and Nandurbar to Burhanpur where his nephew the ruler of Khandesh, and Imad-ul-Mulk, the King of Birar, waited upon him. The combined forces of the three kingdoms, numbering a hundred thousand men with more than 300 elephants, entered the Deccan by way of Jalna, and Bahadur invested the great fort of Daulatabad which was the stronghold of the Nizam Shahi rulers. But his supplies being cut off and finding the defence of the fort very formidable, the Sultan decided to raise the siege and retired to his capital on receiving friendly overtures from the confederate rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bidar against whom he was at war. After the rainy season of 1529 he started again for the Deccan being entertained on the way by Raja Baharji of Baglan at his fort of Mulher. The Raja gave one of his sisters, a lady of great beauty and intelligence, to Bahadur in marriage, and another

Bahadur invests the fort of Daulatabad

sister to Muhammad I of Khandesh. Baharji was given the title of Bahar Khan and sent with a detachment to plunder the country round Chaul. Bahadur continued his march to the Nizam Shahi capital at Ahmadnagar of which he now took possession, for the Deccanis had evacuated the city before his arrival. He remained here for twelve days to give his troops rest after their long marches, and gave orders 'for levelling all the palaces and fine buildings to the ground and for destroying the gardens'. Soon after this, a reconciliation was effected between Imad-ul-Mulk of Birar and the Barid Shahi ruler of Bidar, and Bahadur agreed to give up hostilities on condition that his name was recited in the *khutba* in the mosques at Bidar and Ahmadnagar, and returned to his capital in the spring of 1530.[1]

Ahmadnagar city taken and its palaces destroyed, 1529

In 1531 Burhan Nizam Shah sent his minister, Shah Tahir, famous alike for his talents, his learning and his diplomacy, as his ambassador to the court of Bahadur, and soon after himself waited in person on the Gujarat sovereign attended by a retinue of seven thousand men. An interesting account of the interview between the two Sultans is preserved in the pages of the historian Firishta.[2] The place of the meeting was Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, and Bahadur gave it beforehand to be understood that he would remain seated on his throne, but that all others, of whatever rank, should keep standing. When informed of the contemplated procedure, the pride of Burhan Nizam Shah revolted at this further humiliation. 'Should he who had won his independence from the great house of Bahmani stoop to that of Gujarat?' Shah Tahir, however, besought his master not to be impatient, as he had devised a plan to deliver him from the dilemma and spare him this indignity. When Burhan, attended by his nobles, arrived at the royal tents, Shah Tahir, who had in his possession a volume of the Quran in the handwriting of Ali (the son-in-law of the Prophet), placed the holy work on his head, and advanced towards the throne. Bahadur, on being informed by his Vazir of the precious relic which Shah Tahir

Interview with Burhan Nizam Shah, 1531

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 340-46; *Arabic History*, I, 150-54.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 222-226.

was carrying, immediately descended from his throne to pay it reverence and kissed the sacred book three times. Burhan Shah now advanced and greeted Bahadur. The latter then returned to the throne and requested the Deccan Sultan and his resourceful minister to be seated. During the conversation that followed Bahadur studiously addressed the Ahmadnagar ruler as Nizam-ul-Mulk. But his pride was at last satisfied, and taking a sword and a jewelled dagger from his own waist, he girded them on to his guest's with the words, 'May the title of *Shah* prove auspicious to you,' presenting him at the same time with a royal canopy. Firishta appears to have derived these interesting details of the interview from the lost Persian histories of Gujarat, whose authors would naturally gratify the vanity of their master. It is, however, difficult to accept the version that the Nizam Shahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar, who assumed all the titles and insignia of royalty as early as 1490, should have, so late as 1531, sought and obtained the confirmation of their sovereignty from a distant ruler of almost equal dignity. With this modification, the other details of the interview may be accepted as substantially correct.[1] Bahadur's object in becoming friendly with the King of Ahmadnagar was the help he expected from him in the attack which he meditated on the kingdom of Delhi. He was, however, disappointed, for Burhan Nizam Shah withheld all assistance in the subsequent war with Humayun. During the interview described above, Bahadur became so pleased with Shah Tahir that he used every effort to induce him to quit the service of Burhan Nizam Shah, but without effect.[2]

Bahadur accepts his royal status

Bahadur's next military enterprise was of a still more splendid character, for in 1531 he annexed the kingdom of Malwa to that of Gujarat. The country which the chivalrous generosity of Muzaffar II had restored to its sovereign fell

1. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Shah Tahir waited upon Sultan Bahadur in 1532 with a request from his master that he might be honoured with the title of Nizam Shah. Bahadur asked him what difference would then remain between himself and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Shah Tahir replied, 'A great difference. You are now known as a king over *amirs*, you will then be a king over kings.' Pleased with this delicate flattery, Bahadur bestowed the royal umbrella on the Ahmadnagar Sultan. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 354 and *n*).

2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 116.

an easy prey to the ambitious designs of his unscrupulous son. The Malwa ruler was charged with returning the obligations that he owed to the father by intriguing against his son: but it is probable that any pretext was thought by Bahadur sufficient to justify a war against a ruler who, though personally brave, was fatally weak and incapable as a sovereign. There were several factors which gave Bahadur an opportunity for interference in Malwa affairs. In the first place, his brother Chand Khan had found refuge at the court of Mandu, and, though it stands to the credit of Mahmud II that he refused to deliver over the son of his benefactor, his action was bitterly resented by Bahadur. In the second place, Rana Ratansingh of Chitor, the son of the great Sangram, sent agents to Bahadur's court to complain that Mahmud II had sent his son and his minister Sharza Khan to ravage some of the southern districts of Chitor territory forgetful of the generous treatment which he had received in 1519 at the hands of his father. Bahadur was at this time friendly to Chitor in view of the hospitable treatment he had received at that capital during his exile. Then again, Silhadi, the Rajput chief of Raisin[1] and Ujjain, sent his son Bhupat Rae to Bahadur's court to seek protection against the sinister designs of the Malwa ruler. Other Muslim nobles of the court of Mandu, disaffected towards their master, also came with complaints of the hostile intentions of the Sultan against them. In the last place, Bahadur resented the fact that the Malwa ruler, whom he looked upon as a vassal in view of Sultan Muzaffar's services, had not come to his court to pay his respects on his accession. Though Mahmud II had more than once sent an envoy to propose an interview, and his request had readily been acceded to by Bahadur, he had been deliberately evading its fulfilment, until the Gujarat Sultan declared bluntly that he disbelieved in his excuses and intimated to him that he proposed to go to Mandu and meet him there.

2. Annexation of Malwa: reasons for Bahadur's attack, 1531

1. Raisin is now the headquarters of a division of Bhopal State in Central India, and it played an important part in the history of Eastern Malwa during the Muslim period. The fort of Raisin stands on a spur of the Vindhyas.

About the end of January 1531, Bahadur marched against the Malwa ruler and passed the Karji Ghat where Rana Ratansingh and Silhadi were admitted to an interview and thirty elephants as also a large number of gold-embroidered dresses were conferred upon them. The Sultan was accompanied on this expedition by the malcontents among the Mandu nobles and also by his nephew Muhammad I of Khandesh. The historian Husam Khan, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi,* was also in the camp and his account of the expedition based on first hand knowledge has been relied upon by Firishta and the author of the *Mirat-i- Sikandari.* When Bahadur arrived at the village of Sambal, an envoy from Sultan Mahmud arrived to make his master's excuses to the effect that having broken his arm by a fall from his horse while out hunting he was unable to wait upon his suzerain for an interview in his camp; in private, however, the envoy declared that the matter relating to Chand Khan was the real difficulty as Mahmud did not wish to surrender him. Sultan Bahadur continued his march past Dhar[1] and Nalcha until he reached the foot of the hill-capital of Mandu about March 9, and made his dispositions for the erection of batteries and the distribution of commands.

Bahadur in Malwa: its nobles flock to his camp, Jan., 1531

The hill-fort of Mandu taken by escalade, Mar., 1531

After all the arrangements for a blockade had been put into effect, Bahadur ascertained that the side where the 'citadel' of Mandu was situated, and where the ascent was most precipitous, was that known as Songadh-Chitori.[2] The garrison, convinced that the fort was inaccessible in that direction, had been careless about its defence, so that the Gujarat Sultan with a select body of troops one night effected the ascent in person while the main body of his army was ignorant of the enterprise. The fort

1. Dhar is now the capital of the State of the same name in Central India, 33 miles by road from Mhow, and picturesquely situated 2,000 feet above sea-level. It was for many generations the capital of Malwa during the sway of the Parmar Rajputs, and famous as a seat of learning under Raja Bhoj (11th century). Under Sultan Hoshang Ghori, early in the 15th century, Mandu took the place of Dhar as the capital. (Imp. Gazettr., XI, 293-94).

2. For an account of Songadh hill, which stands above the plateau of Mandu, and which is fortified by a solid masonry wall on two sides and by natural precipitous declivities on the others, see G. Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, 115-16.

was then taken by assault on March 28, 1531. Mahmud II, with a thousand horse took shelter in his palace, while for an hour the invader gave over the city to slaughter. The Malwa Sultan, finding resistance hopeless, at last came out with his seven sons, and made his submission to Bahadur. Prince Chand Khan, the brother of the Gujarat Sultan, escaped to the Deccan.

Fate of Mahmud II and his seven sons

According to Firishta and other historians, it appears that Bahadur was disposed to treat his fallen foe with generosity, but Mahmud II showed temper and abused him to his face at an interview. The Malwa ruler is also said to have formed the resolve of putting to death all the ladies in his harem to prevent them from falling into the victor's hands, but he was dissuaded from this idea by his nobles who met Bahadur and obtained his assurance that they would not be touched. Bahadur was now proclaimed King of Malwa, and the *khutba* was read in his name at Shadiabad ('the City of Joy'), under which designation Mandu is generally mentioned by the Persian historians. After some months, Bahadur entrusted Mahmud II and his seven sons to the care of Asaf Khan and two other nobles to be taken to Champaner. When the party arrived at the frontier town of Dohad, it was attacked by a force of some two thousand Bhils and Kolis under the Raja of Pol,[1] probably with the object of rescuing the ex-ruler of Malwa. In the confusion, Mahmud's guards, fearing that he would escape, put him to death, and he was buried in the vicinity of the tank at Dohad. His seven sons were taken to Champaner and imprisoned, but we might presume that they were also put to death as nothing is heard of them again.

Estimate of the Malwa kingdom

Due to his sloth and incapacity as a ruler, as also to his suicidal policy, and the disaffection among his nobles, Mahmud II of Malwa had lost a powerful kingdom of which he was destined to be the last sovereign. The independent sway of the Malwa Sultans had lasted, under the two dynasties

1. Pol is now a small state in the north-east frontier of the Mahi Kantha Agency, adjoining Mewar in Rajputana. The country is throughout hilly and wild.

of Ghori and Khalji, for a hundred and thirty years. But the proud and ambitious young conqueror of Malwa was little aware that, under his own feeble successors, the sad history of Malwa and its disloyal nobility would be repeated in Gujarat during the next forty years, and the ground prepared for a more powerful and more illustrious invader who was to incorporate both Gujarat and Malwa with his own Imperial territories.[1]

3. War on Silhadi and capture of Raisin, 1532

Bahadur Shah must needs consider his conquest of Malwa incomplete so long as Silhadi, the powerful Rajput fief holder of Raisin, Ujjain and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in the eastern districts of Malwa. Silhadi's disinclination to render him personal homage, and the fact that he retained in his seraglio a large number of Muslim women,[2] were matters of deep offence in the eyes of the Gujarat Sultan, who determined to secure his fall. Early in 1532 the Rajput chief was made prisoner when on a belated visit of respect to the royal camp. Bahadur next occupied Ujjain and Bhilsa, and finally directed his whole power to the capture of the fort of Raisin, which was Silhadi's stronghold, and was, in his absence, ably defended by his brother Lakshman Singh. In the course of this siege the name of Mustafa Rumi Khan, the most famous artillery-captain in India at the time, first comes into notice.[3] Silhadi's son Bhupat had been married to the daughter of Rana Sanga, and for a time Bahadur's attention was diverted from the siege by the advance of the Chitor army. But the investment of Raisin was soon resumed. Silhadi, who had, nominally at least, become a convert to Islam, now asked for permission to go inside the fort to induce the garrison to surrender and to escort the women of his family out of the fortress. The

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 348-53; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 113-15 and 265-69; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 194-96.
2. It is said that the expenditure in Silhadi's household on women's dresses and perfumes exceeded that in any king's palace. He had four *akharas*, or bands of dancing-girls, who were each unrivalled in their special art. Forty women held the torches while the dancing-girls performed. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 366).
3. We now know a good deal about this famous engineer whose skill made him the most trusted military adviser first of Bahadur Shah and afterwards of the Emperor Humayun. He was, without doubt, a very clever adventurer who came from Turkey. See *post*, pp. 338-39.

request was granted. But when he was once again in the midst of his brave Rajputs, he was upbraided by his relatives and by his wife Durgadevi for having in his old age deserted both his honour and his religion. Overcome by these reproaches he decided to remain and to share the fortunes of his garrison.

The tragedy of Durgadevi and 700 women

Bahadur, being informed of this defection, delivered the final assault[1] and carried the fortress, but, before the Muslims entered, a terrible tragedy had been enacted within its walls (May 6, 1532). The fatal *jauhar* had been prepared, and the Rajputs, under Silhadi and his brother, set fire to it before they rushed out to meet their death at the hands of the enemy. Thus, for a second time in the history of fifty years, was the victory of a Gujarat Sultan stained by the awful sacrifice of the Rajput women. The lovely Durgavati, together with seven hundred of Silhadi's women, including the Muslim ladies in his possession, were forced into the devouring flames, and in a moment all this 'harvest of roses' was reduced to ashes. The Sultan offered all the gold and silver collected from the ashes of these unfortunate victims to one of his nobles Burhan-ul-Mulk Bunyani, who accepted the gift, though all honourable men condemned his conduct. We are informed, however, that he distributed the whole of the proceeds in alms among the people of Gujarat.[2]

4. Bahadur's invasion of Chitor, 1533-34

In 1533 Bahadur Shah, though only twenty-seven years of age, was at the height of his power, and during this and the next year he undertook his last great war of aggression and expansion. The operations were this time directed against the fort of Chitor, the almost impregnable stronghold of Rana Sangram,[3] the pretext for the invasion being the help given

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1. The art of underground mining, and the use of artillery and gunpowder, had by this time reached a high state of perfection in the Gujarat armies. The walls and bastions of the fort of Raisin, and subsequently of Chitor, were demolished with comparative ease by these means.

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 356-66; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 117-22; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 224-25.

3. This heroic Rajput prince, the Sanga of Muslim historians, who counted eighty wounds on his body, died in 1530, three years after the signal defeat at Khanua at the hands of Babur when he was severely wounded. After this disaster he retired towards Mewat, resolved not to return to his capital until he had retrieved his defeat. But his ministers shrank from

by its ruler to Silhadi of Raisin. After the battle of Khanua (1527) Rana Sangram had retired into the hills, and had been succeeded by his son Ratan Singh, who, after a reign of four years, was killed in 1531 in a duel with the Rao of Bundi. The rule over Mewar then passed to his brother Vikramajit, described as 'the Commodus of Rajputana', for he disgusted his proud feudal nobles by his preference for the society of 'paiks' and wrestlers. The distracted conditions in Chitor were thus opportune for Bahadur to carry out his designs. At the end of 1532, a military force with a large contingent of artillery was collected at Mandu for the war against the Rana, and the Sultan instructed his nephew, the ruler of Khandesh, to proceed with his army to that capital where he joined him shortly after.

Siege of the fort, 1533: Rumi Khan's services

At the end of January 1533, Tatar Khan, the Lodi Prince at Bahadur's court, who had been sent with the advanced guard, captured the lower fortifications of Chitor, including two out of the seven gates. After this the investment of the fort began under the personal direction of the Sultan, and the great guns and siege-trains were brought into play. Alp Khan with 30,000 horse had charge of the trenches before the Lakhota gate; Tatar Khan Lodi and most of the Afghan forces were posted in front of the Hanuman gate; and the attack on the White Bastion was entrusted to Mallu Khan and several other Malwa nobles. The Sultan's exertions at the siege of Chitor are said to have been unequalled by any private soldier, while Mustafa Rumi Khan, the Turkish commander in charge of the artillery, displayed great skill in getting the big guns into position up the hill and in driving mines and trenches. When the walls of the fort had been battered down, the queen-mother Jawahar Bai, the widow of Sangram Singh, sent her son-in-law Bhupat Rae to Bahadur to beg for peace, promising complete submission to his wishes, and restoring at the same time all the plunder taken by her husband when he defeated and captured Mahmud II of Mandu, including the jewelled

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the hardships which his decision imposed upon them, and he died at Baswa of poison administered at their instigation (Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. by Crooke, I, 357 ; *Camb. History of India*, III, 530).

crown and other regalia of the Malwa rulers.[1] Bahadur consequently patched up a truce and retired only to return the next year.

After concluding the truce, Bahadur left Chitor for Mandu at the end of March 1533, having sent two of his nobles to effect the capture of Ranthambhor[2] while a third reduced the fort of Ajmer (the *Dar-ul-Khair*, or 'home of goodness'). In 1534, after the Sultan's relations with the Emperor Humayun had become strained, the war against the Rajputs was renewed. Rana Vikramajit offered battle, though the force against him was overwhelming, but was defeated at Loicha in the Bundi territory as his feudal vassals not only kept aloof but marched off in a body to defend Chitor and the infant Udai Singh, the posthumous son of Sangram. Bahadur next advanced on Chitor and again invested the fort. According to Rajput chronicles, Rani Karnavati, the infant Prince's mother, had sent to Humayun her bracelet (*Rakhi*), in conformity with the chivalrous custom of Rajasthan, adopting him as her champion, and he now advanced to her help. The Muslim historians, however, state that though the Emperor had received gross provocation from Bahadur, he remained strictly neutral and refrained from attacking the Sultan while the latter was engaged in a war against the 'infidels'.[3]

The siege renewed: story of the *rakhi* sent to Humayun

Col. James Tod, in his great work on the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, supports the tradition that when Rani Karnavati of Chitor sent him her bracelet, Humayun accepted the pledge and became her knight or *Rakhi-band Bhai* (the bracelet-bound brother). He was thus bound by the laws of chivalry to come to her rescue when in her distress

Col. J. Tod on the institution of the *Rakhi*

1. These regalia were the same that were originally carried off to Malwa by Mahmud I Khalji after the battle of Kapadwanj with Sultan Qutb-ud-din (1451). The royal band, believed to be of inestimable value, was afterwards sent with Bahadur's family to Medina, and eventually found its way, in the shape of a present, to the Grand Signor Suleman the Magnificent at Constantinople. (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 12 *n*).
2. The fort of Ranthambhor (*Ranstambhpur*, 'the place of the pillar of war') is now in the Sawai-Madhopur *nizamat* to the south-east of Jaipur State, Rajputana. It stands on an isolated rock, 1,578 feet above sea-level, and is surrounded by a massive wall with towers and bastions.
3. Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, I, 453, f.

she demanded the fulfilment of the pledge. But his tardy advance, and pedantic war of words with Bahadur, we are told, prevented him from averting the catastrophe. Tod's remarks on the interesting and chivalrous institution among the Rajputs referred to above may be given in his own picturesque language:

> 'The festival of the bracelet (*rakhi*) is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajasthan. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Rajput dame bestows with the Rakhi the title of adopted brother; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a *cavalière servente,* scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. . . . The intrinsic value of such pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *kachhli,* or corset, of simple silk or satin, or gold brocade and pearls. . . A whole province has often accompanied the Kachhli, and the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajasthan, on receiving the bracelet of the princess Karnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and uncle and protector to her infant Udai Singh, that he pledged himself to her service. . . Humayun proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquest in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge and to succour Chitor and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana.'[1]

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1. J. Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. by W. Crooke, I, 364-65.

At the end of 1534, while the siege of Chitor was still in progress, Humayun came down to Gwalior from Agra with the object of making war on Bahadur. The Sultan, being assured by one of his officers, Sadr Khan, that the Emperor would not attack him while he was besieging the Rajput fortress, despatched Tatar Khan Lodi[1] and Burhan-ul-Mulk with a large force to create a diversion by attacking the Mughal capital. Meanwhile, an extensive breach had been made in the ramparts of Chitor and the valiant Jawahar Bai, the queen-mother, was slain while leading a sortie from the fortress. After all hope of maintaining the defence was lost, the infant heir Udai Singh was conducted to a place of safety by the Rao of Bundi while the Rajput garrison at Chitor prepared the awful *jauhar* which indicated that the end was near. According to the bardic legends preserved in the *Annals of Rajasthan,* many thousand Rajput women led by Karnavati, the mother of the young prince, sacrificed their lives in the terrible conflagration. The surviving Rajputs donned the saffron attire, and led by Vaghji, the Prince of Deola, rushed on the Muslim swords till they perished. The great fortress of Chitorgarh became for a time a possession of the Gujarat Sultan and a Muslim governor was appointed in its charge. Abul Fazl in the *Akbarnama* gives the date of its subjugation by Bahadur as the 8th March 1535.[2] Owing, however, to Bahadur's hurried departure and subsequent defeat and retreat before the victorious Humayun, Rana Vikramajit was able to return and almost immediately recovered the fortress.[3]

Fall of Chitorgarh: the *jauhar* performed

The celebrated fort of Chitor, the ancient *Chitrakot,* is situated two miles east of the railway station of the same name on a branch of the Rajputana–Malwa Railway. It stands

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1. Tatar Khan of the Lodi dynasty, son of Alam Khan or Sultan Ala-ud-din Lodi and grandson of Bahlol Lodi, had arrived at the Gujarat court in 1531 to seek help to regain the kingdom of Delhi. Bahadur is said to have told him that he had seen the prowess of the Mughals under Babur and that the Indians and the Mughals were like glass and stone, whichever strikes, it is the glass that is broken. (Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 229, 948).

2. *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 301. The date given in Rajput annals, viz., Jeth Sudi 12, S. 1589 (June 4, 1533), probably refers to Bahadur's raising the siege on the promised tribute rather than to the final catastrophe in 1535 (See Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. by Crooke, I, 363).

3. For the siege of Chitor see Bayley's *Gujarat*, 369-73 ; 383 ; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 226-27 ; 230, 238-39 ; Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. by Crooke, I, 359-67.

Chitor Fort and its monuments

on a long narrow hill which rises about 500 feet above the surrounding plain and extends over three miles in length while its greatest breadth is half a mile. Chitor remained the capital of the Rajput rulers of Mewar till 1567 when the seat of government was moved to Udaipur. It was several times taken and sacked by the Muslim rulers of India: in 1303 by Ala-ud-din Khalji, who handed it over to his son Khizr Khan; in 1534 by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat as related above; and in 1567 by Akbar. The fort has three main gates: namely, the Ram Pol on the west, the Suraj Pol on the east, and the Lakhota Bari on the north. One of the most ancient buildings in the fort is the *Kirti Stambh*, or 'tower of fame', erected in the twelfth or thirteenth century and dedicated to Adinath, the first of the Jain Tirthankars. But the most prominent monument on the hill is the *Jai Stambh*, or 'pillar of victory', constructed between 1442 and 1449 by Rana Kumbha to commemorate his success over the combined armies of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat. The tower is more than 120 feet in height and about 30 in diameter at the base and a staircase passes up through its nine storeys. The whole structure, from basement to summit, is elaborately ornamented, either in figures borrowed from the Hindu pantheon or in architectural scrolls and foliage. In Col. James Tod's opinion, the only monument in India comparable with it was the Qutb Minar at Delhi, while Fergusson considered it to be in infinitely better taste as an architectural object than the Pillar of Trajan at Rome, though possibly inferior in sculpture.[1]

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1. Imperial Gazetteer, X, 298-99.

CHAPTER XXVII

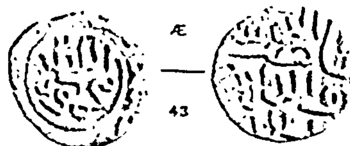
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS UNDER SULTAN BAHADUR (1526-37)

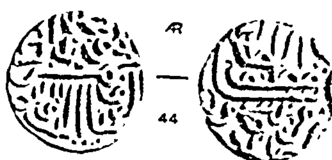
Bahadur's visit to Kathiawar and Div: Career of Ishaq, the son of Malik Ayaz : His brother Tughan is appointed governor of Div, 1526: The city-walls of Broach built by Alp Khan Khatri, 1528–33: Two Turkish Captains—Amir Mustafa and Khwaja Safar—arrive to settle in Gujarat, 1530: Sultan Bahadur grants to Amir Mustafa at Champaner the title of Rumi Khan: Nuno da Cunha as 'Governor of India', 1529–39: His great expedition against Div, 1531: Mustafa helps Tughan in the defence: Failure of Nuno and his revenge against the coast-towns: The citadel of Bassein destroyed by the Portuguese, 1532.

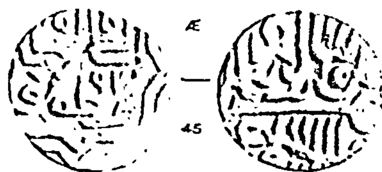
Bahadur's special patronage of Div and Cambay

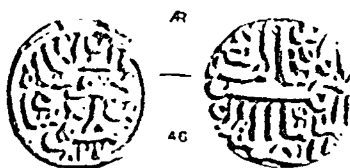
During his short but brilliant reign of ten years we find Sultan Bahadur continually traversing his dominions[1] in spite of the many distant military operations which have been described in the last chapter. Besides his visits to the three capital cities of Gujarat, we find him often present at the seaport towns of Cambay and Div. His interest in these ports may be explained by the fact that they were the emporia of the sea-borne trade of India at this period, and the custom duties levied at them furnished a very large part of the resources of the Gujarat rulers. Only ten years before Bahadur's accession to the throne, the Portuguese official and traveller Duarte Barbosa, who visited Div about 1515, records that the place 'gives such a large sum of revenue to the king that it is a subject of marvel and amazement'. No wonder then that Bahadur was zealous in his patronage of this port and anxious to provide all possible facilities to the rich foreign merchants who frequented it for trade and settled there. On

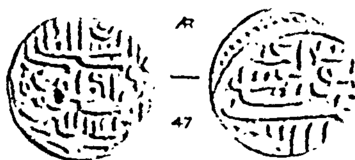
1. The Sultan was so famed for his rapid journeys that making 'a Bahaduri journey' became a proverbial saying, applied to any one who covered a great distance in a short time. Thus, in one night, he travelled from Div to Cambay reaching the latter place at sunrise. On another occasion he journeyed from Ahmadabad to Champaner in one day (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 338-39).

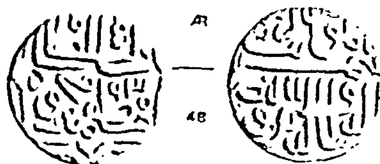


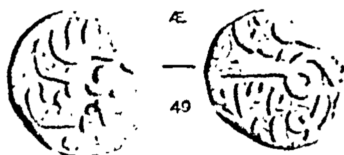


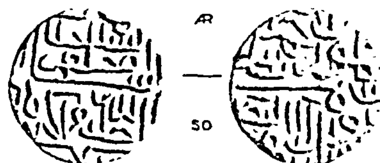


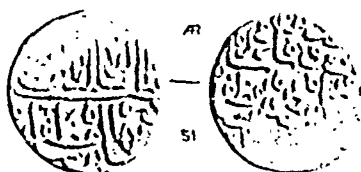


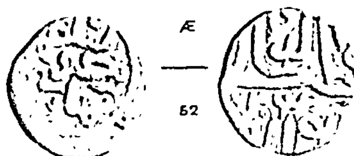


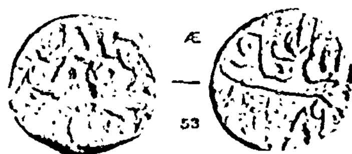


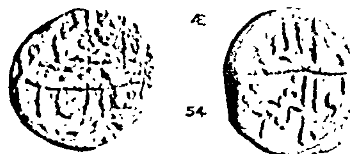


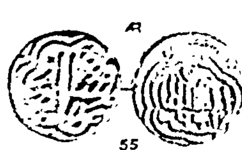


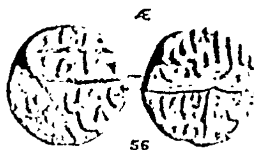


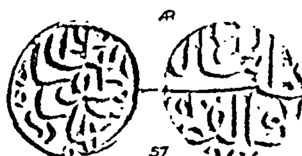












Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat in the reigns of Muzaffar II and Bahadur

one of these visits, in 1530, the Sultan is said to have bought up for his own use all the stuffs that had arrived from Europe and other foreign ports, including the purchase of 1,300 *mans* (52,000 lbs.) of rose-water![1]

On the death of the great Malik Ayaz in 1522 his son Malik Ishaq had succeeded to his jagirs at Junagadh and Div. At the end of 1526, when Sultan Bahadur was hunting near Cambay, disquieting news of Ishaq's activities reached him to the effect that he had become a rebel at the instigation of the Rajput chiefs of Kathiawar and had gone to Div with a large force in order to drive out all the Muslim merchants and soldiers and to make over the island to the Portuguese. The Sultan was further informed that Aga Muhammad, the naval commander at Div, had equipped his fleet with artillery and had opposed Malik Ishaq, killing many of his Hindu allies. On receiving these news Bahadur started from Cambay for Kathiawar and marched by way of Gundi to Dhandhuka and then to Ranpur and Jasdan. From this place he proceeded by way of Vasavad to Devli, a town in the neighbourhood of Junagadh. Here he learned that Malik Ishaq had fled northward in the direction of the *Ran* of Cutch, and that Tughlaq Khan, the royal officer in charge of Morbi, who attacked him had suffered defeat. Ishaq was later a fugitive in Rajput territory where he was put to death by Bahadur's orders.

Revolt of Malik Ishaq, 1526: Bahadur in Kathiawar

Sultan Bahadur halted for ten days in his camp at Devli in Kathiawar and then started on his return journey. His march lay by way of Mangrol and Chorvad to Patan Somnath and Kodinar. His army next encamped at Navanagar *or* Delvada in the extreme south of the peninsula where Malik Tughan, another son of the great Ayaz, came to pay his respects. The Sultan now crossed over to the island of Div where he stayed a whole month, and having entrusted the place to the charge of Kiwam-ul-Mulk, and Junagadh to Mujahid Khan Bahlim, he turned in the direction of his capital by way of Talaja and

Bahadur's first visit to Div

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 338-39, 346-47.

Gogha. During a later visit in 1530 to the port of Div, the Sultan placed it in special charge of Malik Tughan.[1]

The above account of Malik Ishaq's revolt is given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. We find, however, that Hajji-ad-Dabir in his *Arabic History* gives a very different story. According to him, Malik Ishaq, who had succeeded his father in the important government of Sorath, lost his reason in 1527, and attacked the Rajput chief of Dwarka who was loyal to the Sultan. After his return to Junagadh he became so violent that it was found necessary to put him in confinement, and he died shortly after. He was succeeded by his brother Malik Tughan famous for his stature and great bodily strength who will demand our attention later.[2]

Divergent account in the ***Arabic History of Gujarat***

In 1528 Sultan Bahadur ordered the erection of the city-walls of Broach, and on the 20th of May of that year (1st of Ramzan, H. 934) he went with an escort to inspect the new fortifications.[3] The work on the walls and on the ditch round them appears to have occupied about five years as may be gathered from a very important inscription, dated 1533, which was originally found near the Makki gate and which is now located in the masjid near the Furza at Broach. The epigraph, which has not yet been published, records as follows:

The city-walls of Broach built in Bahadur's reign, 1528-33

> 'The construction of this fort as strong as iron, and of the new ditch, in the reign of the Sultan of the age, honoured and ennobled by the beneficent Allah, Bahadur Shah, the son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan, —may his kingdom be perpetuated and his dominion endure for ever—was ordered by the great Khan, and the exalted Khaqan, Alp Khan, the son of Muhammad Khatri, known as Shaikhji . . . (may God prolong his life like the shadow of a mountain), and by Abu Muhammad bin Khuwaidan, the pillar

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 336-38, 347 ; Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 157-58; Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 224.
2. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, 117, 150.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 339.

of knowledge and action. . . . The first of Rabi-ul-awwal, 940 H. (20th September 1533).'[1]

The 'exalted Khaqan', Alp Khan Khatri, who is mentioned in the above inscription as the person by whose orders the fort-walls of Broach were rebuilt, was evidently a leading noble under Sultan Bahadur and his name is frequently mentioned by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* in his history of the reign of Mahmud III (1537–54). He was a colleague of the ministers Darya Khan and Alam Khan, and along with them took part in the plot which ended in the murder and overthrow of Sultan Mahmud III's low-born companion Charji in open *darbar*. When that young ruler, in the excess of his rage, attempted to commit suicide and stabbed himself with a dagger, it was Alp Khan who caught hold of his hand, so that the dagger penetrated the body only a little. Some years later, when both Darya Khan and Alam Khan had been driven into exile, and Sultan Mahmud III had thrown off their control, we find them returning to Gujarat and claiming Alp Khan's hospitality. The historian Sikandar clearly states that in 1545 the latter's home, children and treasure-house were at Ankleshwar, on the banks of the Narbada, three *kos* from Broach. This shows that his jagirs were situated near Broach and his connection with the new city-walls of that town is thus explained. Alp Khan was also a friend of the powerful Abyssinian noble Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan Rumi who held the jagir of Broach till his death during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III.[2]

Career of Alp Khan Khatri who built the walls

In 1530, during the reign of Sultan Bahadur, there arrived in Gujarat, from the coast of Yamen in Arabia, two famous Turkish generals who took service in India, and were destined, by their ability and valour, to play a prominent part in the subsequent history of this kingdom. One of these was Amir

Two Turkish Captains arrive in Gujarat

1. Saiyid Nur-ud-din Husain, the present Quazi of Broach, deserves the thanks of scholars for having brought this and many other Persian inscriptions in the town and district of Broach to notice. These important epigraphs still remain unedited and unpublished. The latter portion of the above translation will probably require revision when a better transcript of the epigraph is available.

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 411, 417, 422-23, 430.

Mustafa bin Bahram, the nephew of the more famous adventurer Salman Rais. Mustafa received from Bahadur the title of Rumi Khan, and it is under this name that his career in India is described by the Persian writers. The other captain, who accompanied Amir Mustafa, was Khwaja Safar, called Salmani from having been originally in the service of Salman Rais when the latter was in Arabia. Safar received later at the Gujarat court from Sultan Mahmud III the title of Khudawand Khan and became a great noble and governor of Surat.

Career of Salman Rais

Amir Salman Rais, the Ottoman and Egyptian admiral mentioned above, had an adventurous career in the Mediterranean in the early part of the sixteenth century. He was later sent by the Turkish rulers to southern Arabia to help the local Muslims against the Portuguese and took an active part in the troubled politics of that region. In 1529, when he had made himself lord of all Yamen, he was murdered. His death was avenged by his sister's son Mustafa who now became the master of a large number of Habshi slaves who had belonged to his uncle. Safar and other Turks also now took service under him in the Yamen. In 1530 Amir Mustafa received orders from his father Bahram at Constantinople to proceed at once to India to help Bahadur against the Portuguese. This he did, taking with him Safar and the Habshi slaves. This is the origin of the Abyssinians in Gujarat whose leaders rose to great affluence and high political commands in the kingdom under the weak successors of Bahadur Shah.[1]

When Amir Mustafa arrived from Arabia to Gujarat and landed at Div in 1531, he was received with great respect by Malik Tughan, the son of Ayaz, who wrote to the Sultan announcing the Amir's arrival. Mustafa was at Div when the Portuguese Governor Nuno da Cunha led his expedition

1. Salman Rais began service under Sultan Salim of Turkey. He next joined the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and was probably with Amir Husain on his expedition to India, in 1508. He was later sent to the Yamen in 1515 where he spent nearly fifteen years, especially at Jedda. In 1529 he received re-inforcements under one Khayr-ud-din, but the new general fell out with Salman and killed him brutally. (E. Denison Ross, 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia', J. R. A. S., Jan., 1922, pp. 1-10; Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power*, 183-84, 227).

Amir Mustafa at Div: his new title of Rumi Khan

for the capture of the town, and he and his ships took a leading part in helping Tughan to secure a great victory after a well contested naval engagement (1531). The Portuguese squadron accepted the defeat and sailed away to Goa. Sultan Bahadur was at his capital at Champaner when he heard this welcome news and under his orders Amir Mustafa set out for that city with his suite. The Sultan received him with great honour, bestowed on him the title of Rumi Khan, and put him in charge of the arsenal. Mustafa was also promoted to a high rank above the heads of several of the Gujarat grandees, and received among other gifts a cannon which had been cast by his uncle Salman Rais in honour of Sulaiman the Magnificent, the ruler of Constantinople. This cannon was now named *Layla* by Mustafa, who cast another in honour of Bahadur and called it *Majnun*.

Rumi Khan at Champaner: Tughan put to death by Bahadur

Amir Mustafa, or Rumi Khan as he should now be called, received as his fiefs Rander and Surat and all the adjoining coast as far as Mahim. To these Bahadur some time after added Div taking it away from Malik Tughan. This slight could not but be deeply resented by Tughan who had not his equal at the Gujarat court for strength, courage, stature and appearance. On being relieved of his post, he came to Champaner where he made no secret of his resentment against the new favourite, and whenever he saw Rumi Khan he could scarce contain himself. Ultimately, on Mustafa's complaint and to prevent violence, Bahadur ordered Tughan to be imprisoned, and some time later, on the eve of the great expedition against Chitor, he was put to death.[1] Rumi Khan became soon known in India as an artillery-captain and rendered the Sultan great services at the siege of Chitor, as has been recorded. But he was primarily a free-lance and an adventurer and we find him deserting Bahadur Shah in 1535 to take service under the Emperor Humayun when the latter invaded Gujarat. He died at Chunar in 1538 in the service of the Emperor.

1. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 220-21. Also article by Sir E. Denison Ross, 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia, 1517-38', J. R. A. S., January, 1922, pp. 9-12.

As for Khwaja Safar Salmani, the other Turkish Captain who arrived in Gujarat in the train of Amir Mustafa, we find that, unlike his leader, he settled down in Gujarat and was for many years a trusted nobleman and general under both Bahadur and his successor Mahmud III. He perished in the second siege of Div by the Muslims in 1546. We learn from Portuguese as also from Venetian sources that Safar was by birth a European and a native of Brindisi or Otranto, being the son of an Albanian by an Italian mother, and that he became a renegade to Islam. The details of his public services under the Gujarat rulers will be found in the following chapters.[1]

First notice of Khwaja Safar Salmani

For fully nine years from October, 1529 to September, 1538, Nuno da Cunha, destined to a great name in the history of the Portuguese power in India, was Governor, and under him the policy of securing the possession of Div and of terrorising the coast towns of India was actively pursued. In 1530, a captain named Antonio da Silveira, upon Nuno's orders, cruised up the Tapti and burnt the town of Surat and the ships lying in the river, plundering and slaughtering as he went. Sailing further up the stream he treated the city of Rander and the vessels in that port in the same manner. He then proceeded to Daman and burnt the place, the inhabitants of which fled at his approach. The town of Agashi further down the coast was subsequently captured and destroyed. These and similar acts of wanton cruelty, commenced by the great Albuquerque and continued by his successors, no doubt made the Portuguese name a terror to the peoples inhabiting the Gujarat coastland.[2]

Nuno da Cunha as Governor (1529-38): Surat, Rander, etc., burnt, 1530

Few Portuguese governors ever found their naval and military forces in India in such excellent condition and the forts so well equipped as did Nuno da Cunha when he assumed charge of his office in 1529. He had received from

1. The identity of Safar, Khudawand Khan, has long been concealed owing to the conflicting names under which he is mentioned by the Portuguese, Persian and Turkish writers. Sir E. Denison Ross has now clearly shown that Khwaja Ja'afar, Suffy Agha, Ghazanfar Aka, Coge Cofar, etc., all refer to one and the same person, viz., Safar Salmani, the great Turkish general of the Gujarat Sultans under Bahadur and Mahmud III.

2. F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 399.

his sovereign specific instructions for the capture of Div, and during the nine years of his government his designs on this seaport and his relations with Bahadur Shah form the chief centre of interest. Soon after his arrival at Goa, preparations were made on an extensive scale for the expedition to the Gujarat coast. Every available Portuguese was summoned and free pardons were granted to all offenders to secure recruits. The dockyards and arsenals worked full time, and private individuals were invited to join by the promise of the command of whatever class of ship they provided at their own charge. The historian Gaspar Correa tells us that he built a ship at a cost of £150, while Castanheda also joined the fleet. Nuno da Cunha did not content himself with force alone, but tried his diplomacy to induce Malik Tughan, who was governor of Div, to agree to a pre-arranged surrender. On January 6, 1531, the Governor left Goa with an imposing fleet of 400 vessels, and the armada was reviewed in Bombay harbour, then as now beautiful but yet unknown to fame and prosperity. On these vessels, the majority of which were of small size, were embarked about 5,000 Portuguese soldiers and mariners, the same number of men from Malabar and Canara, and 8,000 slaves.

Nuno prepares a great armada against Div, 1531

About a month later, the fleet reached the rocky islet of Shiyal Bet, some eight leagues to the east of Div, which came to be called by the Portuguese, from the tragedy that was soon to be enacted here, *Ilha dos Mortos*, or 'the Island of the Dead', and it is mentioned under this name in all their maps and histories. In spite of the advice of his council, Da Cunha decided to capture the island though its possession was in no way likely to promote the main design on Div. A small garrison of 800 men with 1,000 labourers was busy fortifying the isle, and Nuno called upon it to surrender. They refused unless they were allowed to go free with their wives and children. But the Governor would not agree having decided to terrorise the region and to enslave the garrison. The Muslims, confronted with an overwhelming force, killed their families rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the hated Portuguese. The next day, the place was stormed after

The tragedy at Shiyal Bet (the *Isle of the Dead*)

a stubborn resistance. Everyone living on the little isle was slain, while the invaders lost 150 in killed and wounded. Eight precious days were lost in this barren enterprise.

Amir Mustafa helps Tughan in this crisis, 1531

The Portuguese armada at last came to anchor before Div on the 11th February 1531 and literally covered the sea in front of it. Malik Tughan had a force of 10,000 men for its defence, while the entrance to the channel between the island and the mainland was closed by massive chains suspended between vessels which were filled with archers and musketeers. A little before this critical period, the town of Div, well protected as it was, had received an unexpected accession of strength by the arrival there from Yamen of Amir Mustafa bin Bahram with a force of 600 Turks and 1,300 Arabs as also a picked train of artillery.[1] The advent of these brave foreigners entirely changed the aspect of affairs, for Mustafa took over the charge of the defence from the hands of Malik Tughan, and mounted his guns—far superior to anything yet known in India—at strategic points, while he mined the entrances to the city. In spite of the strength of the Muslim position, Nuno decided at a consultation with his captains to deliver the attack on the 16th February 1531. His ships battered the forts guarding the chains at a distance of some fifty yards with 40-pounder guns until they began to burst with the incessant firing whilst no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications. The loss of the Portuguese has not been recorded, but it is likely that Mustafa's artillery did much execution. The Governor realised that the enterprise had failed and on March 1 he sailed away with his fleet for Goa. It was the general opinion that the issue might have been different had the arrival before Div not been delayed by the useless attack on Shiyal Bet, for, in the interval, Amir Mustafa had entered that port with his fleet and his guns and helped materially to preserve it for the Gujarat Sultan. Bahadur showed his appreciation of these

Failure of the Portuguese attack

1. Amir Mustafa, when he left Arabia for India, put in one ship his harem and the pick of the artillery, and into another, commanded by Khwaja Safar, he put his treasure which was considerable. (Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 227).

services by giving him the title of Rumi Khan and making him *amir* of Broach and other places as mentioned before.[1]

When he retired from Div, Nuno da Cunha left behind him Antonio de Saldanha, one of his officers, with sixty vessels to cruise about the Bay of Cambay and inflict what damage he could on the enemy. The latter sailed for the port of Mahuva (now in the Bhavanagar State) and burnt it with little opposition. He then proceeded to Gogha, at this time very populous and a place of great trade, and took it after some sharp fighting, the city as well as many ships in the harbour being burnt. The same fate befell several other coast-towns on the mainland of Gujarat, among these being Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim, Kelva, and Agashi. We are told that Surat also was sacked a second time though it was but just looking up after the wanton attack on it by Antonio de Silveira the preceding year. Another captain was ordered by Da Cunha with twelve ships to watch the coast to prevent all wood and supplies from entering Div.[2] This policy of terrorism actively pursued under Nuno was repeated and carried further fifteen years later by the great Portuguese governor Joao de Castro, the 'last of the Heroes'.

Mahuva, Gogha, etc., burnt in revenge, 1531

In 1532, in order to put a stop to these Portuguese raids, Bahadur Shah ordered Malik Tughan, the governor of Div, to fortify the town of Bassein. A citadel was built, and the place garrisoned with a strong force. Nuno da Cunha, on receiving the news, set out with a fleet of 150 ships manned by 4,000 men to destroy the fortifications, especially because the country round Bassein yielded timber of the best quality for the building of ships. Confronted by this formidable array, Malik Tughan made overtures for peace, but the terms offered by Da Cunha were so hard that he was compelled to resist. The Portuguese van scaled the ramparts of the citadel and in the struggle that followed Tughan's troops were defeated and put to flight leaving behind them large stores of ammunition.

Nuno destroys the Muslim citadel of Bassein, 1532

1. R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 224-28; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 400-402; *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 220.
2. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 402.

At a council of war held by Nuno it was decided to demolish the ramparts and to raze the Muslim citadel to the ground. After this, the Governor retired to Goa with 400 pieces of artillery that had been captured, leaving behind him Manuel de Albuquerque who with twelve ships burnt all the towns from Bassein to Tarapur. It was now that Thana, Bandra, Mahim and Bombay were brought under the rule of the Portuguese.[1] Two years later, in 1534, Bassein and its dependencies also definitely passed by treaty from the hands of the Gujarat Sultan to the Portuguese power.

Simao Ferreira as envoy at Bahadur's court

Though the great naval expedition against Div led by him in person had failed, Nuno da Cunha persevered with his diplomatic methods. Malik Tughan, who was in command at Div, had inherited his father's capacities sufficiently to keep the Governor's secret spies in play so as to prevent them from giving up hope. Nuno's accredited envoy to the Sultan's court was his secretary Simao Ferreira whose activities were however neutralized by his interpreter Joao de Santiago,[2] an adventurer who is said to have been as ready, if it served his turn, 'to worship in a Hindu temple or a Muhammadan mosque as in a Christian church'. His intrigues secured for him the good opinion of Sultan Bahadur under whom he soon after took service. He received from his new master the title of Firang Khan and became a convert to Islam. We find him also mentioned by the Muslim historians under the name of Sakta, which is possibly a corruption of Santiago, and he plays some part in the history of Gujarat as a gunner who did good service to the Sultan during Humayun's attack on the fort of Champaner at the time of the Mughal invasion.[3]

Nuno's secretary Simao Ferreira succeeded with his diplomacy at the Sultan's court so far as to arrange a meeting between Bahadur and the Governor, and the latter, therefore,

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1. P. Baldaeus' *Account of East India*, etc., in Churchill's *Voyages*, III, 530; Da Cunha, Chaul and Bassein, 134-35; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 404.

2. Joao de Santiago was born in Africa, and was enslaved by the Portuguese who made him a Christian. His master at his death in Goa made him a free man. He started as a travelling purchaser of precious stones and picked up an acquaintance with several languages, an accomplishment which led to his selection at Goa as an interpreter at the Gujarat court.

3. Whiteway, op. cit., 234-35; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 234.

left Goa for Div in October, 1533, with a splendid fleet of one hundred sail in which were 2,000 Portuguese. But by the time he arrived at the island, the Sultan, though he was at Div, evaded an interview under various pretexts and Nuno therefore returned to Goa. An interesting incident that took place during Nuno's visit to Div has been mentioned by the Portuguese writers to the effect that one Manuel de Macedo gave a challenge in open darbar to Mustafa Rumi Khan to mortal combat. The challenge was accepted and the fight was to take place at sea, either captain to be in his own boat alone. But Manuel de Macedo is said to have waited in vain for a whole day to meet his opponent.[1] Soon after these events Bahadur's kingdom was overwhelmed by the tide of the Mughal invasion, and the history of the memorable relations that arose between the Sultan and the Portuguese during the next two years and a half will be related in the subsequent chapters.

Nuno's visit to Div in October, 1533

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 235-36; Danvers, op. cit., 405.

CHAPTER XXVIII

HUMAYUN'S CONQUEST OF GUJARAT, 1535-36

(I) Collapse of Bahadur's Power

Causes of the conflict with Humayun: Muhammad Zaman Mirza takes refuge with the Sultan: Acrimonious correspondence: Bahadur's treaty with the Portuguese—the session of Bassein, 1534: The Gujarat army entrenched at Mandasor: It is blockaded and starved into surrender, 1535: False strategy of Rumi Khan: Flight of Bahadur successively to Mandu, Champaner, Cambay and Div: Active pursuit by the Emperor who enters Mandu and is lord of all Malwa: He orders a general massacre—story of Manjhu the Ministrel: Humayun arrives at Champaner: Bahadur sends his treasures and family to Arabia: The Emperor at Cambay—plunder of his camp by the Kolis: Humayun abandons the pursuit and returns to the siege of Pāvagadh: His personal bravery in scaling the Fort which is taken: Imperial coins issued from the mint at Champaner, 1535–36.

The war with Humayun and its causes

We now turn to consider the most memorable episode of Bahadur's reign, viz., the war with Humayun, which he so lightly provoked, and which led, for a time, to the dramatic collapse of his throne and kingdom. His reign of eight years had been characterised by brilliant victories and great territorial expansion, and we may well believe that the vision of imperial sway now began to float before his mind. Nor, on the other hand, is it difficult to discover the grounds of Humayun's hostility to the Gujarat ruler. The extremely favourable reception which Bahadur had given to all the Afghan princes of the Lodi dynasty, who had taken refuge at his court since the battle of Panipat in 1526, had given great offence at the Mughal court, and had created an impression that he desired to make himself the chief centre of opposition to that power. Moreover, in 1533, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a turbulent prince of the house of Timur and brother-in-law of Humayun, escaped from the honourable confinement in which he had been placed near Agra, and obtained protection at Bahadur's court. Deeply resenting the hospitality thus extended to a

prince who had been frequently engaged in plots against his life and government, the Emperor sent polite messages to Bahadur demanding the extradition of the fugitive, to which the Sultan returned haughty and ill-conceived replies. Humayun, thereupon, marched from Agra towards Chitor, but, as we have related above, instead of attacking Bahadur at once and so winning the favour of the Rajputs by his timely intervention, he must needs stand by idly at Gwalior till his opponent had completed the capture of Chitor. Bahadur returned the compliment by sending a large army under Tatar Khan, an exiled member of the Lodi dynasty, to march against Delhi, but the Afghan prince was defeated by Mirza Hindal and killed in the action. Chitor now fell, but Bahadur, on the advice of his nobles, declined to carry out a promise which he had made to Rumi Khan to put him in command of the great fortress. The Turkish adventurer was deeply offended, and revenged himself by secretly writing to the Emperor that if he attacked Bahadur he would desert the Sultan and secure him victory.[1]

Career of Muhammad Zaman Mirza

Prince Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the protection offered to whom by Sultan Bahadur at the Gujarat court was the immediate cause of the war with Humayun, was the grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza, king of Khurasan, and a direct descendant of Amir Timur. He was married about 1515 to Babur's daughter Masumat Begum at Kabul, and a few months later his father-in-law sent him back to Balkh as governor. He was not a success there and could not resist the Uzbegs. In 1527–28, Babur summoned him to India and settled a large estate upon him. After Humayun's accession we find the Mirza, who was a worthless character, rising in revolt against the Emperor along with some other nobles in 1533–34 but he was defeated and captured and confined in the fort of Bayana. He escaped shortly after by winning over his custodian, and fled to the court of Sultan Bahadur who was

1. *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 296-99; W. Erskine, *History of India under Baber and Humayun*, II, 41-46; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 374, 382-84; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 230, 232.

then encamped before Chitor.[1] The favour with which he was received by the Sultan, and the latter's refusal to send him away, caused deep offence to Humayun and led to the correspondence which is reviewed below. After Bahadur's flight from Mandasor, Muhammad Zaman Mirza marched to Lahore to capture that city, but being foiled in the attempt returned to Gujarat. After the Sultan's tragic death at sea in February, 1537, the Mirza made a bold attempt to secure the throne of Gujarat as Bahadur had left no heir, but he failed, as will be related in a later chapter in this history. The Mirza turned again to Humayun, and was, through the intercession of his wife, the Emperor's sister, forgiven and restored to favour. He perished in June, 1539 at Chausa in Bihar, in the Shahabad district, in the attempt to cross the Ganges after Humayun's defeat at this place during the war with Sher Shah.[2]

Correspondence between Humayun and Bahadur

The letters exchanged between the Mughal Emperor and Sultan Bahadur about this fugitive Timurid prince, ending in the final rupture between the two rulers, have been preserved, and two of them have been reproduced in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari.* They deserve to be studied as reflecting the diplomatic intercourse of that time. Humayun demands that, in token of his friendly relations with him, Bahadur should either surrender the prince or drive him out of his kingdom. The Emperor proceeds to point out that, though his ancestor the great Timur (*Sahib-i-Qiran*) had desisted from attacking the Ottoman ruler Bayazid while the latter was engaged in fighting against the Europeans, he had protested against Bayazid's harbouring subject princes who had rebelled against him. Humayun plainly hints that if Bahadur continued to send rude messages he would march against him. In reply, Bahadur pointed out that Prince Muhammad Zaman Mirza was bound to him by ties of friendship which he could not violate. He boasted that his ancestors 'had taken countries and given away thrones',

1. Badayuni says that when he arrived in Bahadur's camp the weather was so hot that the Mirza was seized with pains at the heart for which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses) to be indispensable. On hearing about this the Sultan sent him several cartloads of the confection! *Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 451-52, 461.
2. *Akbarnama*, I, XIV, 288-89, 294, 303, 308, 325, 330, 343-44.

referring specially to Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa who had been restored to his kingdom by his father Muzaffar *Halim* (the Clement). He protested against the Emperor's march to Gwalior at a time when he was engaged in repelling a naval expedition of the Portuguese against Div. He complained that owing to Humayun's attitude, and to the idle rumours in the *bazars* about his designs, the *khutba* was no longer recited in the Sultan's name in several dependent countries. The letter concluded with some verses to the effect that the Emperor should not vaunt about the laurels of his seventh ancestor (Timur) while having nothing of his own to show. We are told that Bahadur dictated the letter when in his cups, for he was addicted to all sorts of intoxicants, and that its tone was barely polite and bound to give deep offence to Humayun.[1] The Emperor set out in the middle of November, 1534 on a vigorous campaign against Bahadur in order to attack him in the centre of his power, and was soon encamped at Sarangpur, an important town in the very heart of Malwa.

Bahadur's treaty with Nuno, Dec. 1534: the cession of Bassein

Pressed by Humayun on the one side, and with the Portuguese incessantly knocking at the gates of Div on the other, Bahadur now entered into the first of the important treaties which he concluded with the Portuguese power. Bahadur's envoy, named Khwaja Shaikh Iwaz (?), is said to have arranged the terms of the alliance which was signed in December, 1534. Full details of the treaty are available in the Portuguese chronicles though there is no reference to it by the Persian historians. Bahadur thereby granted to the King of Portugal in perpetuity the town of Bassein with all its territories and revenues. It was further agreed that all vessels from the kingdom of Gujarat bound for the Red Sea should first call at Bassein to get their passes from the Captain of the place, and similarly on their return voyage also to pay the customary dues under penalty of seizure. No ships of war were to be built in any of the Gujarat ports, but this restriction was not to apply to

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 294-95; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 43; *Arabic History*, I, 231; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 375-80. The letters have been reproduced by Muslim historians and copies are preserved in a celebrated collection of letters in the British Museum. (B. M. Add. 7688; Rieu, I, 390 *b*).

the construction of trading vessels. Bahadur agreed not to allow any Rumes (Turks) to enter his dominions nor to assist them in any way, and he undertook to liberate Diogo de Mesquita and other Portuguese held by him in captivity. There were some other clauses of minor importance. All horses from Hormaz and the Red Sea were to be brought to Bassein and the Sultan and his nobles were to purchase them after payment of the customary dues to the king of Portugal. The sum of 5,000 *Laris*[1], which used to be applied to the mosques out of the revenues of Bassein, was to continue to be so applied by the Portuguese. It will be seen that by this treaty the Portuguese obtained their first political acquisition in the kingdom of Gujarat. The text of the same has been given in a work by Simao Botelho, entitled *O Tombo do Estado da India,* written as early as 1554, and first published by the Royal Academy of Lisbon in 1868.[2]

Bahadur's defeat at Mandasor and flight

The details of Humayun's conquest of Gujarat and Malwa (1535) are of considerable interest, and belong as much to the history of Gujarat as to that of the Mughal Empire. Flushed with their success at Chitor, Bahadur's troops might have overwhelmed the imperial army had they been immediately led to the attack, and this was the advice given to the Sultan by Taj Khan and Sadr Khan. But the triumph of the artillery in the siege of Chitor had given a predominant influence to Rumi Khan in the councils of Bahadur Shah, and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevastopole, 'the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders.' Near Mandasor[3], Bahadur entrenched himself in a huge fortified camp (*arába*), bristling with artillery, at this time the

1. The Larin or Lari was a peculiar kind of money formerly in use on the Persian Gulf, the West Coast of India, and in the Maldives, and equivalent to about a shilling. The name is derived from the territory of Lar on the Persian Gulf.

2. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power,* 236 and *n* ; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India,* I, 416-17.

3. Mandasor is now the chief town of the district of the same name in Gwalior State, Central India, on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the R. M. Ry. It is a place of considerable antiquity and historical interest. The fort near the town was made strong by Sultan Hoshang of Malwa (1405-34). After Akbar's conquest of this province in 1562, Mandasor became the headquarters of the *sarkar* of the same name in the Subah of Malwa (Imperial Gazetteer, XVII, 150).

finest in India, and worked with the help of Portuguese and other European gunners. Confronted by the big guns, Humayun could not hope to attack the enemy; but he adopted the tactics, secretly suggested to him by Rumi Khan, of cutting off all Bahadur's supplies and forage. So effectually were all supplies of grain cut off from the Sultan's camp by Humayun's light cavalry that cows, horses and camels were slaughtered and the men fed upon them for some days. But the horses were so thin from want of fodder that the flesh of four would not satisfy two men. Butter and other articles rose to a fabulous price.[1] After two months of blockade and gradual starvation, the Sultan found his position untenable, and the treachery of Rumi Khan, in whom he had reposed unbounded trust, became at last evident when the Turk deserted him for Humayun. In the dead of night Bahadur, with only five followers, fled from his camp (25th April, 1535). Just before his flight, the Sultan ordered that the trunks of his two favourite hunting elephants should be cut off, and that his two largest mortars, called *Laila* and *Majnun*, should be destroyed. When the elephants came up for the operation, the Sultan's eyes and those of all present were filled with tears. The story of the bursting of the large cannon is repeated by Jauhar in his *Private Memoirs of Humayun.*[2]

Remarks on Bahadur's strategy

In the opinion of Mr. H. Beveridge, Sultan Bahadur, in following the plan of entrenching himself within an *arába*, or fortification of gun-carriages, seems to have been misled by his experience of the war between Babur and Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat. Humayun was more cautious than Ibrahim, and instead of dashing himself to pieces against the entrenched camp, destroyed Bahadur's army by cutting off his supplies.[3] After the Sultan's flight during the night, the Gujarat nobles Sadr Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, with 20,000 horse, took the direct road to Mandu, while Muhammad Zaman Mirza went off with a body of men to Lahore in order to stir up trouble

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 384.
2. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 301-303; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 384-86; Briggs' *Firishta*, 126-28; *Arabic History*, I, 232, 239-240; The *Tezkereh-al-Vakiat*, or *Memoirs of Humayun*, trans. by Major Stewart, 4.
3. *Akbarnama*, I, 302 *n*.

there. It was not till the morning that Humayun, who had been under arms all night with 30,000 men, discovered the true state of affairs from the uproar and confusion in the Sultan's camp. Among the prisoners taken during the imperial capture and pillage of Bahadur's camp is mentioned the name of the aged Khudawand Khan, a trusted minister at the Gujarat court, who had been the preceptor (*ustad*) and vazir of Sultan Muzaffar II, and to whom reference has already been made in this history. Humayun treated him with great favour and admitted him to his service.[1]

An interesting episode about a parrot

Deserted by their sovereign, the Gujarat troops were cut down in large numbers by Humayun's army, and the spoils of the camp given up to plunder. When the Emperor entered the Sultan's tents, all loaded with gold embroidery, he exclaimed: 'These are the equipments of the Lord of the Sea.'[2] The historian Sikandar informs us that his father, who was in charge of the Emperor's library and in daily attendance on him, protected the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, the historiographer at the Gujarat court, when the plunder of the camp was going on. Humayun gave a reception to celebrate his victory, and a very striking incident which happened at the time is recorded by Sikandar on the authority of his father who was an eye-witness. A well-trained parrot had been found in Bahadur's camp and was presented in its cage to the Emperor. When Rumi Khan's arrival was announced in the darbar, the parrot at once began to cry out in Hindi, 'That traitor Rumi Khan! that scoundrel Rumi Khan!'[3], and it repeated these almost human reproaches several times. The great artillery-captain hung down his head in shame. When Humayun was made acquainted with the meaning of these words, he was much annoyed, and said: 'Rumi Khan, if any sensible being had said this, I would have plucked the tongue from his throat; but as it is a senseless bird, what can I do?' The assembled courtiers guessed that after Rumi Khan had deserted Bahadur's camp, the men of the Sultan's court must

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 303-04.
2. Compare with this the similar remark about the resources of the Gujarat ruler, made by Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi, on p. 268.
3. The words in Hindi are said to have been, *Fit, Rumi Khan, Haramkhor*.

have given vent to their anger in these words, and that, when the parrot heard again the name of Rumi Khan at the reception, it recollected these expressions and gave them utterance. We can appreciate our historian's pious commentary that the words were divinely inspired, since, under the circumstances, it was impossible for such words to have been spoken about Rumi Khan in the Emperor's presence in any other manner.[1]

Another version about Rumi Khan's policy

According to another account, Bahadur, before his flight from Mandasor, ordered one of his officers to put Rumi Khan to death for the want of success that had attended his advice. But the man, who had formerly received some favours from the Khan, gave him private notice of his danger, so that he escaped to the imperial camp, where he was well received, and immediately employed.[2] If we accept this version, Rumi Khan has been wrongly accused of having betrayed his master by a secret understanding with the enemy. The terrible consequences of the failure of his strategy are sufficient to explain the execrations of the Gujarat nobles and army.[3]

The Imperialists capture Mandu

Humayun did not waste time at Mandasor, but set out with his army in pursuit of the fugitive Sultan who had taken refuge in the great hill-fortress of Mandu. The fort was now closely invested by the Emperor, who fixed his headquarters at the adjoining village of Nalcha, three miles away. At Bahadur's suggestion, a conference was being held between the Imperialist and the Sultan's officers for the conclusion of a treaty on the basis of the surrender of Malwa to Humayun, when 200 of the Mughal troops escaladed Mandu by applying scaling ladders to a remote part of the fort, somewhere near the Tarapur Gate, and opened the gate to their countrymen.[4] Mallu Khan, an officer of the last Sultan of

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 386-87 ; *Arabic History*, I, 235.
2. Lafitau, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais*, I, 212.
3. W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 55.
4. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bhupat Rai, the son of Silhadi, who was in charge of one of the gates, surrendered it to the Imperialists on the advice of Rumi Khan, in revenge for his father's fate (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 387-88).

Malwa, who was in charge of the province, gave the alarm to Bahadur Shah who was then fast asleep, and the Sultan, accompanied by a small party, made a dash for Songarh, the citadel of Mandu. But he did not venture to prolong his stay there. During the night he had his horses hoisted by ropes over the wall, and himself descending the precipitous cliff that surrounds the citadel, gained the high road to Gujarat in his flight towards Champaner. Humayun gave up Mandu to plunder for three days, after which he invited the garrison still holding out in the citadel under Sadr Khan, a Gujarati noble, and Sultan Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, to surrender. A capitulation was concluded on condition of quarter to the garrison. The Emperor received Sadr Khan with much courtesy, praising his gallantry and fidelity to his sovereign, while Alam Khan of Kalpi suffered mutilation as a deserter from the Imperial service. The reduction of Mandu put the Emperor in possession of the whole of Malwa.[1]

Humayun orders a general massacre

Humayun, when master of the capital of Malwa, gave orders for a general massacre as stated above. The story is related that Manjhu, 'the prince of singers,' and the favourite musician at Bahadur's court, fell into the hands of a Mughal trooper, and was only rescued from death by the timely arrival of an old friend, a Rajput Raja who belonged to the imperial suite. As the trooper persisted in claiming his victim, the party repaired to the Emperor's presence. Humayun had put on a red dress[2] and was so full of wrath and vengeance that he talked of nothing but slaughter. But when Manjhu's identity[3] was fully explained to him, and he was told that the minstrel had probably no equal in all Hindustan, he asked the latter to

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 304-06; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 55-58; G. Yazdani, *Mandu*, 28, 30, 116.

2. The day of the week must have been Tuesday, for on this day the Emperor, according to fantastic astrological fancies, clothed himself in red robes, the colour suited to Mars, the guardian planet of the day.

3. Manjhu's identity as a famous musician was revealed to the Emperor by one of the Imperial officers, Khushal Beg, who had been Humayun's envoy to the camp of Bahadur. The Emperor, being charmed with his singing, gave him permission to release any of his kinsmen whom he found captive. Manjhu used the privilege to get the majority of Bahadur's nobles released. After a time he rejoined his old master Bahadur and sent the Mughal trooper, who had spared his life, all the presents he received from Humayun (Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 233-34).

sing to him. Manjhu selected a Persian sentimental ditty, and the effect was immediate:

'The master saw the madness rise,
His glowing cheeks, his ardent eyes;
And while the Heaven and Earth defied,
Changed his hand and checked his pride.'[1]

As with Alexander the Great under the sway of the lyre of Timotheus, the potent power of music over human passions asserted itself. The whole demeanour of the Emperor changed, the rivers of his mercy began to flow, he doffed his red dress and put on a green one, and offered to grant the minstrel whatever boon he asked. The historian Sikandar, who relates these interesting particulars, tells us that he received them from his father who was present on the occasion as one of the Emperor's select attendants.[2]

Bahadur's flight to Champaner and Cambay

The destruction of the combined armies of Gujarat and Malwa in the trenches of Mandasor, and the fall of the capital of Malwa, encouraged Humayun to follow Bahadur into the heart of his kingdom. Within three days he hastened from Mandu by forced marches to Champaner with ten thousand cavalry, ordering the rest of the army to follow. Though Bahadur had put the almost impregnable fortress of Pavagadh in a state of defence, and provisioned it for a long siege, he did not feel himself secure in it, and leaving Ikhtiyar Khan and Raja Narsingh Dev, who had the title of Khan Jahan, in charge of the fortress, he fled to Cambay on the approach of the imperial army. Before setting out on his headlong retreat, the large town of Muhammadabad Champaner, situated under the hill on which the fort stands, was set on fire by his orders or with his connivance. Humayun's troops entered in time to help in extinguishing the flames. The Emperor had no intention of abandoning his quarry which appeared to be almost within his grasp. He left Mir Hindu Beg with his army to proceed with the investment of Champaner fort, and himself, attended by only a thousand horse, followed the Sultan in hot haste. But Bahadur's luck had not deserted him. When Humayun reached Cambay he learned that the Sultan had left

1. J. Dryden, *Alexander's Feast, or The Power of Music.*
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 388-90.

the city the same day for Div in the extremity of the Kathiawar peninsula. There were in Cambay harbour a hundred war-grabs which the Sultan had built for the purpose of combating the Portuguese, but before his flight to Div he had them all set on fire to prevent them from falling into the hands of his enemies.[1]

Bahadur sends his family and treasures to Arabia

Col. John Briggs, the translator of Firishta, informs us that, according to Chevalier du Hammer, the Turkish historian Ferdi relates that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to retreat to Div, he sent his family and the royal jewels and treasures to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindu princes of Junagadh, Champaner, Abugadh and Chitor, and from the kings of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India, but fell into the hands of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, who, from their possession, became entitled to the appellation of Sulayman the Magnificent. The celebrated waist-belt of the Gujarat Sultans, valued at three millions of aspers, which had been three times taken and retaken in the wars of India, was sent to Sulayman with an ambassador whom Bahadur Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Seignior against Humayun.[2]

Humayun at Cambay: his camp plundered by Kolis

Finding that his adversary had at length succeeded in securing a safe retreat in the island-citadel at Div, in the furthest corner of his dominions, Humayun finally abandoned the pursuit. The Emperor, for the first time, encamped at Cambay 'on the shore of the salt sea' which none of his ancestors had ever seen. During his brief halt at this ancient seaport, an incident happened which must have been deeply mortifying to his imperial dignity. Taking advantage of the slender force that accompanied the invader, Bahadur's officers pointed out to the chiefs of the rude Koli and Gowar tribes of the district that they had a very favourable opportunity for surprising and plundering his camp. The idea was readily taken up, and a night attack was planned by some five or six

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 307.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 141; Lafitau, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais*, I, 213.

thousand of these wild aborigines of Gujarat. An old woman of this tribe betrayed the plan of the attack to the Emperor by seeking an interview with him in person. On being questioned, she confessed that her motive was to secure the release of her son who had been captured and detained in the Imperial camp. The troops were drawn off as a measure of precaution and Humayun retired with them to some rising ground at a distance to watch the event.[1] The mob completely plundered the royal tent, and in the confusion and mêlée several eminent persons were killed, including Sadr Khan, the Gujarat noble, and Jam Firuz, the ruler of Thatta in Sind, whose daughter had been married to Sultan Bahadur.[2] It was Humayun's custom to carry a travelling library with him, and, in the plunder of his baggage, a number of valuable books were destroyed. The loss on this occasion of a splendidly illuminated copy of the *Timurnama*, transcribed by Mulla Sultan Ali and illustrated by Ustad Bihzad, is particularly recorded by Abul Fazl.[3] As soon as day broke, the Emperor led his disciplined troops against the disorderly assailants, who were found dispersed in every quarter of the camp, and routed them with much slaughter. Enraged at the insult offered to him, Humayun ordered the unoffending town of Cambay to be set on fire and given up to plunder for three days.[4]

Bahadur's message to Rumi Khan at Cambay

From his retreat at Div, Bahadur sent one of his nobles Mahmud Lari, Muhtaram Khan, to Cambay to interview Rumi Khan who was with Humayun in his camp. Hajji-ad-Dabir, the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, reports the details of this interview as given to him by Muhtaram Khan. He conveyed bitter reproaches from Bahadur to the great Turkish

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 309 ; *Humayun-Nama* by Gulbadan Begum, trans. by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, 132.

2. Jam Firuz had in 1528 sought refuge with Sultan Bahadur on being driven from his dominions by the Arghuns. He was in Bahadur's camp at Mandasor when he was made prisoner by the Imperialists. Those in whose custody he was, now put him to death to prevent his being rescued. (W. Erskine, op. cit., 62 *n*).

3. This *Timurnama* was very probably the poem by Maulana Hatifi, the sister's son of Jami. (Rieu, II, 652). Bihzad was a famous painter of Sultan Husain Herati's court. Sultan Ali Mashhadi was, according to Babur, the best writer of the nastaliq character. It is probable that Humayun had inherited this precious book from his father (*Akbarnama*, I, 310 *n*).

4. *Akbarnama*, I, 309-10 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 60-62.

captain, so that the latter 'perspired with shame', and then said, 'If you can dissuade Humayun from an attack on Div, do so'. Rumi Khan, thereupon, went to Humayun who was known to have been dissatisfied with the climate of Cambay, and told him that he had better postpone the attack on Div to another time as the sea-air was bad for his health. Humayun agreed, especially as about the same time news arrived of disturbance in Ahmadabad, and he withdrew from this city to conduct the siege of Champaner.[1]

Leaving Bahadur Shah for a time in his secure refuge at Div, making friendly overtures to the Portuguese, we shall return with Humayun to the siege of Pavagadh. This famous fortress, which towers over the level plains of south-eastern Gujarat, has several of its sides formed of scarped rock so steep and precipitous as to make it almost impregnable against assault. Moreover, Ikhtiyar Khan conducted the defence on behalf of Sultan Bahadur so skilfully that the imperial army was unable to make any headway for some four months.[2] A fortunate accident at last put Humayun in possession of very important information. The garrison in the fort had established a secret understanding with the rude woodcutters of the plains, who, penetrating through the inaccessible ravines of the hill, carried grain and oil to the foot of the fortifications, whence the garrison, letting down the price by means of ropes, drew up the provisions in exchange. Humayun, while making a circuit of the fortress to discover some point favourable for an escalade, came across a party of these peasants issuing from the thick underwood. On being questioned, they professed themselves to be woodcutters, but, as they carried neither hatchets nor any implements of their calling, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused. He ordered

Humayun lays siege to Champaner Fort

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 256-57.
2. Rumi Khan again distinguished himself as an Artillerist on behalf of the Emperor at the siege of Champaner. He repaired a great gun, which had been carried by the garrison only half way up the hill and left there with three holes to make it useless. The first shot which Rumi Khan discharged brought down a gate of the fort. We are told that the Portuguese renegade Sakta, who had been given the title of Firang Khan by the Sultan, was in the fort at this time, and he fired a shot which struck this mortar on the muzzle and shattered it. Raja Narsingh Dev, who had been wounded, died during the siege (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 390-91).

the men to be seized and beaten till they confessed everything, and, acting as guides, conducted the imperial party through the impervious and trackless forest to the base of the fortifications.

Humayun fixed upon this spot as a suitable place for attempting an escalade: but the problem was by no means solved. The rock at the base of the fortress was found to be sixty or seventy yards high, and so steep and smooth that to climb it was an impossibility. The Emperor ordered seventy or eighty iron spikes to be made, and, repairing to the spot one moonlit night with a select party, he had the spikes driven into the face of the rock to right and left at the distance of a cubit above each other. This was carried out unobserved as the garrison had no apprehension of an attack in that quarter. Thirty-nine of the bravest warriors mounted the spikes, eager to distinguish themselves under the eyes of their sovereign. Then came Bairam Khan, followed by the Emperor, who was thus the forty-first to reach the top. In all about three hundred men ascended the hill by this iron ladder before daybreak. Meanwhile, Humayun had ordered the main body of the imperial forces to make assaults on the other side of the fort. The garrison was engaged in repelling this feigned attack in front, when it found itself, at daybreak, suddenly assailed in the rear by a shower of arrows. Distracted by this double assault, and ignorant of the numbers that had effected an entrance into the fort, the defenders were struck with terror and could offer no effective resistance. In the confusion, the escaladers managed to capture a gate, by which they admitted the rest of the besiegers. Ikhtiyar Khan and his garrison, who had sought refuge in the upper citadel called the *Maulya*, surrendered at discretion. This brave general, eminent for his scientific attainments, especially in geometry and astronomy, was also no mean poet and man of letters. He and his family were spared, but the rest of the garrison were barbarously put to the sword according to the inhuman practice of the times. The date of the capture of Champaner Fort, viz., H. 942, is

His personal bravery in scaling the heights

The fortress captured

given in a chronogram which reads 'the first week of Safar', i.e., 1st to 7th August, 1535.[1]

The capture of Champaner Fort put Humayun in possession of the accumulated treasures of the Sultans of Gujarat.

Immense treasures and stores secured at Champaner Fort

Being, from its situation, regarded as impregnable, great quantities of jewels and precious stuffs of every description, besides arms and warlike stores, had been laid up in the fort as a place of security. The Emperor is said to have given to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver and jewels as could be heaped on their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. We also learn from his domestic (*aftabchi*) Jauhar that one of Bahadur's trusted officers, named Alam Khan, who had made his submission, being plied with wine and good cheer, revealed to Humayun the place where more treasures lay concealed. Under his directions, the water from a certain large reservoir was drained off, and immense riches were discovered. The same noble also pointed out a well that was found to be filled with gold and silver melted into bars.[2]

With the fall of Pavagadh, the extensive and, at that time, magnificent town of Muhammadabad-Champaner, which

Humayun's coins issued from the Champaner mint

lay extended along the base of the fortress, passed into the hands of the conqueror. It will be remembered that under Mahmud Begada this city was among the most important of the mint-towns of the Saltanat. To commemorate his victory, Humayun revived the activity of its mint and caused coins to be struck in his name both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humayun's name which is wanting on the copper. "On neither the silver nor the copper coins, however, do we find the name Muhammadabad, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lahore Museum is of special interest. Its obverse reads 'the conquest of Champaner in the year 942' and the reverse simply

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 310-12 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 62-66 ; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 391-92.
2. 'The *Tezkereh-al-Vakiat*, or The Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humayun,' by Jouher, translated by Major Charles Stewart (1832), 4-6.

'struck at *shahr mukarram* (the illustrious city).' In another coin of the same year, 942 H. (A.D. 1535–1536), Champaner is styled *shahr al zaman,* the 'city of the age'."[1] These were then the last coins to be struck at this ancient city. In the light of the honorific epithets showered upon it, no doubt indicative of its power and prosperity, the utter desolation that overtook this flourishing capital of Gujarat during the next fifty years is more than ever to be deplored.

1. Geo. P. Taylor, 'The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat,' (J. B. B. R. A. S., 1903, XXI, 317-18).

CHAPTER XXIX

HUMAYUN'S CONQUEST OF GUJARAT, 1535-36

(II) Recovery of Bahadur's Power

Humayun master of all Gujarat up to the Mahi: Bahadur's second treaty with the Portuguese, 1535: The Emperor indulges in luxury and revels at Champaner: The Sultan reorganises his forces under Imad-ul-Mulk: Humayun leaves Champaner: The Gujarat troops defeated near Nadiad: The Emperor at Ahmadabad: His settlement of Gujarat and return to Mandu: Reaction in favour of Bahadur: Causes of the collapse of Mughal authority: Disloyalty of Mirza Askari and his retreat from the capital: Bahadur's victory over the Imperialist rear at Kanij: The Sultan occupies Champaner and recovers his kingdom: Malwa lost to the Saltanat.

Humayun was now master of all Gujarat up to the Mahi. But we must now turn our attention to Sultan Bahadur in his retreat. With his magnificent kingdom almost slipping out of his hands, and himself a fugitive from one great stronghold in his dominions to another, Bahadur turned for the second time within a year to the Portuguese for help. After his flight from Champaner to the extreme corner of his realm at Div, he despatched Diogo de Mesquita and other Portuguese prisoners at his court to ask for assistance from the Governor at Goa against the Mughal invasion. The south-west monsoon was in full swing when Mesquita and his companions arrived at Chaul, and neither Martin Afonso de Souza, the commander at sea who was stationed at this fort, nor the Governor at Goa could go at once to Bahadur's help. The commander received orders from the Governor on no account to proceed to Div, while Nuno privately sent there his own secretary Simao Ferreira. Martin Afonso, however, evaded the order with the result that he and the secretary encountered each other at the bar of Div about September 21, 1535, and the two settled the terms under which the Sultan granted them permission to build a fortress at Div,

Bahadur again seeks the help of the Portuguese

Second treaty with Nuno, Oct. 25, 1535

The great objective of Portuguese policy on the western coast of India was now being realised and an urgent letter from the Sultan to the Governor at Goa brought the latter to Div. Here was concluded, on October 25, 1535, the second of the two treaties of alliance between Bahadur and the Portuguese. Nuno da Cunha agreed, under the terms of the treaty, to assist Bahadur against his enemies by land and by sea. In return he received permission to erect a fortress at Div, and a site was granted for this purpose which included the existing small fort in the harbour. The king of Portugal was, however, to have no claim to any of the customs receipts at Div and the revenues of the port were to remain with the Gujarat ruler. The Sultan also confirmed the previous agreement about the session of Bassein. In a noteworthy clause of the treaty, both parties agreed to prevent religious proselytising.[1]

Nuno's nominal help to Bahadur

This treaty, under which Bahadur made the concession for a fortress at Div which the Portuguese had failed to secure for 25 years in spite of all their diplomacy and naval attacks on the island, indicates the complete despair of the Sultan. It must have been clear to the Portuguese governor that not all the forces that he could command would avail to drive the Mughals from Gujarat; nor could Nuno have been unaware of the fact that, once the Mughals were driven from his borders, Bahadur would be independent of Portuguese help and not desirous of their presence in Div. In order, however, nominally to fulfil his part of the engagement, he sent to Bahadur 50 horse and 100 matchlockmen under Martin Afonso de Souza, but the result was a ludicrous failure. Another captain, Manuel de Macedo, was sent by Nuno to the relief of Broach, but the force he took with him was so small for the purpose that he had to retreat when the Mughals approached, and Broach, Surat and Rander were looted and burned.[2]

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1. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power*, 238-40; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 406, 417. The text of the original documents will be found in Simao Botelho's *Tombo do Estado da India*, 217 *et seq*.
2. Whiteway, op. cit., 242-43; Danvers, op. cit., 408.

According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* when Bahadur came to Div flying before Humayun's pursuit, he became very friendly with the Portuguese who offered him personal shelter at any of the seaports under their control. They also urged the old argument that their merchants who came to this island were put to great inconvenience as they had no place to store their goods and commodities. They requested the Sultan, therefore, to grant them as much land as a cow's hide would cover so that they could build four walls round it and feel at ease. Bahadur granted their request and was soon after called away to oppose his enemies. The Firangis took advantage of his absence and cutting up a hide into strips enclosed as much land as they could measure with them. They built on the site a great stone fort, and manned it with guns and muskets, and took up their residence in it.[1]

Muslim version of the grant: the story of the cow's hide

After the fall of Champaner, at this time the political capital of Gujarat, Bahadur's kingdom was at Humayun's feet, but, instead of prosecuting the decisive advantage he had gained, he spent his time in indolence and revels near Champaner, on the banks of the 'Duriah' tank, and celebrated his victories by sumptuous entertainments. The long succession of these revels withdrew his attention from the cares of state, while the discipline of his troops was gradually relaxed in the enjoyment of the immense booty which had fallen into their hands. Neglecting their military duties, they too gave themselves up to luxury and excesses. A striking instance of the injurious results from this state of affairs, and the spirit of insubordination which it bred, is given in Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*. A party composed of petty court officials in the service of the Emperor, and some of his chief nobles, were enjoying themselves at a wine feast in the gardens of Halol, in the vicinity of Champaner, during which the story of

Humayun's revels at Champaner

Drunken 'exploit' of 400 courtiers: its tragic end

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 394-95. In one manuscript of this Persian history there is an additional passage which says that, though the author, Sikandar, had narrated the story of the cow's hide as he heard it, the details were manifestly improbable, and that Bahadur's courtiers, in their terror at Humayun's invasion, made friends with the Portuguese and allowed them openly to build the fort at Div. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 395 *n*).

Timur's exploits with his forty companions recorded in the *Zafarnama* was read to them. Heated with wine, they decided to emulate that hero's career, and, though not more than 400 in number, they formed the mad plan of the conquest of the Deccan, and proceeded to carry it out. When the Emperor was informed of their flight the next morning, he ordered a thousand men in pursuit, and the deserting officials were soon brought back in bonds to the imperial presence. Instead of punishing the offence as a drunken frolic, Humayun was full of wrath and vengeance. The day happened to be Tuesday, and the Emperor was dressed in red robes, the colour suited to Mars, the guardian planet of the day. The sentence was pronounced on the deserters with disgusting cruelty and at once put into effect. Some were trampled to death by elephants, *some were beheaded, some had their ears and noses cut off*, and some had their fingers pared away. Mr. Erskine remarks that, in describing these details in idiomatic Persian phrases hardly translatable, Abul Fazl exhibits the wretched punning propensity of James I of England, but on an occasion when *it is not only ridiculous but also revolting.*[1]

Humayun executes a tactless Qazi

When the time for evening prayer arrived after these orders had been carried out, the Imam, who read the religious service at the mosque, imprudently chose the short chapter in the Quran, entitled 'the Elephant', which alludes to the destruction by divine wrath of the masters of the elephant who impiously attempted to destroy the temple of Mecca. It displeased the Emperor, who thought the Imam was charging him, by insinuation, with tyranny. When the service was over, he ordered the Imam to be trodden to death by an elephant. This terribly cruel sentence appears to have been put into effect in spite of the intercession of Maulana Muhammad Bergholi, a learned and saintly personage. After a time, when Humayun's rage had abated, he was seized with deep remorse and spent the night in sorrow and weeping.[2]

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 313-16 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 67-70.

2. *Akbarnama*, I, 315-16 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 69-70. Mr. Beveridge, the scholarly translator of Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, points out that the real explanation of Humayun's anger seems to be that the chapter of the Elephant is a denunciatory and terrifying one, and used in compositions which convey threats. Perhaps Humayun remembered that it was so used

After the fall of Champaner, all Gujarat as far as the river Mahi passed into the Emperor's hands and was occupied by his orders. But so deeply was he engaged in enjoying the rich treasure that had fallen into his hands, that no body was appointed to conduct the government or to collect the revenues of the districts beyond that river, though in the universal panic that prevailed they had been altogether abandoned by the officers of Bahadur, civil and military. The landholders and the raiyat of these parts, finding themselves in this singular predicament, wrote to Sultan Bahadur to represent to him that the revenues of the country were now due, but that there were no collectors to receive them, and suggesting that the Sultan should appoint a proper person for this purpose.

Bahadur's subjects desire the collection of the revenues

Bahadur Shah entrusted Imad-ul-Mulk,[1] a distinguished noble of his court, with this duty, as also with the difficult task of organising an army of opposition in Gujarat against the Mughal usurpation. He was invested with plenary powers to demand or remit the revenues, to make grants of land, and to disburse money in whatever manner he thought best for the furtherance of his master's interests. The chiefs and zamindars of Kathiawar flocked to his standard, and such was the popularity of his cause (for the people of Gujarat showed a decided partiality for the dynasty of their Sultans) that, by the time he reached Ahmadabad, he found himself at the head of a very considerable army. The news of these events roused the Emperor from his pleasures, and, leaving Tardi Beg at Champaner, he marched towards Ahmadabad. Imad-ul-Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand men, attempted to surprise the advanced guard of the

Bahadur reorganises his army under Imad-ul-Mulk—its defeat

by Shahrukh, the son of Timur, in a threatening letter which he addressed in 1430 or 1432 to Barsbai, the Sultan of Egypt. This letter, instead of beginning as usual with the 'Bismillah,' began with the Sura of the Elephant and quoted the whole of it. The rest of the letter was filled with menaces. (*Akbarnama*, I, xxv.)

1. Imad-ul-Mulk, Malik Jiwan, son of Tawakkul, chief of the royal Khasa Khails, was one of the foremost nobles at the court of Bahadur Shah and his successor Mahmud III. He was joined by many nobles on his way from Div to the capital, and spent all the amount that he collected on the large army of 30,000 troops that gradually gathered round him. (Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 249-50).

Emperor, led by Mirza Askari,[1] at a place between Mahmudabad and Nadiad, but, though at first successful, he was ultimately defeated with great slaughter when surrounded by the two wings of the imperial army led by Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Hindu Beg. The Gujaratis were pursued as far as the capital, leaving more than two thousand dead on the field.[2]

Humayun visits Ahmadabad

The Emperor, after the victory of his generals, proceeded with the grand army to Ahmadabad and encamped near the Kankaria Tank. In order to prevent the plunder and certain ruin of this great capital, he gave orders that provost-marshals should be posted at every gate of the city and that they should admit no one except the men of Mirza Askari who had been put in charge of the place. At the same time, the more effectively to preserve the inhabitants from harm, he led his army to the village of Sarkhej, across the Sabarmati, so as to interpose that river between his camp and the city. From his camp at Sarkhej, accompanied by his principal officers, Humayun visited the palaces, mosques, and colleges of the capital of Gujarat, at this time one of the finest and richest in the East, and, without doubt, superior in every respect to Agra and Delhi in extent, population and architectural monuments.[3] Among other places, the fact of the Emperor's visit to the tomb of Saiyid Burhan-ud-din (Qutb-i-Alam), at Vatva near Ahmadabad, is specially noted by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* who adds that Humayun saw at this place the famous *loh-lakkar* relic, and 'pronounced it a marvel such as he had never seen before'.[4] We have already given an account of this lithoxyl in our survey of the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din.

Humayun was now master of Malwa and Gujarat with the exception of the Kathiawar peninsula. These two flourishing provinces, equal in extent to all the rest of his kingdom, had fallen 'like ripe fruit' into his hands. Never had conquest

1. The historian Ahmad Yadgar, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana,* mentions in his work that his father was vazir to Mirza Askari when the latter was in command of Humayun's advanced guard during his campaign in Gujarat. (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India,* V, 3).
2. *Akbarnama,* I, 316-17 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun,* II, 73-76 ; Ross, *Arabic History,* I, 249.
3. *Akbarnama,* I, 317 ; W. Erskine, op. cit., II, 76-77.
4. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* 196 ; Ross, *Arabic History,* I, 236.

been more rapid or more easy. But his unwonted decision had given him only the military occupation of these provinces: his personal presence and all his energy were required to consolidate his conquests and to evolve a permanent administration.

Humayun's settlement of Gujarat and departure

The Emperor proceeded to settle the government of Gujarat, rejecting the sound advice proffered by the veteran Hindu Beg to return the kingdom to Bahadur as a dependent prince, while retaining under his own control the principal fortresses of the country. Mirza Askari, the Emperor's brother, was nominated viceroy of Gujarat, with his headquarters at Ahmadabad. Under him was placed Hindu Beg as minister and commander-in-chief with a large force. Tardi Beg was to continue in charge of Champaner, and Yadgar Nasir Mirza was given the district of Patan-Nahrwala. Other officers were similarly put in charge of the forts at Cambay, Mahmudabad, Baroda, Broach and Surat. These arrangements completed, Humayun pushed on towards Div in pursuit of Bahadur. But he had only reached Dhandhuka when expresses from Agra overtook him bearing news of the most alarming character; for he now learned that the eastern provinces of his kingdom were in revolt under Sher Khan Afghan and demanded his presence. Despatches of a similar nature also came from Malwa where the imperial garrisons were being driven out by the local chieftains. The Emperor was, thereupon, constrained to retrace his steps from Gujarat, and, proceeded by easy stages towards Mandu, which was to be made his headquarters. He marched by Cambay, Baroda and Broach to Surat; then he took a circuitous route to Malwa by way of Burhanpur, where he stayed for eight days. The kings of Ahmadnagar and Berar, on hearing of his march, sent him letters congratulating him on his success. Proceeding on his route, he passed close under the strong fort of Asirgarh, and at last reached Mandu.[1]

Gujarat had been overrun, indeed, but it was little more than a military occupation. The Emperor had hardly turned his back on the province when a counter-revolution

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 317-18 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 77-80 ; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 392 ; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 258.

commenced in favour of Bahadur Shah. Some of the Sultan's loyal officers, among them being Khwaja Safar, with the support of the Gujarat fleet, recovered the sea-board towns of Surat, Broach and Cambay, and the whole country was soon up in arms against the invaders. Mirza Askari, the viceroy at Ahmadabad, summoned Yadgar Nazir Mirza from Patan to his support, and that city was soon occupied by a large army under the Gujarat officials and many friendly Rajput chiefs. The Sultan now emerged from his retreat at Div and assumed charge of the operations.[1] The complete panic that overtook the Mughal leaders, and the indecisive counsels that prevailed among them, may appear unaccountable when we remember that Humayun had left behind him in charge of his conquest some of the ablest generals of his army—veterans who had been trained in the school of Babur himself. But the reasons for the Mughal collapse may be found in the passive resistance of the people of the country, in Humayun's failure to send up reinforcements,[2] in the utter demoralisation of the Mughal nobility by the spoils of Champaner, Cambay and other places, in the fact that the imperial forces were dispersed over places very remote from each other, and, worst of all, in the disaffection and disloyalty of the generals towards the imperial throne.

Reaction in favour of Bahadur—Causes of the Mughal collapse

In response to the many invitations from his numerous adherents in the districts, Bahadur was finally induced to move towards Ahmadabad. His army swelled as he marched along, till, amid the acclamations of his subjects, he encamped at Sarkhej, opposite the capital. Hindu Beg advised Mirza Askari to assume the ensigns of royalty in Gujarat and so encourage his soldiers; but the advice was rejected. The danger was, however, pressing. At a council in which the principal amirs were present, it was decided to retreat from Gujarat, to take the treasures in the fort of Champaner on the way, and then march to Agra and there

Precipitate retreat of Askari from Ahmadabad

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 319; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 81-83.
2. Humayun's inactivity after he had reached Mandu may in a great measure be explained by the fact that during his stay in the luxurious capital of Malwa he had been enslaved by opium. (*Akbarnama*, I, 321 *n*).

proclaim Askari Emperor. Acting upon this decision, the Mughal generals beat a precipitate retreat from their camp at Asawal near the capital without offering a single battle in defence, though they were at the head of twenty thousand horse, and challenged by Bahadur from the other side of the Sabarmati. Tardi Beg, who had been left by Humayun in charge of Champaner, had received secret information of the contemplated treason. When, therefore, Askari and his generals arrived with the imperial army at that fort, he sternly refused either to admit them or to help them with supplies. Askari, thereupon, pushed on towards Agra, and by an accident encountered Humayun in the Chitor territory. Explanations were offered and accepted as a matter of expediency. That Humayun could give no further thought to his recent conquests was clear enough. The revolt of Sher Khan and other Afghan chiefs in the Gangetic provinces now required his undivided attention, and compelled him to leave Mandu for Agra, on the way to which city he effected the junction with his brother as stated above.[1]

Bahadur in pursuit: he takes Champaner and recovers all Gujarat

The sudden retreat of Mirza Askari and his army from Ahmadabad, while it disheartened his own adherents, emboldened Sultan Bahadur who had entered upon the campaign with many forebodings. He now pursued the retreating forces and his advanced guard under Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari fought an action with the rear-guard of the imperial troops which was led by Yadgar Nasir Mirza. The battle took place at Kanij, five miles from Mahmudabad, and in it the Sultan's troops were victorious. Bahadur advanced as far as the Mahi and there halted. As long as the imperial army remained at Champaner, and Mirza Askari vainly attempted to induce Tardi Beg to admit him or to help him with supplies, the Sultan did not venture to cross the Mahi, but he advanced on Champaner as soon as Askari and his forces had marched in the direction of Agra. In spite of the strength of the fort, and its being provisioned with stores and supplies for a long siege, Tardi Beg abandoned the place and withdrew on capitulation, taking with him as much of

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 320-21; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 84-88.

the treasures as he could transport. He probably acted under instructions from Humayun who had decided to abandon his stay at Mandu; for, under the circumstances, the only effect of resistance by Tardi Beg would have been the certain destruction of the garrison and the loss of the whole treasure. The town and fort of Champaner were immediately occupied by Bahadur, who now found himself once again in possession of his whole kingdom.[1] According to Hajji-ad-Dabir, the Mughal invasion of Gujarat under Humayun had lasted 13 months and 13 days as calculated by the lunar Hijri calendar, viz., from 21st Shawwal, H. 941 to 3rd Zil-Hijja, H. 942 (i.e., from April 25, 1535 to May 24, 1536).[2]

Malwa lost to Sultan Bahadur Shah

On being restored to the throne, the Sultan apologised to his nobles for having taken the advice of Mustafa Rumi Khan instead of theirs in forming the armed encampment (*araba*) near Mandasor, to which false strategy he owed all his subsequent misfortunes.[3] The province of Malwa, however, may now be said to have been lost to the Saltanat. When Humayun abandoned Mandu on marching for Agra, that kingdom fell into the power of Mallu Khan, once a noble of the recently extinguished Khalji dynasty, whom Bahadur had appointed governor-in-charge of Malwa after its conquest. He assumed the ensigns of royalty under the title of Qadir Shah and ruled the kingdom until it was conquered by Sher Shah Sur.[4]

1. *Akbarnama*, I, 320-21 ; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 86, 88.
2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 260.
3. *Ibid.*, 259-60.
4. W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 90-91.

CHAPTER XXX

THE DEATH OF BAHADUR SHAH (FEB. 13, 1537): PORTUGUESE AND MUSLIM ACCOUNTS OF THE TRAGEDY

The Portuguese Fort at Div completed, 1536: Botelho carries the news to Portugal in a small boat: Causes of friction between the Sultan and the Portuguese: Nuno da Cunha arrives at Div from Goa in January, 1537: Accounts given by various writers about Bahadur's death: The Portuguese account: Bahadur's visit to Nuno on board the ship: His suspicions aroused and hurried departure: Accident to Manuel de Souza, the Captain of Div: Mêlée at sea in which the Sultan is drowned: Abul Fazl's version of the episode in the *Akbarnama*: Account given in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*: Col. Briggs' conclusions based on the several versions: W. Erskine on the responsibility of the Portuguese for the tragedy.

The Portuguese fort at Div built in March, 1536

Bahadur Shah was not destined to enjoy for long the dramatic restoration to his throne and kingdom, for, within a few months of that event he perished at sea, in February 1537, in an inglorious scuffle with the Portuguese at Div. In order fully to appreciate the circumstances which led to this memorable tragedy, and to apportion the responsibility, it is necessary to survey the progress of events after the treaty concluded between Bahadur and Nuno da Cunha on 25th October, 1535. The Governor lost no time in beginning the work of constructing the fort which was completed within five months in March, 1536. The fidalgos as also the ordinary soldiers worked on it with a will, for the longings of a generation had now reached fruition. 'The Portuguese fight like heroes and work like *begaris*,' said Nuno da Cunha to Bahadur on one occasion. One of the bastions of the new fort, designated the Santiago, came also to be known after the name of Garcia de Sa, one of the most respected of the nobles who worked upon it and who



Nuno da Cunha, the Citadel of Div, and the Death of Sultan Bahadur at Sea, 1537
(From an old print)

became afterwards 'Governor of India'. The command of the fortress was entrusted to Manuel de Sousa with 900 Portuguese and sixty large pieces of ordnance.[1]

How Botelho carried the news to Portugal

It would not be out of place to refer here to the daredevil enterprise of a man named Diogo Botelho who was the first to convey the great news of a Portuguese fort at Div to the King of Portugal. Botelho had been carefully educated as a pilot and had shown considerable aptitude for cartography.[2] Having heard of what was going on, he crossed over from Cochin to Div, obtained a copy of the treaty entered into with the Gujarat ruler, took the measurements and plans of the fortress that was being built, and decided to carry the information all the way to Portugal. Nuno da Cunha had been getting ready a vessel of 250 tons in which to send Simao Ferreira, his secretary, to Europe with the good news. But Botelho forestalled him, for on November 1st he embarked from Chaul for Portugal in a small boat only 16 feet in length, nine feet broad, and four and a half feet deep. He took with him eight Portuguese and twenty slaves, keeping his real intentions secret from them until well out at sea. He had 12 days' start of Ferreira, and, as his disappearance caused suspicion, the secretary had orders, if he caught him, to kill him at sight and burn his boat. During his voyage, Botelho was faced with a mutiny of his slaves, in which some of the Portuguese on board were killed and himself wounded. Being the only navigator on board, he directed the voyage by signs, for owing to his wound he was unable to speak for a fortnight. In due course he arrived at Lisbon where the King was much pleased with the news he brought. But beyond being forgiven for leaving India without permission, and restored to the royal favour which he had lost during an early period in his career, he

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 242; Danvers, op. cit., 418.

2. Botelho had in his early life made some important corrections in existing maps and taken them from Cochin to Portugal to show the King. Being well received, he had been bold enough to ask for the captaincy of a fort which was refused. A hasty remark that he would transfer his knowledge to some other country led to his being imprisoned and to the loss of the royal favour. In 1524 Vasco de Gama, on his last voyage to India, sought and obtained permission to take Botelho with him as a banished man.

received no other reward for his venturesome journey. By royal orders, his boat was burnt at Lisbon in order that it might not be known that the voyage from India could be performed in so small a vessel.[1]

Causes of friction between Bahadur and the Portuguese

It was but natural that Bahadur, when restored to his kingdom, though not through any help on the part of the Portuguese, should have regretted the concessions with which in the days of his distress he had purchased the help of this power against the Mughal invasion. Moreover, he resented the refusal of the Portuguese to give him permission to erect a wall to cut off the fortress from the city of Div. There was also continual friction between the garrison in the fort and the citizens of Div, and during the riots that ensued several Portuguese were killed. Bahadur complained of frequent infractions of the treaty: his own ships, for instance, were not allowed to leave the port of Div. About the end of 1536 he hastened from Champaner to Div to recover if possible the rights he had bartered away. But the situation had indeed become impossible. What Bahadur's intentions were cannot be clearly gathered. The Portuguese historians, however, show clearly that the idea of assassinating the Sultan or taking him captive was always present to the Portuguese mind. But for some time both sides dissembled their feelings, and Bahadur paid frequent visits to the fort and assumed the most conciliatory attitude towards Manuel de Sousa, the Captain in charge.[2]

Bahadur's visit to the fort, Nov. 13, 1536

An account of one of these visits, on November 13, 1536, is given by the Portuguese chroniclers. Bahadur came to the fort, without any intimation, at eight in the evening with Khwaja Safar and a few others. He was then very drunk. When the Captain of the fort, Manuel de Sousa, was informed of the visit, the alarm was sounded, the garrison fell into two ranks with lighted torches, and the gates were thrown open. Bahadur passed down the line and was shown round the fort. He was in courtly phrase told that all was his, but he replied,

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 240-42; Danvers, op. cit., 407.
2. Whiteway, op. cit., 243-44; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 91.

'Faith, my friend, the fort is your King's and the houses are your own.' Though he was able to leave the fort unharmed, the Portuguese officers blamed the Captain for his 'weakness' in letting him depart alive, and later Manuel de Souza received a severe reprimand from the Governor. That such a policy was considered at the time neither cowardly nor treacherous may be seen from the remark of the contemporary Portuguese historian Gaspar Correa, when he says, 'In some parts an act of this kind would be a breach of faith, but not in India where it is customary. We were not allowed to take such a chance by reason of our sins.'[1]

The Portuguese in a state of nervous tension

In order to understand the tragedy that was soon to take place, it must be remembered that the political atmosphere was getting very electrical. Bahadur was often in his cups and is said to have been also addicted to *bhang*. His ravings when drunk, and his abuse of the Portuguese, were rumoured abroad, and it came soon to be believed that he proposed to assassinate the Captain of the fort as also the Governor. Under such circumstances even the Sultan's acts of ordinary courtesy were misunderstood. Being very fond of hunting, Bahadur sent some recently killed antelope as a present to the fort. It was noticed that the animals had lost some part, one a head, another a foot, and so on, and it was inferred that there was a symbolical significance behind the present, and that the Sultan expected to treat the Portuguese as these animals had been. One historian mentions the present of 40 skinny fowls with their heads cut off, sent after his drunken visit in November, 1536, and adds that the Captain took this to mean that his own life was in danger. As Mr. R. S. Whiteway, in his brilliant work on *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India,* says, 'the state of mind that looked on these presents as insults is now difficult to follow.'

Early in January, 1537, Nuno da Cunha, in response to the Sultan's invitation, arrived from Goa before Div with a fleet of nearly 300 sail, and accompanied by his brother-in-law Antonio da Silveira. The details of the catastrophe that took place in the following month now require our attention, for

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 244 *n*, 246.

The Portuguese and Muslim sources on the death of Bahadur

they are given at length by the Portuguese historians Correa and Castanheda as also in the works of our Persian authorities such as the *Akbar-nama* and the *Mirat-i-Sikandari.* A comparison of all these accounts will enable us to arrive approximately at the true facts about an event which created at the time a great impression both in India and in Europe. We shall also find that here again, as in several other salient episodes in Indo-Portuguese history, the two sets of sources supplement, correct or confirm each other. It may be noted that the Portuguese and Muslim histories were compiled quite independently of one another, for Muslim writers never consulted Portuguese works, while very few of the Portuguese were in a position to understand Arabic or Persian or to consult native chronicles. We must also point out that the Portuguese historians were far more contemporary with the events described than the Muslim writers, and that some of the former actually took part in the events which they discuss. Nevertheless, on the subject of an episode so tragic in its character and so momentous in its consequences as the death of a powerful Sultan of Gujarat, the national prejudices and religious sentiments as also the ethical standards of the various writers were bound to have full operation.

Bahadur visits Nuno on board his ship

According to the Portuguese accounts, Sultan Bahadur invited the Governor to a banquet on the shore. Nuno had received a report that the Sultan intended to make him captive, and had heard rumours that he was to be sent to the Grand Turk in a cage! He, therefore, feigned sickness as an excuse for refusing the invitation, and sent Manuel de Souza to the king to convey his regrets. No sooner had the Captain of the fort left him after delivering the message, than Bahadur was seized with one of his sudden impulses, and he ordered his boat to be got ready and proceeded to visit Nuno on his galleon accompanied by thirteen men of quality. Among the names given, we are able to indentify Khwaja Safar, the renegade Italian who had come to Div in 1531 with Amir Mustafa; the latter's two sons-in-law, Asad Khan and Qara Husain; Langar Khan; and Joao de Santiago, the interpreter who had deserted to Bahadur and had now

become a favourite under the title of Firang Khan. There were two pages who accompanied the Sultan, one of whom carried his sword and another his bow and arrows.[1]

The Sultan's suspicions are aroused and he departs

Bahadur's visit was entirely unexpected. Nuno got hastily into a position to receive him, and the crew were still buckling on their weapons when the Sultan passed over the deck, alone and unsuspicious of evil, into the Governor's cabin. The conversation was on ordinary matters and did not last long. The Portuguese fidalgos on board the ship were in a state of great tension and anxiously awaited some signal from Nuno to take action. But probably the Governor's sense of hospitality towards his visitor got the better of his desire and he gave no hint. The arrival of a page sent by the captains, who whispered something in Nuno's ear asking for definite orders, at last roused Bahadur's suspicions. He now realised that the visit had been a tactical blunder, and, hastily taking his leave, he went to his barge and ordered his men to row off quickly to the shore. As soon as Bahadur had left the ship, Nuno gave orders to Manuel de Souza to follow him in another boat and to tell him that in the hurry he had forgotten to give him a message from the King of Portugal. De Souza was also instructed to invite the Sultan to the fort and to request him to await Nuno's arrival there. These instructions were succeeded by another order from the Governor to the effect that all the fidalgos were to follow Manuel de Souza and to do as he bade them. There was naturally great excitement among the Portuguese officers, for they gathered from these orders that some crisis was developing. With Manuel de Souza went Diogo de Mesquita and Antonio Correa.[2]

The royal barge had proceeded some distance before Manuel started in his boat, but the former had been delayed somewhat to enable Khwaja Safar, who was in another part of the Governor's ship, to join the Sultan. Bahadur also slackened speed when he saw that the Captain of the fort

1. Faria Y. Souza, *Asia Portugueza*, trans. by J. Steevens, London; 1694, Tome I, Part IV, Cap. VIII (quoted in Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 135-38) Whiteway, op. cit., 247.

2. Whiteway, op. cit., 247-48.

was following him and waiving to him. On overtaking the King's boat, Manuel delivered the message, and was asked to step into the royal barge, but he did this so incautiously that he fell into the water, and had to be pulled out by Bahadur's boatmen. The trouble that followed appears to have been entirely due to this misadventure, for the Portuguese officers, who now came up in the other boats, full of tension, and with naked weapons in their hands, construed the accident as a deliberate attack on the Captain of Div, and several of them hastily entered the Sultan's boat ready for any action.[1]

Manuel de Souza follows and falls by accident into the water

A serious hand-to-hand struggle, with weapons drawn, now began in the royal boat, though the Portuguese accounts say that an arrow fired by the royal page at the king's orders gave the signal for the strife. Manuel de Souza, the Captain of the fort, was among the first to be killed. We may, however, presume that the Muslims in the royal barge were soon outnumbered by the Portuguese who entered. Diogo de Mesquita attacked and wounded the Sultan with a sword-thrust, and several persons on both sides were killed in the mêlée. Bahadur's boat tried to escape by flight, but was stopped by a cannon-shot which killed three of the men that rowed. Realising the danger, the Sultan now jumped overboard in hope of swimming to the shore, but being in danger of drowning cried out discovering his identity. Tristan de Payva, one of Nuno's captains, reached out an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a Portuguese sailor struck the king across the face with a halbert and so did others till he was killed. He was a little while above water and then sank, but neither his body nor that of Manuel de Souza could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently searched for to give them due funeral honours.[2] Of the

Strife in the royal barge: Bahadur killed at sea

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 248-49.
2. The fact that Bahadur's body was never recovered, and that thus no burial obsequies were possible, gave rise to the belief, in such instances fondly indulged in by the common people, that he was alive and would one day return to govern his kingdom. (W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 95-96).

nobles who accompanied Bahadur, only Khwaja Safar, who was wounded in the mêlée, and Qara Husain escaped. The interpreter Santiago (Firang Khan) swam to the Portuguese fort and asked for help, but the guard stoned him to death.[1]

Abul Fazl's account of the tragedy in the *Akbarnama*

Turning now to the Muslim historians, we find that the account of the tragedy as given by Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama* probably approaches nearest the truth for it agrees in several important respects with that given by the Portuguese writers. We are told that Bahadur, after he had recovered his kingdom, stayed for a fortnight at Champaner and then went to Div at which port the Portuguese Governor had arrived with his fleet and soldiers. The latter was apprehensive that the Sultan, being no longer in want of assistance, would act treacherously, and sent a message that he had come to Div as requested, but being ill was unable to go to shore, and suggested that an interview might be deferred till he was better. Bahadur, 'quitting the royal road of safety', proceeded at the close of the day in a boat with a small escort to visit the Governor on the third of Ramzan 943 H. (13th February, 1537). As soon as he reached the vessel, the Sultan discovered that the Governor's illness was a mere pretence and he was now sorry that he had gone. He sought to return to shore at once, but the Portuguese were unwilling that their victim should thus escape them, for they hoped by keeping him prisoner to obtain some more ports. The Governor came forward and asked the Sultan to stay for a little while and examine some presents he had brought. Bahadur requested that they might be sent to him and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European Qazi placed himself in the Sultan's way and bade him stop. The king impatiently drew his sword and cleft him in twain and then leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels which were near by closed in upon the Sultan's boat and a fight began. The Sultan and Rumi Khan (Khwaja Safar) threw themselves into the water. The latter was saved by a friend among the Portuguese who

1. Faria Y. Souza, op. cit., 137-38; Whiteway, op. cit., 249-50.

stretched out a hand to help him; but the Sultan was drowned in the waves and his companions also perished.[1]

According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* written by Sikandar *bin* Manjhu about 1611, when Sultan Bahadur learned that the Portuguese had built a strong stone fort at Div, on which they had mounted guns, he was much disturbed and began to consider how he should expel these infidels. He wished, however, to effect his object by stratagem and proceeded from Ahmadabad by way of Cambay to Div. Though the King adopted the most friendly attitude in order to allay their suspicions, the Firangis concluded that his arrival meant some treacherous design. When the Sultan reached Gogha, he deputed Nur Muhammad Khalil, one of his confidential officers, to the Portuguese Chief with instructions to persuade him by any device to pay a visit to the King on the shore. But this envoy showed little discretion, and was thrown off his guard by the abundant civilities shown to him. He was plied with wine, under the influence of which he exposed to the captain the King's secret intentions. The Governor, the next morning, sent him back with the excuse that owing to indisposition it was impossible for him to wait on the Sultan. After Nur Muhammad Khalil had delivered this message, Bahadur resolved to go on board the Governor's vessel on the plea of enquiring about his health but in fact to clear up his own suspicions.

The account in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*

The Sultan called for his barge and ordered five or six[2] of his favourite officers to step in with him and directed that they should not carry any arms with them. They protested that it was not only unsuited to his dignity but also highly injudicious for him to go thus without a proper escort. But, says the historian, it was of no avail, 'for it is recorded in holy

The 'martyrdom' of the Sultan

1. Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, I, 323; H. M. Elliot, *History of India, as told by its own Historians*, VI, 15-18.
2. Among the nobles who accompanied Bahadur to Nuno da Cunha's vessel, are mentioned Amir Nasan Faruqi, Shujaat Khan, Langar Khan (son of Qadir Shah of Mandu), Sikandar Khan (the governor of Satwas), and Ganesh Rao (the son of Medni Rao). Strangely enough, the name of Khwaja Safar, given by the Portuguese writers, is not included in this list. The *Akbarnama*, however, refers to him under the title of Rumi Khan,

writ that when death comes it will not delay for one moment, nor will it be stopped in its progress'. The Portuguese Captain, having laid his plans for seizing the Sultan, proceeded to the shore to meet him and attended him to his Chief's vessel, showing him 'the most deceitful respect'. Bahadur, our authority says, was also contriving something of the same nature, but fortune did not second his plans and they failed. During a pause in the conversation, the Firangis made some preconcerted signs at each other from which the Sultan perceived that he was betrayed and 'that fortune had turned its back on him.' He now arose and was attacked on all sides by the Portuguese. We are told that the Sultan was near his boat when a Firangi struck him over the head with a sword and threw him into the sea. His companions who were with him 'shared in the honour of martyrdom.'[1]

Remarks on the various accounts

Such appear to be the details of the tragedy as far as we can make them out from a study of all the accounts. The task of apportioning the responsibility or of probing the intentions of the two parties is much more difficult. Colonel John Briggs, the translator of Firishta, after a careful examination of the different versions, comes to the conclusion that 'both Nuno da Cunha and Bahadur Shah were resolved each to seize the other; that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party; so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed, but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident, which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related.'[2]

Mr. W. Erskine's judgment on the tragedy

Mr. William Erskine, however, one of the greatest of the oriental scholars of the last century, after quoting the conclusions reached by Colonel Briggs, adds:

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1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* 199-200. The passage has also been translated in a Note in Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 138-41. Sir E. Clive Bayley's translation in his *History of Gujarat,* 395-97, is based on another manuscript, and represents Bahadur as proceeding in his barge to visit the Portuguese Governor at the Fort, on returning from which interview he was killed while stepping into his boat. The version given in the text appears to be the most probable.
2. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 141.

'I have taken rather a different view of the subject. I see no evidence that Bahadur had formed any design against the person of the Viceroy. In case of need he probably would not have been very scrupulous as to the means he employed to defeat the aims of the Portuguese; but, in fact, his whole conduct was conciliatory. He put himself unarmed and defenceless into the power of his enemy. He was passive in the whole affair. No overt act of treachery on his part appears. He had little to gain by seizing the Viceroy; it would only have transferred the command to the next in rank. The case was different had the Viceroy got the King into his power. The Portuguese, by their conduct after the event, threw light on their intentions before it.'[1]

Concluding remarks on the subject

All the facts underlying the tragedy will probably never be known. There is no doubt, however, that the responsibility for explaining Bahadur's death rests with the Portuguese for he was their guest and was killed among their ships. That Bahadur, if actuated by evil designs, should have put himself undefended in the power of his enemy, seems hardly credible. It is indeed true that he was corresponding with the Sultan of Turkey and the Princes of India for an attempt to drive away the Portuguese and to oust them from their fort at Div. But there is no evidence at all to show that he sought to gain his object by the assassination of the Portuguese governor. As Mr. Erskine truly points out, such an action would not have helped in any way to further his policy. The historian Sikandar no doubt vaguely says that 'the Sultan was weaving a plot but fate was not in accord with his plans'.[2] The version of the author of the *Tazkarat-ul-Muluk,* who was in India some twenty years after the event, may also be adduced to support the contention that it was Bahadur's intention to seize the person of the Governor.[3] But these designs, even if they were proved, do not absolve the Portuguese from their

1. W. Erskine, History of India, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 95 *n*.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 397.
3. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 251 *n*.

responsibility for the tragedy at Div. The Dutch writer Philip Baldaeus, writing in the second half of the seventeenth century says: 'Though the death of Bahadur was resolved on beforehand, yet, that they might not seem to violate the laws of hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution thereof till his return towards the shore.' If we give credence to this statement, then it cannot even be maintained that the catastrophe was brought on prematurely by accidental circumstances. This much is certain that Bahadur's folly in putting himself at the mercy of his enemies led to his tragic and untimely death.[1]

1. For the literature on Bahadur's death see (1) Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 132-141; (2) Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. I. 347-51; (3) Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, 394-97; (4) Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, trans. by Mr. Beveridge, I, 323; (5) Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 251 *n*; (6) W. Erskine's *History of India; Baber and Humayun*, 91-95 and notes; (7) Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 244-50; (8) Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 261-62; (9) Philip Baldaeus' *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel* in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, III, 530-31.

CHAPTER XXXI

EVENTS CONSEQUENT ON BAHADUR'S DEATH : THE GREAT NOBLES OF THE REIGN

Estimate of Bahadur's reign and character: The Portuguese take possession of Div, 1537: Da Cunha justifies his action: Muhammad Zaman Mirza's futile attempts to secure the crown of Gujarat: Prince Mahmud Khan, Bahadur's nephew, placed on the throne: The nobles of Bahadur's reign: (1) Taj Khan Narpali: (2) Husam Khan, the historian: His identity with the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*: (3) Asaf Khan, the Vazir: His stay at Mecca in charge of Bahadur's treasures and harem: (4) Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji: (5) Amir Mustafa (Rumi Khan): (6) Safar Salmani: Appendix—Account of Bahadur's death given by the Dutch writer P. Baldaeus.

Estimate of Bahadur's reign

Sultan Bahadur perished at sea on the 3rd of Ramazan H. 943 (13th February, 1537), and the Hijri year of his death has been preserved in an elegant chronogram composed by his vazir Ikhtiyar Khan: *Sultan-ul-bar, Shahid-ul-bahr,* 'King of the Land, Martyr of the Sea.'[1] Bahadur was twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and was thus only thirty-one at the time of his death. But during his reign of eleven years he had shown all the ability and martial valour of his ancestors, had kept the nobles loyal to him and completely under control, and had raised the power of Gujarat to its culminating point. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his alliance was invoked by the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, and the discontented princes of the house of Timur sought his protection. After his death, the tributes from the kings of the Deccan, and from those Gujarat ports which fell in the hands of the Europeans, ceased to be received. Bahadur was the last of the great Sultans of Gujarat. In the dark days of anarchy and civil strife that followed his death,

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1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 397. Abul Fazl mentions another chronogram for the year of Bahadur's death, viz., *Faringian-i-Bahadur-Kush*, i.e., 'Faringis, the slayers of Bahadur'. This also gives the Hijri year 943 (*Akbarnama*, I, 324).

the people must have longed for the peaceful, and, on the whole, glorious days of his reign. But in character the Sultan was cruel and passionate, and his sanguinary disposition, as shown in the murder of his brothers and all his relations at the commencement of his reign, stands out in striking contrast to the clemency of his father, the saintly Muzaffar. His tragic death, when in the prime of life, has earned for him a degree of sympathy that he does not altogether deserve.

Bahadur's cruel disposition: the story of Nazuklahr

The following illustration will suffice to give an idea of Sultan Bahadur's cruel and passionate disposition. His brother Sultan Sikandar had in his harem a slave-girl named Nazuklahr who had not her equal in beauty and good qualities. After Sikandar's murder she was taken to the seraglio of Sultan Bahadur and he too was greatly attached to her. After the conquest of Mandu, when the whole of Malwa came under his rule, he one day ordered the dancing-girls of all classes in his presence. Band after band, dressed and bejewelled in emulation of each other, to the number of about a thousand, presented themselves before the Sultan. Many of them were handsome, and some by general consent of great beauty. After they had been dismissed with presents, Shujaat Khan, one of Bahadur's amirs and companions, enquired whether among these beauties 'the arrow of the glance of any one of them had struck the mark of his heart'. The Sultan replied, 'Shujaat Khan, I have in my harem a woman before the sun of whose beauty the loveliness of lesser stars like these fades and disappears. I shall show her to you some day'. A few days later, the Sultan, while under the influence of wine, became displeased with Nazuklahr for some trivial fault, and in a fit of uncontrollable passion drew his sword and cut her in two. After this tragedy he remembered his promise to the nobleman, and summoning him showed to him the dead body of the victim, and dashed his head against the ground, but it was of no avail.[1]

The Portuguese made the fullest use of the opportunity presented to them by the sudden death of the Sultan. Their Governor took possession of the royal palace, the treasury,

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1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 147-8.

and all the public arsenals at Div and assumed control of the administration. The populace, however, were seized with panic, and fearing that the town would be given up to plunder, they abandoned their homes and made a rush for the gates.

The Portuguese take possession of Div

In his frantic effort many were crushed, while numbers were drowned in the narrow channel that separates the island from the mainland. Nuno spared no efforts to quiet their fears, and the rich traders and others, being assured of safety, soon returned to the city. In order further to pacify the people, the Governor ordered that the Muslims in the city should be allowed free exercise of their religion and laws and that all pensions and allowances granted by Bahadur should be continued. Nuno also sent off a special messenger overland to Portugal to convey to the King at Lisbon the welcome news. He put Khwaja Safar in charge of the city while Antonio da Silveira, his brother-in-law, was made captain of the fort. In the royal palace at Div, Nuno found a large number of brass and iron cannon, including three basilisks of such great size that he sent one of them to Portugal as a curiosity. We are told that this was afterwards kept in the Castle of St. Julian at the mouth of the Tagus and called 'The Gun of Diu'.[1] That the action of the Portuguese in thus assuming sovereign rights over the city of Div was wholly unscrupulous and unjustified cannot be denied. It is, however, not to be wondered at. As Mr. William Erskine says, 'The spirit which in that age regulated the proceedings of Europeans towards the princes of America or of Asia and their subjects was that of the most unprincipled cruelty and rapacity, in no degree superior to that of the buccaneers of a later period.'[2] The Portuguese had made themselves the tyrants of the Indian seas, and were not likely to surrender the prize which they had desired for so long and which chance had so unexpectedly thrown into their hands.

The Portuguese writers inform us that among the late Sultan's papers Nuno found 'incriminating' evidence of

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1. Whiteway, op. cit., 250 ; Danvers, op. cit., I, 420 ; Lafitau, op. cit., I, 256-57.
2. W. Erskine, *History of India ; Baber and Humayun*, II, 94-95.

his designs against the Portuguese power. There were letters from his vazir Asaf Khan giving an account of the progress he had made towards bringing a Turkish force to attack the Portuguese, and copies of others from Bahadur to the rulers of Aden and Xaer[1] on the same subject. The Governor submitted all this evidence of the Sultan's 'treachery' before a meeting of the principal merchants and learned men of the town of Div, and obtained from them certificates, duly signed and attested in Arabic and Persian, of their approval of his action towards the king. These he sent to the princes of the Deccan, and to the rulers of Hormaz and of the coast of Arabia as far as Aden, that they might be duly informed of the circumstances that had led to the Sultan's death.[2] We are told that Nuno also sent messages to Makhduma Jahan, the late king's mother, both to condole with her on the melancholy event and to remove all blame from himself. He ascribed the whole affair to unpremeditated accident and offered to lend her any assistance that it might be in his power to afford. But she rejected his offers with indignation and accompanied by the principal nobles set out for Ahmadabad.[3]

Nuno justifies his action to the Princes of the East

As Bahadur left no heir, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the ambitious and intriguing Timurid prince whose reception at the Gujarat court had provoked the war with Humayun, thought that an excellent opportunity was at hand to secure the crown for himself. Professing the deepest sympathy and distress, he presented his claims before the ladies of Bahadur's household, and urged that as the late Sultan had treated him as a brother, the queen-mother should now adopt him as her son, and assist him to secure the throne for which he was best fitted by character and descent. He was informed that it was not the custom for the ladies of the royal house of Gujarat to interfere in state affairs and that he should address himself to the ministers. Nevertheless, the Mirza

Muhammad Zaman aspires to the throne of Gujarat

1. Xaer, i.e., the town of Esh-Shihr, is one of the principal places on the coast of Hadhramaut in Arabia (*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by M. L. Dames, I, 64 and *n*).
2. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 420.
3. W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 96.

appears to have secured from them over two millions in gold, which amount he spent in raising a large army. At the same time, the prince alternately demanded from the Portuguese satisfaction for Bahadur's murder, and also secretly sent them large sums of money in order that they might use their influence in getting him acknowledged as sovereign. At Navanagar (Delwada)[1] he entered into negotiations with Nuno da Cunha promising large territorial concessions in Gujarat in return for his help. The treaty entered into between the Portuguese and Mirza Muhammad Zaman, dated 27th March 1537, is given in Simao Botelho's *Tombo*. In return for their moral support, the Mirza granted them Manglore (Mangrol) and Daman, and a strip of country along the coast two and a half *kos* broad. The Portuguese accepted the terms, and under their authority the *khutba* was read in his name in the Safa mosque at Div.[2] Meanwhile, the nobles of Bahadur's court came to the decision that their first duty was to put down these pretensions, and a large army was sent against him under Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji. In a battle that was fought near Una, three *kos* from Div, the prince was defeated, whereupon his troops forthwith deserted him.[3] He fled from Gujarat to Sind and thence to Hindustan where he threw himself upon Humayun's mercy.

The question of the succession

Sultan Bahadur, who left no heir, had during his lifetime expressly indicated to the assembled nobles that his sister's son, Miran Muhammad Shah, ruler of Khandesh, should succeed him to the throne of Gujarat. This prince had been the constant companion and loyal associate of Bahadur during the whole of his reign and had for the past ten years participated in all the great military expeditions conducted by the Sultan. He was stationed at Ujjain in Malwa at the head of a large army when he received the invitation of the nobles to return to Gujarat. His reign as Sultan Mahammad Shah III, if it

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1. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says that the town of Delwada near Una in the south of Kathiawar went also by the name of Navanagar (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 337).
2. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 250-51 and *n*.
3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 400-401; Danvers, op. cit., I, 421; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 142-43; W. Erskine, *Baber and Humayun*, II, 96-97; Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, I, 325.

may be so called, was a brief one. On receiving news of his uncle's death he was prostrated with grief, and abandoning his wonted pleasures, spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer, and died within a few weeks. The next heir to the throne was Prince Mahmud Khan, another nephew of Bahadur, being the son of his brother Latif Khan who had risen in revolt after Sikandar's murder and had died a wounded prisoner in 1526. No doubt, Bahadur had, on assuming royal power, 'sent all his brothers and relatives to the kingdom of death', but Latif Khan's son, then an infant at the breast, had been spared as its tender age aroused the king's compassion. The child was entrusted to the care of Muhammad Shah of Burhanpur who had it brought up under surveillance along with his own brother Mubarak Khan at Biawar. The Gujarat nobles, chief among whom were Ikhtiyar Khan, Afzal Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji, now sent Muqbil Khan, the brother of Ikhtiyar Khan, to bring up Prince Mahmud Khan, now eleven years old, to the capital, and he was now enthroned under the title of Mahmud Shah III.[1]

Prince Mahmud, son of Latif Khan, placed on the throne

Before we proceed to the history of the reign of Sultan Mahmud III, some account may be given of the prominent nobles of Sultan Bahadur's reign. Among these the name of Taj Khan Narpali deserves to be considered first. He was already famous at the court of Muzaffar II, and had after that ruler's death taken the foremost part in organising a party in support of the claims of Prince Bahadur, ultimately securing his accession. Before going through his formal coronation at Champaner, Bahadur utilised Taj Khan's services in bringing about the fall of the usurping minister Imad-ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam, and thereafter appointed him as his vazir. We next find him mentioned as the governor of Cambay. He was one of the ablest men of his time and populated the *mahalla* of Tajpur within the city-walls of Ahmadabad which goes by his name. Taj Khan also built the magnificent mausoleum over the tomb of Saint Shah Alam at Rasulabad

The nobles of the reign: (*i*) Taj Khan Narpali

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1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 399, 402-04; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 142-44.

which we have already described and which is one of the most beautiful examples of the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Gujarat.[1]

(*ii*) **Husam Khan, the historian**

We may in the next place mention, among the nobles of Bahadur's and his father's reign, Husam Khan, better known as a historian than as a courtier. He was the grandson of Jamal-ud-din Muhammad, entitled Muhafiz Khan, who was for a time governor of Ahmadabad under Mahmud Begada, and who built in that city the beautiful mosque which still goes by his name. Husam Khan is frequently referred to both in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and in Hajji-ad-Dabir's *Arabic History*, and as his work is now lost it is from these histories that we are able to obtain some information about his activities. In 1513 he accompanied Sultan Muzaffar II to Dhar, and in 1521 we find him in the service of Qiwam-ul-Mulk, then governor at Ahmadabad. He was present at the accession of Sultan Bahadur in 1526 and was ordered by that ruler to look after the elephants. Three years later, we find him mentioned as *darogah* of Cambay, and in 1531 he accompanied Bahadur against Mandu. The last date mentioned in his public services is 1533 when Husam Khan marched with Tatar Khan against Chitor. We are told by the historian Sikandar that when in 1535 the plunder of Sultan Bahadur's great camp at Mandasor by Humayun's troops was going on, Miyan Manjhu, the father of Sikandar, who was librarian to Humayun, kept Husam Khan, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, as a guest in his tent. No further reference to this noble is available after this date.

Remarks on the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*

Husam Khan's famous historical work, variously known as the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* and the *Tabaqat-i-Husam Khani*, was consulted by several Muslim historians of India, including Firishta. It appears to have covered the period from H. 662 to H. 940 and was a general history of India as well as of the Gujarat dynasty. Though quoted as late as 1761 by Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, it is

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 238, 312 *n*, 326-29, 336; Ross, *Arabic History*, 122, 133, 142, 239.

strange that all copies of this well-known work have long since disappeared, nor has any manuscript been seen by European writers of the last century, such as Sir Henry Elliot or Sir E. Clive Bayley or Professor Dowson. The discovery of a copy of this work at any future date will thus be hailed as a matter of first-rate historical importance. Another interesting point is that though the *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi* has been widely quoted from, the name of the author is not mentioned by a single Indian writer. Sir E. Denison Ross, the editor of the *Arabic History of Gujarat,* has, however, taken considerable pains to establish the identity between Husam Khan and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi.*[1]

(iii) Asaf Khan sent to Mecca with Bahadur's harem and treasures

Another famous noble of the reign was Asaf Khan who claimed descent from Jam Nanda (the king of Sind in the middle of the fifteenth century), and who deserves a more prominent place in the history of Gujarat than has been generally accorded to him. His name was Abdul Aziz and he was born at Champaner in 1503, his father Hamid-ul-Mulk being a noble of the court of Muzaffar II. Under Bahadur Shah he rose to the dignity of chief vazir. We have seen that in 1531, after the conquest of Mandu, Asaf Khan with two other nobles was placed in charge of Sultan Mahmud Khalji who had been made prisoner. When the war with Humayun broke out in 1535, Bahadur entrusted his harem and his treasures to Asaf Khan to be conveyed for safety first to Div and later to Mecca. The vazir did so, taking along with him also his own household and his vakil or major-domo Siraj-ud-din Omar, the father of Hajji-ud-Dabir, the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat.* He sailed from Div with several nobles in ten vessels, and it being out of season reached Jedda in safety after a two months' voyage. The party then proceeded to Mecca, where Asaf Khan, under the Sultan's instructions, distributed the contents of a large number of chests of gold. For the next twelve years, upto 1548, he was away from India either at Mecca or in Egypt.

On the news of Bahadur's death reaching Egypt, Khusrau Pasha, who was ruling over Egypt, the Hejaz and Yamen on

1. Ross, *Arabic History,* I, 100, 112, 141, 160; II, Int. xxvii-xxix

behalf of the Sultan of Turkey, sent orders to the Amin of Jedda to confiscate Bahadur's harem and treasures at Mecca and place his seal upon them. On hearing of this, Asaf Khan, who was in Egypt at the time, used all his influence to have this order cancelled. The reprieve came just in time, for, in anticipation of the seizure, Bahadur's women, preferring death to capture, had washed, clothed and perfumed themselves, while the chief of the harem sharpened their blades for them. Siraj-ud-din,[1] who had been left in charge at Mecca by Asaf Khan, on hearing of the original order, had along with the rest of the household spent the night in fear and trembling until the messenger who brought the reprieve passed by their house early the next morning.

He saves Bahadur's harem from sequestration

In 1548, Asaf Khan was recalled to India, after a long absence, by Sultan Mahmud III to organise the kingdom which had fallen into a state of complete disorder and confusion owing to the insubordination of the foreign nobles. He had left behind him such a high reputation for integrity and administrative capacity that Mahmud's advisers with one voice declared that Asaf Khan alone could save the country. On his return to Gujarat he was appointed vazir and his subsequent career until his unfortunate murder in 1554 will be described in the next reign.[2]

Recalled to Gujarat by Sultan Mahmud III in 1548

Two other nobles, viz., Afzal Khan Bimbani and Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji, though they held high office under Bahadur and played a great role during this reign, became even more prominent during the reign of Mahmud III. Afzal Khan, after Bahadur's death in 1537, retired into seclusion and private life, and shut himself up in his house refusing to see any one until he was recalled to office by Mahmud III. His colleague Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji, son of Tawakkul, had received his title from Sultan Bahadur after the execution of Khush-Qadam who

(*iv*) Afzal Khan Bimbani

1. Siraj-ud-din Omar an-Nahrwali died at Ahmadabad on August 18, 1575. Throughout his Arabic History, Hajji-ad-Dabir refers to him under the title of 'Sahib-ut-Tarjuma.' (Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 626).

2. Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 243, 257, 336, 338-39, 353, 360, 363-64, 385-86, 626; II, Int. xxi-xxiii, xxv-xxvi.

held it under Muzaffar II. He was chief of the royal *khasa-khails* and being a man of considerable capacity was full of conceit and self-importance. He contributed materially in organising the opposition against the Emperor Humayun when the Sultan was at the end of his resources and in exile at Div, and to him Bahadur had committed the task of collecting the revenues of the districts for the purpose of raising an army. After Bahadur's death, it was Imad-ul-Mulk who marched to Kathiawar to quell the pretensions of Mirza Muhammad Zaman whom he defeated and routed at Una. Ikhtiyar Khan, the vazir at this period, used to say, 'I am a man of the pen, Imad-ul-Mulk is a man of the sword; there is not his equal now in Gujarat.' These words were sufficiently fulfilled by the subsequent position held by Malikji at the commencement of the next reign.

(*v*) Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji

Sultan Bahadur had a natural liking for foreigners as may be seen from the fact that he had 10,000 foreign mercenaries in his service, and that he welcomed adventurers of ability and genius, such as Amir Mustafa bin Bahram and Khwaja Safar, who were not only enrolled among the nobles of his court but distinguished with high honours and jagirs. It is from this reign that the rivalry and conflict between the native and foreign amirs, which became acute in later reigns, comes into notice. The career of Amir Mustafa, who received at the Gujarat court the title of Rumi Khan, has been already fully reviewed in the preceding chapters. After his signal services in routing Nuno da Cunha's fleet at Div in 1531, he distinguished himself as an artillery-captain during the siege operations at Mandu, at Ranthambhor and at Chitor until his thwarted ambitions led him to betray Bahadur Shah at Mandasor and to desert to the Emperor Humayun.

(*vi*) Foreign nobles: Amir Mustafa bin Bahram (Rumi Khan)

After Rumi Khan's desertion, the leadership of the Turkish mercenaries at the Gujarat court devolved upon Khwaja Safar Salmani who had accompanied Mustafa to Gujarat from Arabia in 1531. The Sultan now transferred to Safar all Rumi Khan's fiefs at Surat, Rander, Thana and

(*vii*) Khwaja Safar Salmani

Daman, as also the charge of Div in 1535.[1] We learn from the Portuguese chronicles that Safar was one of those nobles who in February, 1537 accompanied the Sultan on his last fateful visit to Nuno da Cunha on the latter's vessel, and though wounded in the scuffle at sea he managed to save his life. For a time he assumed a friendly attitude towards the Portuguese who now became all-powerful at Div and was by them placed in charge of this great seaport. The most important part of Safar's career, however, belongs to the reign of Mahmud III, under whom he received the title of Khudawand Khan. As governor of Surat he built the famous castle on the banks of the Tapti, and his name will for ever remain associated with the two great attempts made by the Gujarat rulers, in 1538 and 1546, for the recovery of Div, involving the siege of the Portuguese fort at this place. The details of these memorable events belong to the next reign.

APPENDIX

Account of Bahadur's Relations with the Portuguese by Philip Baldaeus

A very full account of the circumstances attending the death of Sultan Bahadur is given by Philip Baldaeus, a Dutchman who was 'Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon', and who wrote a work entitled *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel as also of the Isle of Ceylon,* which was printed at Amsterdam in 1672, and was subsequently translated from the High Dutch into English in Churchill's famous *Collection of Voyages and Travels.* Baldaeus, no doubt, wrote or published his work nearly a century and half after the events described. Though he presumably relied for his information on the works of the Portuguese historians, he does not attempt to conceal the treachery of their Governor on this occasion. We reproduce below his narrative which begins with the reverses suffered by Bahadur at the Mughals' hands and the concessions which he was constrained to make to the Portuguese in return for their help:

1. Ross, *Arabic History,* I, 243.



Philip Baldæus, Dutch author and clergyman in Ceylon in the 17th Century (From Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1732, Vol. III)

The Portuguese Citadel of Bassein built in 1536 by Nuno da Cunha (pp. 547-8)

'Bahadur (*Badur*) entered victoriously into Chitor, where, having rewarded the services of his officers that behaved themselves well with presents, he marched directly against the Mughals (*Mogores*), but with very different success; for being twice put to the rout by them, and deserted by Mustafa, his general, he was forced to fly to Diu; and being full of despair would have taken a resolution to leave his kingdom and to send his treasure to Mecca. But being at the earnest entreaty of his friends removed from that resolution, he sent an ambassador to Suleman the Grand Seignior to offer him six hundred thousand crowns provided he would send a certain number of well-disciplined troops to his assistance; but fearing lest the desired succours should come too late he offered to Souza, who then lay before Chaul, as also to Nuno da Cunha (*Nonnius Acunia*), a proper place for the erecting a fort near Diu provided they would assist him against his enemies.

Bahadur sues for peace

'The Portuguese being willing to take the opportunity by the forelock, Souza sailed to Diu immediately, and, being followed by Nuno, the treaty was signed and a place assigned, viz., the hill which overlooks the harbour of Diu. This happened in the year 1535. The Portuguese went to work immediately and laid the foundation of a triangular fort, the wall from the sea-side to the hill being seventeen feet thick and twenty high, at the end whereof, just upon a hill near the city, was erected a redoubt, and on the other end a stone tower, from whence extended another wall to the other corner of the island: the wall was defended by a deep ditch, so far as the rocks would permit, in the midst whereof was a gate defended by two towers, named St. Thomas and St. James. Thus king Bahadur saw a goodly fortress perfected by the Portuguese within 49 days, that part to the sea-side being set aside till another opportunity.

The Portuguese fort at Div

'One James Botelho, a brave commander, but fallen into disgrace with Emanuel, king of Portugal, being willing to court any opportunity of being restored to the king's favour, got a brigantine built on purpose of 18 feet in length, and six broad; and having provided himself with as many seamen as were required to manage her at sea, he

Boldness of James Botelho

set sail from Diu, without letting them know whither they were bound, and proved so prosperous in his voyage that without any remarkable accident he arrived safely at Lisbon, and brought the king advice of their good success at Diu.

Fresh differences between Bahadur and the Portuguese

'The Portuguese left a garrison of 800 men under Emanuel Souza in the fort, and were no sooner retired from thence with their fleet, but Bahadur began to repent of his having admitted the Portuguese into the isle of Diu (especially since the promised succours arrived but slowly); whereupon he ordered the governor Ninaar (?) to surround the city with a new wall, and to enclose the royal square without the place, whereby their fortifications must approach very near to, and lie directly opposite to, those of the Portuguese. These being resolved not to permit a thing of this nature, which must needs tend to their prejudice, Bahadur was much incensed thereat, exclaiming highly against their proceedings, and endeavoured to have surprised them in their fort; which not succeeding, he sought for aid from the Zamorin of Calicut and several Malabar kings against them.

Nuno sails again for Diu

'Nuno being advertised of all these treacheries, sets sail once more with twenty ships and 500 chosen Portuguese soldiers for Diu, ordering Martin Alphonso to follow him from the Malabar coast. No sooner had he cast anchor before Diu, but feigning himself sick aboard, he sent certain persons to compliment king Bahadur, and beg his excuse for his not coming in person; whereupon, Bahadur went aboard together with Souza, the governor of the fort, to give a visit to Nuno, who met Bahadur at the door of his great cabin, and saluted him with a great deal of civility. For though the death of Bahadur was resolved on beforehand, yet, that they might not seem to violate the laws of hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution thereof till his return towards the shore. It was not long before Bahadur went into his boat again in order to return, but was no sooner got into it, and making the best way to the shore, when Nuno giving the signal to his men, and exhorting them to do their duty, they leaped into

Bahadur gives him a visit aboard

boats kept for that purpose, and following that of Bahadur, attacked him on all sides.

'The king being grown desperate, exhorted his people to a brave defence, encouraging both by his words and example; which made the fight so obstinate that the Portuguese were in danger of losing their prey, Souza himself being slain in the first attack. The bravery of a certain servant of Bahadur deserves our particular notice, he being observed to have wounded, with eighteen arrows, as many Portuguese, till he was killed by a musket-shot himself. In the meanwhile, three yachts, armed with Turks, were sent from the shore to succour the king; but being most of them killed, and the king's galley struck upon the bank, he leaped into the sea, and though sorely wounded, did swim to the galley of Tristan Pavia, and discovering himself to be the Sultan, begged his life; which Tristan Pavia would willingly have granted; but just as the king was entering the vessel, he was slain by a seaman who knocked his brains out with a club. This was the unfortunate end of Bahadur, one of the most potent kings of Asia, who not long before had been a terror to all the circumjacent countries.'[1]

The bravery of a servant of Bahadur

Bahadur slain

1. Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, III, 530-31.

CHAPTER XXXII

FIRST SIEGE OF THE PORTUGUESE FORT OF DIV BY THE MUSLIM POWERS IN 1538

Two attempts to recover Div made during Mahmud III's reign in 1538 and 1546: The Turkish Sultan sends an expedition to help the Gujarat ruler against the Portuguese: Character and career of Sulaiman Pasha who is put in charge: He sacks Aden on the way and hangs its ruler: Antonio da Silveira, the Captain of Div Fort: Change of Governors at Goa—recall of Nuno da Cunha, 1538: Sulaiman Pasha's guns bombard Div Fort from land batteries for a month, October–November, 1538: The valour of the Portuguese women in the Fort: Departure of the Pasha, November 6, 1538: History of the 'Sulaimani' guns in the Uparkot at Junagadh: The 'Nilam' and the 'Chudanal' cannon and their inscriptions: Causes of the failure of the expedition: The Pasha rebuked by his sovereign: The Fort rebuilt by the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha: Safar concludes a treaty of peace: Silence of the Persian historians.

Military history of Mahmud III's reign: the two sieges of Div

In 1538, some months after the Gujarat nobles had placed the boy-Sultan Mahmud III on the throne, the combined forces of Turkey and Gujarat made a determined effort to recover the great seaport of Div which had been taken by the Portuguese immediately after Bahadur's death in February, 1537. The Grand Signior at Constantinople sent a formidable armada under Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim, the Governor of Egypt, into Indian waters in response to an invitation received from Bahadur before his death. This naval expedition was supported by a land attack on the fort of Div by the Gujarat generals led by Khwaja Safar, entitled Khudawand Khan, and others. The history of the first siege of Div will be related in this chapter. Eight years after this event, in 1546, the Gujarat ruler made a second and final attempt to besiege Div by land. This time the operations were conducted exclusively by the Gujarat armies without any help from another Indian or foreign Muslim power. The second siege was protracted over several months and in its incidents was even more memorable than the first.

Its history has been recorded in detail by the Portuguese historians and also by the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat,* though our Persian authorities are completely silent on the subject. The name of the famous Portuguese Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro is associated intimately with the second siege of Div by the Muslims, and his efforts were largely responsible for securing the final victory for his countrymen. We shall, therefore, devote later a separate chapter to the history of the second siege of 1546 also.

The Sultan of Turkey sends an expedition to India

Thirty years had now elapsed since the commencement in 1508, during Mahmud Begada's reign, of the great struggle between the Muslim powers and the Portuguese for the mastery of the Arabian sea. The lead at that period had been taken by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and their admiral Amir Husain. But since 1517 the Egyptian kingdom had been incorporated in the Turkish Empire which was now at the height of its power under Sulaiman the Magnificent (1520–1566). In 1526 this ruler had obtained a signal triumph over Christendom by the victory at Mohacs which laid Hungary at his feet, but he was ambitious of extending his dominions in the East as well as in the West. He had great designs for the conquest of Persia, and, according to some writers, was also attracted to India by the state of unrest and disorganisation that prevailed there on the eve of Babur's famous conquest. In 1535, the arrival of envoys from Sultan Bahadur at his court to ask for help against Humayun's invasion provided an opportunity to the Turkish ruler for intervention in Indian affairs. Bahadur, however, managed to recover his kingdom, and was soon active seeking for assistance from Turkey and other Muslim powers against the Portuguese to whom he had bartered away valuable privileges and concessions during the period of his distress. Sultan Sulaiman, whose designs in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf were thwarted by the Portuguese power, now began to fit out a great fleet at Suez for a Holy War against the Firangis. The history of this expedition centres round the first siege of the Portuguese fort at Div in 1538 by the combined forces of Turkey and Gujarat. Though both Firishta and Sikandar are completely silent on the subject, full information is available

in the works of the Portuguese writers, as also of the Turkish and Arab historians.[1]

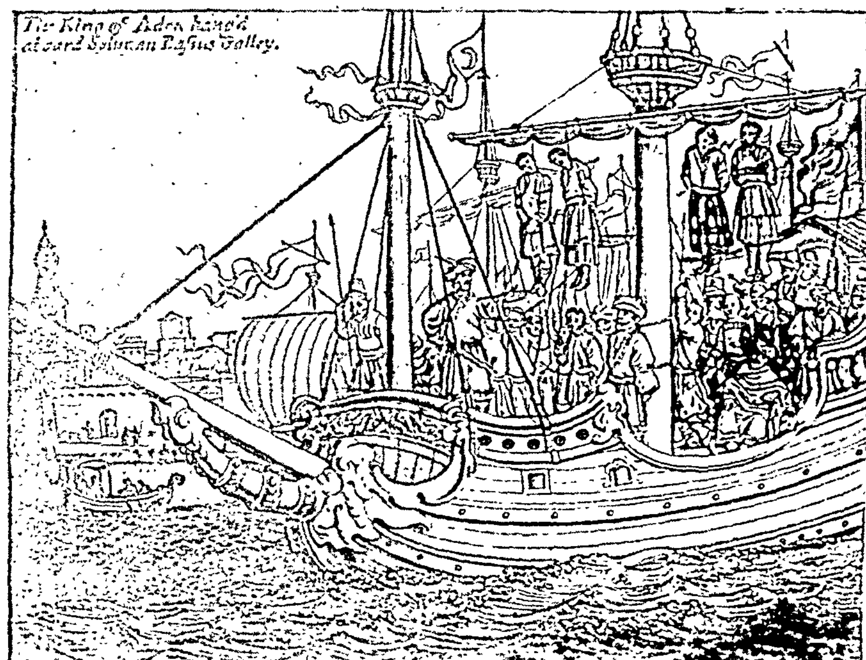
Sulaiman Pasha, Governor of Egypt

Some important details about the career of Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim, who was put in charge of the expedition to the Indian coast, have been gathered by Sir E. Denison Ross from Turkish and Arabic histories. It appears that in 1516–17 he accompanied Sultan Salim I of Turkey (1512–20) in his expedition for the conquest of Egypt, and in 1525, when he was 70 years of age, he was made Beglerbeg or Governor of that province. We are told that he had learnt nothing from his royal master Salim except the needless shedding of blood. After governing Egypt for nearly eleven years, he was sent in 1535 on a mission to restore order in the Yamen and at Aden. It was on his return from Yamen after nearly two years, and during his second tenure of office at Cairo, that he probably began at his master's orders the equipment of the Grand Fleet at Suez. He held the post of Governor of Egypt down to the time of his departure for India on the 15th June, 1538. A Turkish manuscript in the British Museum purports to give the exact words of the instructions received by the Pasha from the Sultan, and we quote the translation below:

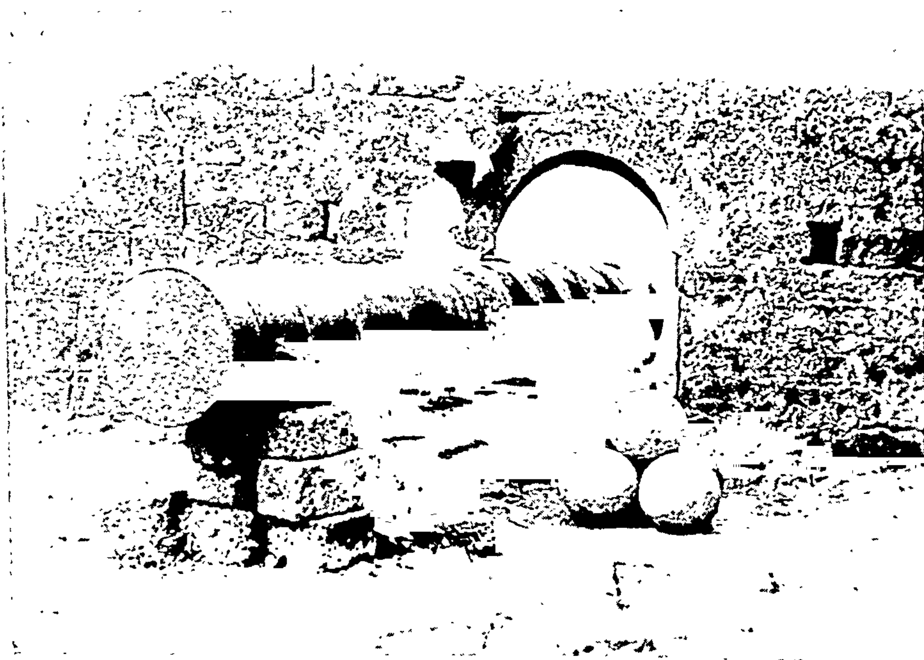
> 'You who are the Beglerbeg of Egypt, Sulaiman Pasha, immediately on receipt of my orders will get ready your bag and baggage and make preparations in Suez for a holy war; and having equipped and supplied a fleet and collected a sufficient army you will set out for India and capture and hold those Indian ports; cutting off the road and blocking the way to Mecca and Medina, you will avert the evil deeds of the Portuguese infidels and remove their flags from the sea'.[2]

There is little doubt that the news of the death of Sultan Bahadur at the hands of the Portuguese, which took place on

1. For a complete list of authorities on this expedition see article by M. L. Dames 'The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean', J. R. A. S., Jan. 1921, 17 *n*.
2. Article by Sir E. Denison Ross, 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia, 1517-38', in J. R. A. S., January, 1922, 13-14.



The Shaikh of Aden hanged on Sulaiman Pasha's galley in the expedition aganist Div in 1538 (p. 401)
From (Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1732, Vol. III)



A 'Sulaimani' gun now in the Uparkot Citadel at Junagadh (p. 407)

13th February 1537, had finally decided Sultan Sulaiman to undertake an expedition on a large scale against the Portuguese in India.

Character of the Pasha and details of his fleet

Sulaiman Pasha had offered to equip the fleet at his own cost though in the end he did this at other people's expense by putting to death many rich persons and then seizing their estates. The Pasha was a eunuch, a Greek by descent, far advanced in years, being 82 years old, and so corpulent that it took four men to lift him from a seat. The fleet which he fitted out at Suez consisted of 66 vessels armed with powerful artillery. An armed force of 7,000 soldiers, composed of Turks and others, was embarked on these ships, a fact which shows that operations by land as well as by sea were contemplated.[1] Sulaiman Pasha was known for his cruel and unscrupulous disposition, and the passage of the fleet which sailed from Suez in June 1538 was a terror to all the Red sea ports.

He sacks Aden on his way and hangs its ruler

Jedda narrowly escaped capture, but on Aden, which was reached on August 3, the Pasha's hand fell heavily. The city was taken by base treachery and sacked, and its unfortunate Arab ruler Shaikh Amir bin Daud, who had extended his hospitality to the Turkish armament, was seized along with other leading nobles, when on a visit to the Pasha's flag-ship, and all of them were hanged from the yardarms. The Turkish fleet arrived off Div on September 4, 1538. The reports of the cruelty and high-handed conduct of Sulaiman Pasha when he was in the Yamen had reached the Gujarat coast, and naturally the co-operation between him and the Gujarat generals was not of the closest kind, the latter being now distrustful of the intentions of their allies and deliverers. These fears were confirmed when the Pasha's troops, after they had landed at Div, indulged in an

1. Sulaiman Pasha got his ships manned at Suez by the simple device of sweeping up the crews of the Venetian vessels trading in Alexandria Ten of the galleys were in the command of a Venetian named Francisco who had 800 free Christian soldiers under him. Besides these, 1,500 Christian slaves from all parts of Europe rowed in the galleys. (Whiteway, op. cit., 257).

orgy of plunder and murder in the town as if Gujarat was already a conquered country.[1]

Before proceeding further with the history of the expedition it is necessary to trace the course of events in Gujarat.

Events in Gujarat: Safar deserts the Portuguese

On February 13, 1538, exactly a year after Bahadur's death, Nuno da Cunha was again at Div, and though nothing was definitely known about the Turkish expedition he hurried forward the work for the safety of the fort. While thus occupied, there arrived a ship from Hormaz, with a Venetian named Duarte Catanho on board, bearing the news that a great Turkish fleet was being prepared at Suez. This information was some time after confirmed in another way. The famous captain Khwaja Safar, who had narrowly escaped being drowned with Bahadur in 1537 among the Portuguese ships, had been taken into his confidence by Nuno da Cunha and placed in charge of the city of Div. Having learnt of the Turkish preparations, he secretly sent away his wife and children and followed them himself on April 27, 1538. His flight caused a panic among the Banyas of Div which Nuno in vain tried to stop by hanging some of them. Safar, after deserting his new masters, placed his services at the disposal of the young Sultan and offered to drive out the Portuguese from his territory with the help of the expected Turkish fleet. It was probably about this period that he was appointed governor of Surat and elevated with the title of Khudawand Khan.[2]

Antonio da Silveira, brother-in-law of Nuno, was at this time captain in charge of the Portuguese fort at Div, and,

Antonio da Silveira and his garrison in the fort

being informed of the danger, he made all necessary preparations for a protracted siege. There were in the fort 800 Portuguese soldiers, and these along with the slaves, the women and children, made up a garrison of 3,000 persons. In June, 1538, the Gujarat troops, 15,000 strong, led by Alam Khan and Khwaja Safar, made their first attack on the fort and occupied the north shore of the narrow strait

1. M. L. Dames, 'The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century', J. R. A. S., 1921, pp. 15-20; Whiteway, op. cit., 256-57.
2. Whiteway, op. cit., 254-55; Danvers, op. cit., 426.

which separates the island of Div from the peninsula. It was clear to Antonio da Silveira that with the small force at his command he could not hope to hold the city of Div, and on August 9 he retreated in some confusion into the fort though he was obliged thereby to abandon several ships and suffer considerable loss in artillery and munitions.[1] The Gujarat generals immediately took possession of the city and began a regular siege of the fort. The offensive was thus taken by them before the Turkish fleet arrived off Div.[2]

The suburb of Gogla taken

The Portuguese fort at Div stands at the eastern corner of the island of that name while the western side is occupied by town. The suburb of Gogla is situated on the opposite side of the creek which separates the island from the peninsula of Kathiawar. Here the Portuguese had an outwork or bastion which was defended by Francisco Pacheco with sixty-four companions. The brunt of the attack by the Gujarat army under Khwaja Safar fell upon this outwork which was battered into a shapeless mass. Pacheco, unable to hold it longer, submitted to a capitulation under which Safar agreed to allow the garrison to proceed to the fortress but without taking any arms or ammunition. After the surrender, the defenders, instead of being allowed to proceed to the fort as promised, were conducted in boats to Sulaiman Pasha's galley on the ground that they must first pay him their respects. The Pasha cooly broke the terms of the agreement and sent Pacheco and his men to work on his galleys along with a number of slaves. After this, Sulaiman wrote to Antonio da Silveira calling upon him to surrender in view of the heavy odds against him, to which the Captain of the Fort sent a defiant reply declaring that he and his followers would, like Portuguese, fight to the bitter end. The heroics indulged in by either side were framed in language which would hardly be considered decent in our times. The Captain's reply so exasperated the Turkish admiral

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1. At the end of August, Antonio da Silveira sent a light vessel, called a *fusta* or foist, to Mangrol on the Kathiawar coast to reconnoitre. Miguel Vaz, its captain, caught sight of the great armada and hurried back with the news that he had seen 45 galleys and a number of smaller vessels. Miguel was at once sent off to convey the news to Goa. (M. L. Dames, *The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean*, J. R. A. S., January, 1921, p. 17).
2. Whiteway, op. cit., 255-6 ; Danvers, op. cit., 426.

that he caused several wounded Portuguese whom he had captured to be beheaded.[1]

About this period an important political change took place in the affairs of the Portuguese in India. On September 11, 1538, Dom Garcia de Noronha, nephew of the great Albuquerque, arrived at Goa as Viceroy and superseded Nuno da Cunha who had been the head of Portuguese India for the long period of ten years.[2] The latter felt deeply the slight put on him at such a critical period, and soon after proceeded to Cochin previous to his return to Portugal. At this port his successor would not allow him a suitable king's ship for the voyage home, and Nuno was obliged to set out in a merchant galleon hired for himself and his family and left the coast of India in January, 1539. But with his body enfeebled by long service, and his mind exasperated by the treatment he had received, he was taken ill of quinsy on the way and died of this disease off the Cape of Good Hope, and was buried at sea. Before his death he declared that he had nothing belonging to the king but five pieces of coin or medals of gold, found among the dead king Bahadur's treasures, which, on account of their beauty, he was taking with him to show to the king.[3]

Dom Garcia de Noronha supersedes Nuno, Sep. 11, 1538

Though Sulaiman Pasha had orders to seek out and destroy the Portuguese fleet, he disobeyed the instructions and concentrated his attack on the fort at Div which was one of the most strongly fortified posts held by the Portuguese in India. The two bastions of the fortress where the enemy could bring troops to bear with the greatest effect were known as 'Garcia de Sa's' and the bastion of 'St. Thomas.'

Attack on the fort from land-batteries, Oct., 1538

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 262-63 ; Danvers, op. cit., 432-33.
2. D. Joao de Castro, the fourth Portuguese Viceroy of India (1545-48) and hero of the second siege of Div (1546), who will demand our attention in the next chapter, made his first voyage to India in the fleet of Dom Garcia de Noronha. In the same fleet came D. Joao d' Albuquerque, the first Bishop of Goa, which had been made a Bishopric by a Bull of Pope Paul III dated November 3, 1535. The church of St. Catherine at Goa was now made a cathedral, and it was there that D. Joao de Castro offered his thanks at the conclusion of his memorable Triumph in 1547 for the victory over Gujarat (Whiteway, op. cit., 261 *n*, 262 ; Danvers, op. cit., 431).
3. Whiteway, op. cit., 258-59 ; Danvers, op. cit., 428, 430.

On September 28, the Turkish fleet returned to the island after refitting at Jaffarabad,[1] and, in the course of a week, the admiral erected six batteries in all containing over 130 guns and directed them against the land face of the fort, several of the cannon mounted on them being able to throw cast-iron balls of 60 to 100 lbs. weight. This powerful artillery completely mastered and silenced that of the fortress. The bombardment commenced on October 4th and continued without intermission till the end of the month, during which period several assaults were delivered which were successfully repulsed. At a breach effected near Garcia de Sa's bastion the fight raged daily, and the Portuguese were forced to construct inner lines of defence and to carry on the resistance with ever diminishing numbers and resources.

The courage of the Portuguese men and women

This first siege of Div by the Muslims in 1538 was as fruitful of individual acts of courage and heroism among the garrison as the second and more famous one of 1546 was destined to be. There is the story of one Fonseca who fought on with his left hand after his right hand had been shattered by a musket-ball; another, named Penteado, finding the waiting for his turn to get a wound dressed too long, returned to the breach twice till at last he had to be carried to the surgeon after the third wound; and we may mention the record of the man unknown who, when his bullets were exhausted, fired a loose tooth at the enemy rather than miss a chance. The Portuguese women in the fort also took upon themselves the work of fetching water and stones, tending the sick, and attending to other duties so as to relieve the soldiers from all but actual fighting. The name of Donna Isabel de Veiga and of Anne Fernandez, the wife of the surgeon, have been handed down by the Portuguese historians as among those who organised the women in the fort, encouraged the soldiers, and were present even at assaults. Among these courageous women was one who, having been once a Turk, had become a Christian. She donned her husband's uniform and helmet

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1. On reaching Div in Sept. 1538, Sulaiman Pasha landed some heavy artillery for Khwaja Safar to put in position, and passed on with the galleys to the port of Jaffarabad on the Kathiawar coast to refit. The fleet returned to Div, after careening, on Sept. 28. (Whiteway, op. cit., 258).

and with his sword and lance did considerable execution among the invaders. We are told, however, that while they excelled the men in courage, the women in the garrison did not fall behind them in cruelty, 'devoting their leisure to the pleasant duty of torturing the prisoners and the slaves'.[1]

On the opening day of November 1538, the Muslims delivered a series of powerful assaults on the various bastions, and when these were repulsed with heavy loss, Sulaiman Pasha lost heart, withdrew his light artillery to the ships, embarked his soldiers on the 2nd, and finally left Div with his fleet on the morning of the 6th. His departure had been hastened by the news that the new Viceroy at Goa was coming up to rescue the fort with a powerful armada.[2] The Turkish admiral was little aware that the Portuguese garrison in the fortress was almost at its last gasp, with barely 40 men fit for duty, the water bad, the garrison suffering from scurvy and the powder exhausted. The relieving force from Goa proved to be only a small body, but the Pasha's fears had magnified it into the Viceroy's fleet. Sulaiman left behind him 400 wounded men and all his heavy guns, and his return voyage through the Red Sea was marked by cruelties as gross as those which stained his outward one.[3] Khwaja Safar and the other Gujarat generals also soon after withdrew their forces from the neighbourhood of Div after setting fire to the town.[4]

Sulaiman Pasha sails away, Nov. 6, 1538

The account of the Turkish expedition as given in the *Arabic History of Gujarat* states that Sulaiman Pasha arrived with a large fleet before Div in 1538 (H. 945) with a view to drive out the Firangis from that place and he wrote to the Gujarat Sultan for help with men and money. Thereupon,

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 264-65; Danvers, op. cit., 428, 434-35.
2. Khwaja Safar, disgusted by the arrogance of the Turks, and convinced that Gujarat had nothing to gain by their taking the place of the Portuguese at Div, sent Sulaiman Pasha a fabricated letter stating that the Viceroy of Goa was about to reach Div with a formidable fleet. (*Camb. Hist. of India*, III, 337).
3. Sulaiman Pasha was in no hurry to return to his master; he lingered at Aden and other places on the Arabian coast, and reached Jedda on March 13, 1539. As he found himself in disgrace at Constantinople, and understood that his death was certain, he ultimately put an end to his own life. (M. L. Dames, *The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean*, J. R. A. S., January, 1921, p. 20).
4. Whiteway, op. cit., 265; Danvers, op. cit., 434-35.

Amir Safar Salmani, entitled Khudawand Khan, received instructions to supply him with whatever was required. After this, the Pasha commenced the siege of the fort, but he was rude and uncivil and alienated his allies by his repellent and unconciliatory behaviour. Khudawand Khan, with the consent of the court, ceased to co-operate in the conduct of the siege, and ultimately sailed away to Surat after sending a message to the Pasha that the Firangis' ships were coming to the relief of the fort. Sulaiman Pasha, finding that his supplies had run short and despairing of reinforcements, raised the siege, embarked his troops on the ships, and sailed away for Yamen, abandoning on the shore the heavy 'Sulaimani' guns which had been landed. We are also informed that the Gujarat court had sent Mujahid Khan with equipments towards Navanagar (Una)[1] ostensibly to help the Pasha but in reality to safeguard the integrity of the Gujarat frontier against him. After Sulaiman's departure, several of the guns left behind by him were carried by Mujahid Khan to Junagadh where they remained for a long time. Some of the officers under the Turkish admiral did not accompany him on his return voyage but settled down in Gujarat where they took service under the Sultan. One of them, Aga Farrukshad Turki, became later Fath Jung Khan after the capture of Idar, and another called Nasir Khan Habshi became the head of the Police at Ahmadabad and Amir of Div and received the title of Habash Khan.[2]

Account of the siege in the *Arabic History of Gujarat*

Two magnificent specimens of the so-called 'Sulaimani' guns, which were cast in Egypt during the reign of the Emperor Sulaiman the Magnificent of Turkey, may still be seen within the walls of the Uparkot citadel at Junagadh and serve as memorials of the stirring events described in this chapter. They also give us an idea of the efficiency attained by the Turkish artillery-experts in this important branch of

The 'Sulaimani' guns in the Uparkot at Junagadh

1. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* states that Navanagar was identical with Una-Delwara in the south of Kathiawar (Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 158). Hajji-ad-Dabir's statement that Navanagar was 'situated at a distance of three parsangs from Div' confirms this identity.

2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 266-67.

military equipment at a period when Turkey was perhaps the first military power in Europe. Many great guns were brought to India by Sulaiman Pasha in the expedition against the Portuguese, and when he abandoned the siege of Div in November 1538 he left them behind him on the shore as they were too heavy to be transported in a hurry. Mujahid Khan Bahlim carried several of these, as stated above, from Div to Junagadh where he was in charge. We are told by Hajji-ad-Dabir that the Portuguese were terribly afraid of these guns, especially of two described as *Hawai,* and that they offered at a later period, in 1562–63, 'maunds of gold' to Shihab-ul-Mulk Ghuri, governor of Junagadh, to get them broken.[1] More were probably destroyed or removed in the centuries that followed. There is no doubt, however, that the two large cannon now to be seen at Junagadh, and which are described below, are the sole survivors of the famous pieces of ordnance referred to by the Persian historians as the 'Sulaimani guns'.

The Nilam *Tope* and its Arabic inscription

The superb cannon locally known as the Nilam or Lilam *Tope* is placed, along with another smaller one, in front of the mosque in the Uparkot. It is seventeen feet long with a circumference of seven and a half feet at the breech and measures at the muzzle nine and a half inches in diameter.[2] It bears an inscription carved in relief on its surface in Arabic which conveys the following most interesting information:

> 'This cannon was ordered to be made in Egypt in the cause of God in 937 H. (A.D. 1531) by Sultan Sulaiman, son of Salim Khan, the king of Arabia and Ajam (Persia), may he be victorious, in order to subdue the enemies of the state and of the faith, the cursed Portuguese, the infidels who wish to enter India. It is cast by Muhammad, son of Hamza.'[3]

The other large cannon in the Uparkot, popularly called the Chudanal or the Kadanal (i.e., the bangle-shaped), is

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 267.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawar, 488.
3. *Mirat-i-Mustafabad*, by Shaikh Gulam Muhammad Abidmia (in Urdu), published by the Junagadh State, 202-03.

located in the south-east corner of the citadel adjoining the water works. It bears only this short inscription in Arabic, '*Ali bin Hamza*', the gunner who cast it being probably the brother of the man who made the Nilam *Tope* described above. The Chudanal is thirteen feet long and has a muzzle fourteen inches in diameter. Both the great guns are historic memorials of that important period during the first half of the sixteenth century when the Muslim and the Portuguese powers fought out their great duel for mastery over the Indian sea-board on the southern coast of the Kathiawar peninsula.

The Chudanal cannon in the Uparkot

The causes of the complete failure of the greatest attempt made by Turkey, then at the height of its power in Europe, against the Portuguese in Indian waters may briefly be discussed. Had Sulaiman Pasha followed his instructions and brought the Portuguese fleet to action, instead of laying siege to Div, he might have destroyed it in detail. As Mr. Whiteway points out, the power of the Turks lay in their formidable artillery: their metal was heavier than that of the Portuguese, and their gunners were exceptionally well-trained: in an action at sea this superiority should have given them the victory.[1] The heroism of the defence offered by the Portuguese garrison, and the grim tenacity with which they maintained their hold on the bastions even after these had been shattered, also went far to effect the discomfiture of the Turkish admiral. But perhaps the most decisive factor which explains the failure of the Muslims was the complete lack of co-operation between the Turkish and the Gujarat generals due to suspicion and prejudice. Owing to his own high-handed methods the Turkish admiral could not get the necessary supplies for his fleet, and the failure of the Gujaratis to furnish these was probably the immediate cause that led the admiral to raise the siege.

Causes of the failure of the Turkish expedition

This lack of solidarity in the efforts of the two Muslim powers that had united against the Portuguese in India was the weakest point in the formidable combination that threatened Div in 1538. The Gujarat general Alam Khan, who

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 257.

was in chief command of the forces, was for expelling the Portuguese from the island and for restoring it to the sole authority of the Sultan. He, therefore, refused to allow the name of the Grand Turk at Constantinople to be included in the *khutba* read in the mosques in the town of Div. Khwaja Safar, on the other hand, would have permitted this provided his own ascendancy in the town was allowed to continue. Sulaiman Pasha appears to have contemplated the establishment of his master's rule in the island with himself in charge. The large complement of soldiers brought in his armada showed that a campaign by land was also contemplated. The wreck of one of the Turkish vessels strewed a cargo of saddles on the Gujarat coast and naturally excited the suspicions of the Gujaratis. The sack of Aden and the unhappy fate of its Arab Shaikh gave sufficient indication of Sulaiman Pasha's ambitions and cruelty. The loot of the city of Div by the Turks on September 5, immediately after arrival, was an ominous policy which made all thorough-going co-operation between the two allies impossible.[1]

Difference between the Turks and the Gujaratis

Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent of Turkey appears to have been but little satisfied with the high-handed and tyrannical methods adopted by the Pasha whether at Aden or on the Gujarat coast. This may be gathered from a passage in a letter written in 1539 by Sultan Bahadur's vazir Asaf Khan from Mecca to Darya Khan Husain, the minister of Sultan Mahmud III. Asaf Khan says that on his return to Egypt Sulaiman Pasha gave out that he was going to equip another expedition against Div, and that the Sultan of Turkey was vexed at these news and addressed him in the following terms: 'I sent you only to drive the Franks out of Div and to help the Lord of that city, not in order that you might tyrannise over the Musalmans of India, nor in order that you might behave as you did in Zabid, nor as you acted towards Amir bin Daud, the Lord of Aden'.[2]

The Sultan of Turkey ill-pleased at the Pasha's actions

The letter mentioned above, written by Asaf Khan, who was at this time at Mecca with Sultan Bahadur's harem and

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 258. 2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 388.

treasures, also gives the information that Sulaiman Pasha halted at Mecca on his way from Div to Egypt, and was very impolite and more than once demanded a portion of the royal jewels in charge of the ex-vazir. The latter, however, managed to put off his demands. Had it not been, he says, for the protection afforded by the Sharif of Mecca, things would have gone hard with them. Being thus thwarted, the Pasha, before his departure for Egypt, ordered the Amin of Jeddah to prevent Asaf Khan and Bahadur's harem from embarking for India.[1] It was after his return to Cairo that rumours of Sulaiman's renewed preparations for another expedition provoked his master at Constantinople to send him the stern rebuke quoted in the preceding paragraph.

The Pasha's designs on Bahadur's treasures

Dom Garcia de Noronha, the eleventh governor and third Viceroy of Portuguese India, had not inherited the military ambition of his uncle the illustrious Albuquerque, and during the short period of sixteen months that elapsed before his death he devoted all his energies to amassing a fortune by the sale of offices, pensions and anything else that could command a price. His indifference to the relief of the beleagured fortress at Div stands in striking contrast to the noble efforts of one of his successors, Dom Joao de Castro (1545-48), to forward succour during the second siege of the same fort in 1546. Some days after the news of the retreat of the Turkish admiral reached Goa, the Viceroy started for Div with a fleet of 90 sail which had been fitted up by means of a forced loan and by impressing outlaws with promises of pardon. He proceeded slowly to the north, halting at Chaul, Bassein and other ports on the way, and arrived at Div in January, 1539 with only a part of his fleet for a storm had destroyed the rest. The fortress being in ruins demanded reconstruction, and de Noronha applied himself to this task, in which he was joined by all the Portuguese, high and low.[2] Antonio da Silveira, the hero of this first siege of

Garcia Noronha rebuilds the Fort, Jan., 1539

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 387-88.
2. Whiteway, op. cit., 265-66.

Div, was given permission to leave for Portugal where he was well received, and the fame of the defence he had made spread all over Europe.

The next step of the Viceroy was to enter into a treaty of peace with the Gujarat nobles, and negotiations were commenced with Khwaja Safar and Alam Khan who were staying at the house of Malik Ayaz at Div. The treaty was concluded on the 25th February 1539 (the 6th of Shawwal 945 H) and gave Khwaja Safar nearly all that he demanded. Under its terms, the Gujarat ruler was allowed to erect a wall four cubits high between the fortress and the town of Div. It was also stipulated that all the revenues from the custom-houses at Div and at Gogha, besides the revenues from the farms in the island, were to be pooled and one-third of the amount was to be paid to the Portuguese while the remainder was to be left to the Sultan. It was further agreed that the outworks erected on the island and destroyed during the late war were not to be re-erected.[1]

Treaty with the Gujarat generals, Feb. 25, 1539

The first siege of Div in 1538 ranks high among the maritime annals of Western India. Its duration was, however, short compared with the more famous second siege of the fort by the Gujarat armies in 1546. The memorable incidents and the outstanding personalities associated with the history of the later conflict have perhaps thrown the events of 1538 in the shade. The silence, as mentioned before, of the Persian historians of India about both these important episodes in the history of Gujarat has all the appearance of a suppression of the truth and unwillingness to admit a Muslim disaster. As in the case of the defeat in 1509, at the hands of Francisco de Almeida, of the combined Egyptian and Gujarati fleets under Amir Husain and Malik Ayaz, our detailed knowledge of both the first and the second siege of Div is derived primarily from the works of the Portuguese

'Conspiracy of silence' of the Persian historians

1. Whiteway, op. cit., 266; Danvers, op. cit., 436-37. The treaty is given on p. 229 of Simao Botelho's *O Tombo do Estado da India* written in 1554.

historians supplemented by the accounts given in Hajji-ad-Dabir's *Arabic History* and in the works of the Turkish writers.[1]

1. Cf. 'Solyman, the Bassa, a most famous Pyrat, assaulted (in September, 1538) Dium, a castle of the Portugals, situate upon the mouth of that great river (Indus), but, in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the castle, both by sea and land, and tried the uttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leaving his great ordnance behind him for haste, returned back again to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Felix' (R. Knolles, *Turkish History*, I, 451).

CHAPTER XXXIII

SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH III, THE MARTYR (A.D. 1538-1554)

Mahmud's long tutelage and the decline of the Saltanat: Darya Khan in supreme power, 1538–43: Alam Khan master of the kingdom, 1543–45: Mahmud's personal rule, 1545–54: The *Tuhfat-us-Sadat* on the history for the reign: The Masjid of Farhat-ul-Mulk in the Khas Bazar at Ahmadabad and its inscription, 1538: Khudawand Khan (Khwaja Safar) builds Surat Castle on the Tapti, 1540: Chronogram for its date: Account of the Fort given by the Persian historians: The ex-Vazir Asaf Khan invited to return to Gujarat from Mecca: His reforms: Mahmud III constructs the deer-park (*ahukhana*) at Mahmudabad: The Sultan resumes the *Wanta*-estates from the Rajput landholders: Severe persecution of his Hindu subjects: Mahmud III murdered by Burhan at Mahmudabad, 1554: Asaf Khan and many other nobles assassinated: Fate of the villain: Career of Afzal Khan Bimbani: His Rauza and Masjid at Ahmadabad: Itaimad Khan places the boy-Prince Ahmad on the throne of Gujarat.

Decline and fall of the Saltanat

After Bahadur's death shades of night descended upon the Gujarat Saltanat. In the disastrous period of thirty-six years that followed before the kingdom was finally annexed by Akbar (1573), the bonds of authority were loosened; the rulers, young and feeble, became mere puppets in the hands of ambitious and semi-independent nobles; the country was distracted by factions and endless civil wars; the frontiers were contracted; and the Hindu populace, which had been for nearly a century treated with tolerance, was alienated by an active and severe persecution. Of the three inglorious reigns that cover this dreary period, the first, that of Mahmud III, lasted for sixteen years.

The domestic history of the reign of Mahmud,[1] being uneventful, will not detain us long. Taking advantage of his

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1. Mahmud III was born in Kathiawar in 1526 during the reign of Muzaffar II. He ascended the throne, according to *Firishta*, on the 10th May 1538, and was murdered in February, 1554.



Surat Castle on the Tapti River built in 1540 by Safar, Khudawand Khan (pp. 422–5)

boyhood, the most powerful among the nobles, Imad-ul-Mulk, Darya Khan and Alam Khan Lodi, at times in combination and at others in deadly opposition to each other, usurped the whole control of the government for the first eight years of the reign. During the greater part of this period, the Sultan, being kept under surveillance by one or the other of these nobles, was virtually a prisoner either in the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad or in the Ghattamandal palace outside the city. At length, about 1545, with the help of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari (the patron of the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*) and other loyal ministers, he availed to assert himself as king. Himself innocent of administrative ability, he was a confirmed sensualist, and addicted to the company of low-born favourites, and the nine years of his direct government brought no good to the country.

Mahmud III's long tutelage

The internal history of the first five years of Mahmud's reign centres round the career of Darya Khan, who was the first among the nobles of Gujarat to enjoy semi-regal sway during the declining period of the Saltanat. For a time he and Imad-ul-Mulk carried out the duties of the regency jointly, and, in the very first year of the reign, Ikhtiyar Khan, the vazir under Bahadur Shah and now in charge of the young Sultan's person, was unjustly put to death on suspicion that he and his brother were plotting against these amirs.[1] Ikhtiyar Khan will be remembered as the accomplished scholar and statesman who had been placed by his master in charge of Champaner fort during Humayun's invasion of Gujarat and who was patronised by the Emperor after the capture of that fort. Shortly after this murder, jealousy and dissensions arose between Darya Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, and the latter was forced to retire to his jagirs at Morvi in Jhalawar. Here Darya Khan, taking the Sultan and the army with him,

Darya Khan's rivalry with Imad-ul-Mulk

1. Sikandar relates the story that Ikhtiyar Khan protested his innocence when the rope was being put round his neck and began to repeat the Muslim creed, *la Allah illa Allah*, but, before he could complete it, the executioner pulled the rope. When the body was cold, and the rope round the throat loosened, Ikhtiyar Khan opened his eyes and the words *wa Muhammad rasul illah* came from his tongue and he then expired! The miracle was regarded by all as proof of his innocence. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 408).

followed his late colleague, and Imad was defeated at the village of Bajana[1] near Patdi in 1538 and fled to Burhanpur where he was well received by his old friend the ruler of Khandesh. Darya Khan called upon the latter prince to surrender the fugitive, and on his refusal marched against his kingdom, defeated him, and forced him to have the *khutba* read in the name of Sultan Mahmud in the mosques at Burhanpur. Imad-ul-Mulk now sought refuge in Malwa at the court of Mallu Khan, who had assumed the style of Qadir Shah, and here he remained until recalled to Gujarat by the Sultan in 1543.[2]

Darya Khan all-powerful at Ahmadabad, 1540-43

Darya Khan now became all powerful in Gujarat and lavished his bounties so freely that the date of his rule (H. 945, i.e., A.D. 1538) was found in the chronogram *khush-hal*, 'the happy time'. He was fond of pleasure and in his pride and power ignored the fact that the Sultan was growing up to manhood. He once invited Mahmud III and Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari to his house to exhibit his dancing-girls, and after they had performed all night, he retired to his harem, leaving the Sultan to shift for himself. The latter was angry and discontented at this thraldom, but an opportunity for escape soon presented himself. Darya Khan was gathering an army for an attack on Mandu and had posted the advanced camp with the Sultan to the Kankaria Tank as usual. As the regent returned daily from the camp to the city for his pleasures, the vigilance over the young ruler was relaxed, and one of Darya Khan's own partisans, disgusted with his pretensions, now turned against him and secured his downfall.[3]

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1. Bajana is the chief town in the small Muslim Jat state of the same name in the Kathiawar Political Agency, and is situated on the Lesser Ran of Cutch at its south-east corner about five miles from the Patri Railway station. It is related that a body of Jats first entered the peninsula from Sind in their flight before the ruler of that province, and that, arriving at Ahmadabad, they were employed by Mahmud Begada in the siege of Champaner where they displayed such prowess that the Sultan bestowed on their leader, Malik Hedoji, the 24 villages subject to Bajana (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, 373-74).

2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 406-10, 414; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 145; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 267-68; 320-22.

3. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 410-15.

Alam Khan Lodi, a noble whose fiefs were at Dhandhuka, entered into a secret alliance with Mahmud III through the latter's confidential domestic Charji, a bird-catcher by profession, and invited the Sultan to come under his protection. The arrangements being completed, the Sultan one night escaped from his palace by a ladder and was conveyed in a swift horse-carriage to Dhandhuka which was sixty miles away. Darya Khan, on discovering the flight, took counsel with Fattuji Muhafiz Khan, his ally and accomplice, and raising a puppet to the throne as Sultan he marched with 50,000 troops in pursuit. Mahmud III and Alam Khan had a force of 10,000 under them. A battle took place near the village of Dahor in the Dholka pargana in which the Sultan was defeated and fled to Ranpur. But, in spite of his victory, Darya Khan's troops began to desert him in large numbers, and finding it impossible to retain his position at Dholka, he retired towards Ahmadabad in the hope to win back the troops with the treasury in his power. The people of the city, however, shut the gates in his face and refused to admit him, and Darya Khan managed to effect an entry only by bursting open the wicket-gate in the Behrampur ward.[1]

The Sultan's flight to Alam Khan at Dhandhuka, 1543

When the Sultan and Alam Khan had collected a sufficient army they marched to Ahmadabad, and Darya Khan fled to Burhanpur to the court of Mubarak Shah after sending all his women and treasures to Champaner in charge of his ally Fattuji Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud III next marched to Champaner and took the fort of Pavagadh by assault displaying all the bravery of his ancestors, and turning down the advice of Afzal Khan that the royal umbrella over his head, which made him so conspicuous a mark, should be set aside. Fattuji, being taken, was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Surat. The treasures of Darya Khan as well as all his women, some 500 in number, now fell into the Sultan's hands (1543). Mahmud III remained for three months at Champaner resting and giving himself up to pleasure. Alam Khan was made *Amir-ul-Umara* and commander-in-chief, and at his advice

Fall of Darya Khan : the Sultan captures Champaner (1543)

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 419-20.

Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji was recalled from his exile at Mandu, and on arrival was received with great distinction, the district of Broach and the port of Surat being granted to him as jagir.[1]

Mahmud III's attachment to low favourites

In spite of some fulsome praises of the young Sultan, the historian Sikandar blurts out the simple truth when he says that 'from the beginning to the end he was a man of low tastes and delighted in low company'. During the period when he was still a minor, and under the power of Darya Khan, he had lavished his favours on one Charji, a bird-catcher in the royal household. The insolence and tyranny of this upstart at last led the nobles to compass his death in the very audience-chamber of the palace. The Sultan had bestowed Fattuji's possessions and his title of Muhafiz Khan on this favourite who now regarded himself as a courtier. At his advice, Mahmud III ordered Ala-ud-din Lodi, brother of Sikandar Lodi of Delhi, and another noble, to be executed. This was resented by Alam Khan, Wajih-ul-Mulk, Alp Khan Khatri and other nobles who shut up the Sultan in his palace and forced him to yield to their demands. At a public darbar held soon after, they all attended and so did Charji who took up his stand behind the Sultan's throne. At a signal given by Alam Khan three of his attendants rushed on Charji and dragging him out cut him in pieces in spite of all the cries and protests of the Sultan who wounded himself with a dagger in an attempt to commit suicide.[2]

Alam Khan, lieutenant of the kingdom

Mahmud III soon found that he had but changed one master for another. After his wound had been dressed and the court had returned to Ahmadabad, the Sultan was placed under guard and was not allowed to go outside the Bhadra Citadel. Alam Khan, Wajih-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan in turn had charge of his person, and they at last decided that it would be better to save their trouble by blinding him and dividing the kingdom among themselves. Of these nobles, it may be mentioned that Mujahid Khan Bahlim (the

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 419-20.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 421-23 ; Ross, *Arabic History*, 269-70 ; 326-27.

Corpulent) was a foreigner, being one of those officers of Sulaiman Pasha, the Turkish admiral, who, after the siege of Div in 1538, remained behind and entered the service of the Gujarat Sultan. His jagirs were situated at Junagadh and Palitana and he had a thousand villages in his fief. When the partition of the kingdom was being discussed, Mujahid Khan's vakil asked what was to be his master's share, upon which, Alam Khan's brother Shuja-ul-Mulk replied in joke, 'Majahid Khan's paunch does not need any increase; he would be better if he could diminish it a little'. The vakil did not appreciate the joke, and probably there were differences enough between the foreign and the Gujarati nobles to lead him to betray the plot to the Sultan.[1]

Alam Khan overthrown, 1545

In crushing one powerful minister (Darya Khan) the Sultan had learned how to deal with another. Disgusted with Alam Khan's arrogance and assumption of almost royal pomp, the King persuaded Mujahid Khan Bahlim, who was on night duty at the palace, to assemble his troops, and in the early hours of the morning Mahmud marched through the city seated on an elephant with the royal umbrella over his head, and proclaimed by a crier that the houses of Alam Khan and Wajih-ul-Mulk, which were situated outside the Jamalpur gate in the suburb of Asawal, had been given over to plunder. The city mob took up the cry and Alam Khan, who had just retired to sleep after a drunken carouse, was hastily wakened up and forced to flee. With the nobles at his call and the army under his control he had remained in fancied security in spite of advice to the effect that it was not safe to keep a lion chained up and to remain at home without disquiet. By the time the Sultan reached the Jamalpur gate, he found that the mob was already carrying off the posts and beams of the two noblemen's houses. Alam Khan and Wajih-ul-Mulk both managed to escape and the former fled to Mandu where he joined his old enemy Darya Khan. These events took place in 1545.[2]

Mahmud III at last found himself restored to his personal rule in 1545, and he retained it for the next eight or nine years

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 423-24.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 425-29; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 269, 271-72.

until his murder in 1554. He was still a youth about 19 years old and Mujahid Khan became the protector, while Afzal Khan Bimbani, who had retired into seclusion at Bahadur's death, was now called into office and appointed vazir. The rebels Darya Khan and Alam Khan, having joined each other, tried to involve in their treason Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji at Broach and Alp Khan Khatri whose house and estates were at Ankleshwar, but without success. Finding that their efforts to stir up a rebellion met with little success, they fled ultimately to the court of Sher Shah Sur at Delhi. The Sultan now summoned Imad to court through Arab Shah, the descendant of saint Qutb-i-Alam, promising that his life would be safe. The old minister attended with many misgivings, but finding his power gone he asked for permission to retire to Mecca. The Sultan sent him to Surat with orders to the governor Khwaja Safar, Khudawand Khan, to forward him to Mecca. But, though the reason is not stated, he was put to death at Surat by Safar's orders on the 27th Ramazan, H. 952 (2nd December 1545).[1]

Mahmud III restored to personal rule

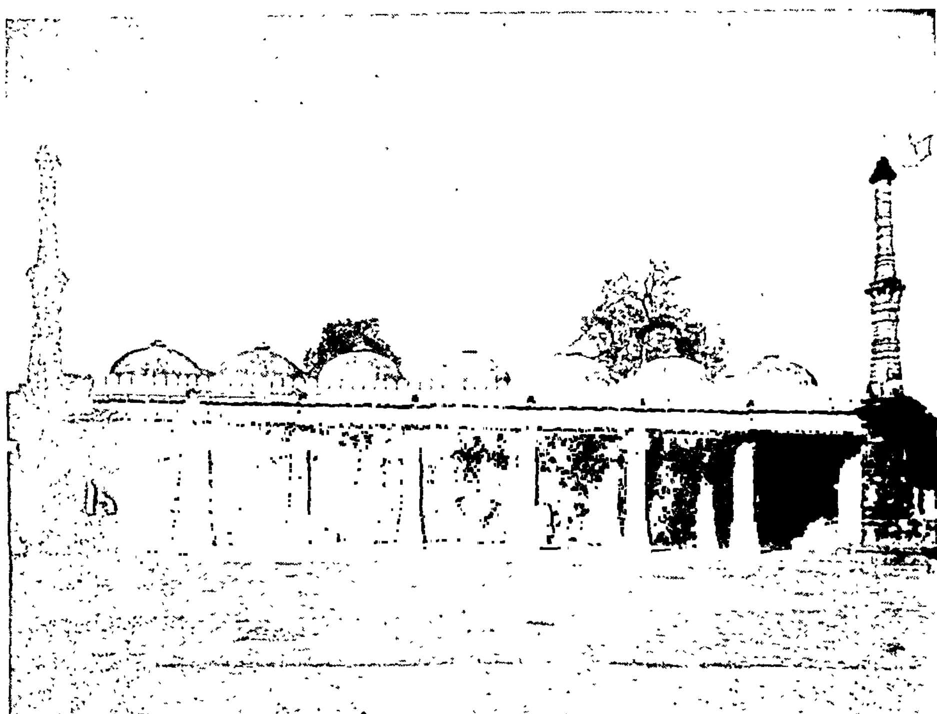
Imad-ul-Mulk killed at Surat by Khudawand Khan

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* at this stage in his history makes an important statement which deserves to be recorded. He says that the facts of Mahmud III's reign which have been reviewed so far, i.e., up to 1545, were recorded in the history called *Tuhfat-us-Sadat* written by Aram Kashmiri for Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari. He adds that after the close of Aram's history there was no other work on the basis of which the later facts of this reign could be recorded, though he had managed to compile a record as best he could. Sikandar adds that he was born in the year 1553–54 in the city of Mahmudabad, which was at the time the headquarters of Sultan Mahmud, and that he was an infant in arms at the time of this ruler's murder. He adds that many of the later events of this reign were known to him from his father and brothers

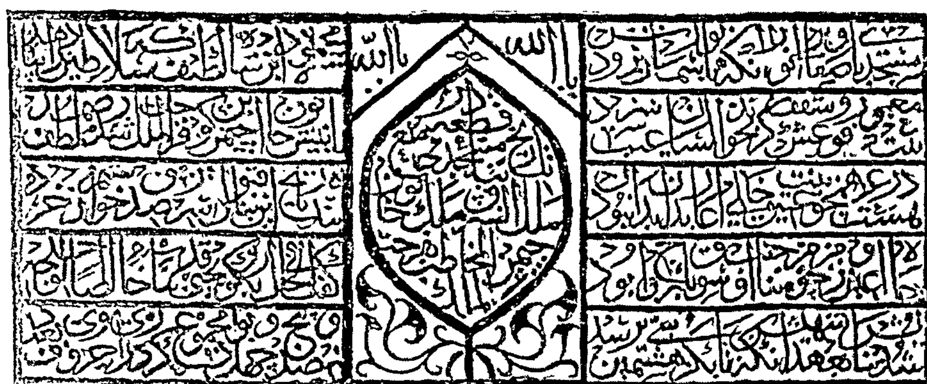
Reference to the work *Tuhfat-us-Sadat*

Birth of the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 429-36; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 332.



Masjid of Nau Khan, Farhat-ul-Mulk (1538), at the Khas Bazar, Ahmadabad (p. 421)



Persian Inscription, dated 1538, in Nau Khan, Farhat-ul-Mulk's Mosque at Ahmadabad (p. 421)

and others, and that he had reduced all this information to a narrative in writing.[1]

The masjid in the Khas Bazar at Ahmadabad, 1538

Before we proceed to the tragic history of the later years of this unfortunate reign, we shall review two monuments in Gujarat which belong to the period of Mahmud's minority and boyhood. The opening year of the reign saw the erection of an interesting mosque at Ahmadabad which is situated to the south of the Karanj in the locality known as the Khas Bazar. This is the Jami Masjid built by one Farhat-ul-Mulk, though it is locally better known as the Shah Khub Saiyid Chishti's mosque from the fact that the tomb of this *Pir* lies in a small graveyard near by. In style the building differs to a considerable extent from the masjids of the preceding century, being low-roofed, open in front, and with slender minarets at the extremities of the façade. The whole structure appears to be copied, though on a larger scale, from Rani Sipari's mosque which was built about twenty-seven years previously. A special feature of the masjid is the elegantly carved inscription in Persian verse, located over the central mihrab, which, after some preliminary eulogistic verses, proceeds to give the following information:

"This building was erected during the reign of him whose kingdom reaches the eighth throne—Shah Mahmud, son of Shah Latif, who affords an asylum to other kings:
Its builder is Nau Khan, son of Chiman, who, through the grace of Allah, became Farhat-ul-Mulk:
I sincerely asked genius for the chronogram of this acceptable building:
And he replied at once, 'Go, Yahya and say, *He built it from pure motives for the sake of Allah.*'
This gives together 945 if you count up the values of the letters."[2]

The monument, as stated above, was thus constructed in H. 945 or A.D. 1538 during the first year of the reign of the boy-Sultan Mahmud III. No information about the nobleman named Nau Khan, entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk, by whom it

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 436-37.
2. Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 82-83.

was built, is available in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari.* But he is the same amir who, in the preceding year, i.e., in H. 944 (A.D. 1537–8), repaired the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad I in the Manek Chok at Ahmadabad, as stated in the inscription located at the entrance to that tomb. The person named Yahya referred to above is also no doubt the same poet who composed the epigraph in the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad Shah I.[1]

Remarks on the builder of the masjid

The other monument to which we now turn is of a very different and far more imposing character, viz., the great castle at Surat on the banks of the Tapti. Surat was up to this period a comparatively small town both as regards trade and population, and had been, along with the older and more prosperous town of Rander, burnt and sacked by the Portuguese during Bahadur's reign. Annoyed at this insolence, the Gujarat court now ordered the construction of a strong castle on the banks of the Tapti to overawe the Portuguese, and the work was entrusted to the great nobleman Khwaja Safar who had been appointed governor of this city with the title of Khudawand Khan. The fort was built in 1540 and remains to this day a strong and imposing monument. After this date, Surat began to increase in size and importance and soon took the place of Rander which was henceforth on the decline. During the Mughal period Surat is often mentioned under the auspicious epithet of *Bandar mubarak,* or 'the blessed port', on account of its being the place at which the pilgrims generally embarked for the pilgrimage to Mecca.[2]

Khwaja Safar builds the fort of Surat, 1540

The Persian historians inform us that the Portuguese made every effort, at first by armed vessels, and, when these failed, by means of bribes, to prevent Khudawand Khan from building the castle. We are also told that the fort was protected on the land side by a ditch sixty feet wide.[3] The Castle was

Accounts given by the Persian historians

1. See *ante,* p. 111.
2. Coins bearing this honorific appellation are known to have been struck at the mint in this city during Aurangazeb's reign.
3. Briggs' *Firishta,* IV, 147 ; Persian text, II, 226.

moreover fortified with many Turkish guns known as 'Sulaimani'. As explained in the last chapter, they were so called because they had been cast by the orders of Sultan Sulaiman, the Ottoman ruler at Constantinople, and they were brought to India in the naval armament against the Portuguese led by Sulaiman Pasha in 1538. When this admiral abandoned the siege of Div, he left behind all his heavy guns which had been landed on the shore. Several of these were conveyed to Surat by Khudawand Khan and mounted on the castle, and were ultimately, as we shall see later, taken from Surat to Agra by the Emperor Akbar. The rest were carried to Junagadh by Mujahid Khan.[1]

Chronogram for the date of Surat Castle

According to the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Mulla Muhammad of Astrabad, who had the *nom-de-plume* of Razai, has given the chronogram for the date of the construction of Surat Castle at the end of some eulogistic Persian verses which he composed in its praise and which are rendered below:[2]

'In the reign of the ruler of the land and the sea, Mahmud, the king who has no equal, the defender of the faith and of the world, and a monarch like Jamshid in judgment.

A fort was built at Surat port which dazzled and bewildered the eyes of heaven.

The great Khan, the generous hearted Khan, Ghazanfar Beg, the Turk, was the builder of this strong castle by the grace of God.

An applause came from those who have seen the wonders of the heavens and of the earth, to the effect that such a work could not be created except with the guidance of God.

It (the Castle) is the wall of Alexander against the Gogs of the Firangis and has come out of the invisible world and has its location on the shores of the ocean.

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1. Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. trans., II, by W. H. Lowe, 149-150.
2. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Persian text, published at the Navalkishore Press, Cawnpur, 1884, II, 226-27.

For the year of its construction imagination searched
in vain while reason found itself helpless.
A voice from the invisible world fell on the ears
for its date: *This Castle will stand like a block on
the breast and the life of the Firangis.*[1]
(This gives the Hijri year 947, or A.D. 1540–41).

In his account of the siege and capture of the fort of Surat by the Emperor Akbar in 1573, the famous historian Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* gives an interesting description of this Castle and the circumstances under which it was constructed. We find that Badayuni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,*[2] as also Firishta in his history, have given similar accounts of the Fort. We shall translate the version of the *Tabaqat* in full, particularly as it appears to be more accurate as regards the measurements of the fortifications:

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* on Surat Castle

'It is a small castle but extremely strong and well fortified and has been recently built. It is said that a slave of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, named Safar Aqa, who had the title of Khudawand Khan, built this castle on the shore of the sea of Oman (the Arabian Sea) in the year 947 H. for preventing the incursions of the Firangis. Before the building of this fort the Firangis were giving a good deal of trouble to the Muslims. When Khudawand Khan commenced its construction, the Firangis, having equipped their ships, came there several times and gave battle but they failed in their attempts. In short, Khudawand Khan, with the help of expert architects and skilful engineers, made arrangements for the fortification of the castle and designed it in the following manner. On the two sides of the castle which adjoin the land they made a ditch twenty yards wide and connected it with the river and here they raised up a wall with stone, lime and solid bricks. The wall of the castle is fifteen yards wide and its

1. The Chronogram in Persian reads: *Sad buwad bar sina-u-jan-i-Firangi in binay.*
2. Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* Eng. trans., Vol. II, 2nd Ed., 1924, Calcutta, 147, 150.

height is twenty yards. A point to be noted is that they have riveted every pair of stones with iron clamps and have poured molten lead in the interstices and joints. They have built the battlements and loop-holes so skilfully that the eye of the spectator is astonished at them. On every bastion of the castle they have constructed a *chaukhandi* which in the opinion of the Europeans is a speciality of the Portuguese. When the Firangis could not stop the construction of the castle by force of arms they offered large sums in order that the *chaukhandi* might not be constructed. Khudawand Khan, flouting the wishes of the Firangis and rejecting their offer, completed the construction of the *chaukhandi*.'[1]

Account given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*

The following very correct account of the circumstances under which the Castle of Surat was constructed is also given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*:

'It is said that in the time of the Sultans of Gujarat Rander was the port (of Surat Sarkar), but in the year 947 H. (A.D. 1540-41) a Turk named Safar Agha, who received the title of Khudawand Khan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, in order to put an end to the piracy of the Europeans who were harassing the inhabitants, began to build a strong fortress. When it was under construction, the Europeans arrived with ships and guns and began to bombard the fort to prevent its being built. Their efforts proved vain, and the fort was finished—with walls fifteen yards wide and twenty yards high solidly built—and it was mounted with heavy guns and provided with arms and ammunition. Then the pirates were repulsed.[2]

We shall now resume our history of the later years of Mahmud III's inglorious reign. In 1548, on the advice of his nobles, he decided to invite Asaf Khan—who had gone to Mecca twelve years before in charge of Sultan Bahadur's harem

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Pers. text, (Navalkishore Press, 1875), 296-97. See also Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, 502-03 and *notes*.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon (1928), 187-88.

and treasures—to return to Gujarat to bring order into the affairs of the kingdom. Asaf Khan had left behind him a high reputation for administrative capacity, and the country now required a man of sufficient strength of character to suppress the insubordination of the powerful fief-holders. A messenger was accordingly sent to him with an invitation together with a hundred *sundas* of Sarkhej indigo, with the proceeds from the sale of which Asaf Khan was to make the necessary provision to purchase a ship and to provide for his journey. It was a handsome amount for each *sunda* of indigo was at this time worth two hundred pieces of gold in Mecca as the importation of this commodity had been stopped by the Portuguese. Asaf Khan sailed for India in this year leaving his family at Mecca in charge of Siraj-ud-din, the father of Hajji-ad-dabir, the historian, who was at this time about eight years of age. His ship was, however, wrecked on the coast of India, and the great noble effected a landing with great difficulty at Mangrol (Mangalore) on the coast of Kathiawar. Though no one was drowned, Asaf Khan lost most of his possessions, including his library of books, a sword given to him by Abu Numayy, the Governor of Mecca, and a favourite Arab horse.

Mahmud III invites Asaf Khan from Mecca, 1548

After receiving adequate supplies from Ahmadabad at Mangrol, Asaf Khan at last reached the capital where the Sultan embraced him and they sat together on the royal carpet. He was made absolute regent with the title of *Naib Mutlaq* and was given the house which formerly belonged to Taj Khan Narpali. The new regent's long sojourn in Arabia had evidently altered his habits, for Itimad Khan now advised him to change his Arab dress and to modify his beard which extended down to the waist. He proposed disciplinary measures for the mercenary troops, and, especially the formation of a personal bodyguard of 12,000 of the foreign legions for the Sultan. These were drafted from various nationalities, such as Yafis and Maharas, which were well-known Arab tribes, as also Abyssinians, Javans and even Portuguese. The supreme command over this bodyguard, which was absolutely reliable, was given to Ulugh Khan

Asaf Khan organizes a bodyguard of 12,000 troops

(Mandal Dilwar Khan), one of Asaf Khan's Abyssinian *mamluks*. The authority of the Sultan was fully established as the result of these measures.[1] But before the reorganization of the kingdom attempted by Asaf Khan could bear fruit, the whole country was plunged into confusion and anarchy owing to the brutal murder of the Sultan and of Asaf Khan and several other famous nobles by the villain Burhan at Mahmudabad in 1554.

'Deer Park' at Mahmudabad

Mahmud III had in 1546 removed his seat of government to Mahmudabad on the Vatrak, the city founded by Mahmud Begada about 1479. Here he laid out a magnificent enclosure, six miles in area, which he named the 'Deer-Park' (*Ahukhana*), and at each corner of the same was erected a pavilion adorned with beautiful gilt traceries. By the side of each pavilion was a bazar, and in every shop was stationed a 'fairy-like' damsel who sold everything that conduced to pleasure and luxury. In many retired corners of the park fine gardens were laid out and kept perpetually green by means of water-courses. Even the trunks of the trees were encased in brocade and velvet, and the branches covered with satin and *kinkhab*. In these secluded retreats, the Sultan passed his time with his 'deer-eyed spouses' and in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of youth. At times he would order his huntsmen to drive deer and other game from the jungles into the park, and at sunset and in the moonlight he would go out hunting these in the company of his 'darlings.'[2] In this manner did the voluptuous ruler of Gujarat fritter away on his selfish and senseless pleasures the revenues received from an oppressed and hard-worked peasantry.

Accounts of the *Ahukhana* by other historians

Some interesting references to this remarkable *Ahukhana* or Deer-Park at Mahmudabad are also found in the works of other Muslim historians. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, who was for nearly five years in Gujarat, from 1585 to 1590, as Bakhshi of the province during Akbar's reign, has given in his work a detailed account of the park which is similar to that found in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

1. Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, 287-290 ; II, Int. xxv-xxvi.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 443.

He adds that he frequently visited the place during his stay in Gujarat.[1] The author of the 'Arabic History' supplies some further information to the effect that the erstwhile Gujarat noble Mallu Khan, who had crowned himself king of Malwa and assumed the style of Qadir Shah after Humayun's departure from that province, was after a rule of nearly six years expelled from Malwa by Sher Shah Sur in 1542. He sought protection at the court of Mahmud III, where he described in detail the beauties of the deer-park at Mandu which had been laid out at that capital by Sultan Mahmud I Khalji. This account is said to have led the ruler of Gujarat to provide a replica of it near Mahmudabad.[2] Hardly any trace of this great park is now to be seen.

Farman granted by Mahmud III to the Saiyids of Vatva

The discovery, made recently, of a farman issued by Sultan Mahmud III, confirming the succession of one Salih Muhammad to the *gadi* of the Saiyids of Vatva[3] near Ahmadabad, and assigning certain villages as an endowment for the shrines at that religious centre, is of very special interest as it is the only royal sanad issued by the Sultans of Gujarat that has yet been brought to light. This valuable document, which is in the possession of the present Saiyid in charge of the shrine of Qutb-ul-Alam at Vatva, is dated 1548, and bears a seal which is inscribed 'Nasir-ud-dunya wad-din Abul Fath Mahmud Shah, bin Muzaffar Shah, bin Mahmud Shah, etc.' The Persian text of the farman is rendered below:

The Farman translated

'In accordance with the fortunate, auspicious and elevated order (may it ever remain exalted), this parwana has been issued and instructions have been given to the effect that the inhabitants of the qasba of Qutbabad *urf* Batwah, and also all the Imams, Qazis

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Pers. text (Lucknow Ed.), 513-14.
2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 294.
3. The village and suburb of Vatva (designated in the farman as Qutbabad) is situated six miles to the south of Ahmadabad, and dates its importance from the very early period of the Saltanat owing to the fact that Saint Burhan-ud-din, styled Qutb-ul-Alam, the father of the more famous Shah Alam, settled there. The saint's imposing mausoleum at this spot, now partly in ruins, and several other sacred monuments, still attract antiquarians to Vatva apart from the large number of Muslim pilgrims.

Farman granted by Sultan Mahmud III to the Saiyids of Vatva (Dated Nov. 9, 1548)

(Reduced facsimile)

and Karkuns of the great city (*shahr muazzam*) of Ahmadabad, should know that Hazrat Shah Shaikhji had conferred the honour of succession (*sajjadanashini*) on his younger son Saiyid Muhammad *urf* Shah Manjhala, who was killed by his (elder) brother named Saiyid Bada on that account. And it has been gathered from the eminent Saiyids and the heads of this family that, thereafter, Shah Shaikhji arranged that the banner of religious headship should pass to his grandson named Saiyid Salih Muhammad,[1] and he clothed him with the hereditary robe (*khirqa*) of succession and granted him permission to enrol disciples (*ijazat*) . . . . . Therefore, in accordance with the order issued through Masnad-i-Ali Khan-i-Azam Asaf Khan, the vazir of the kingdom, Majlis-i-Ashraf Khan-i-Azam Khudawand Khan should now establish the honour of headship in the name of Saiyid Salih Muhammad in the first month of the twelfth year of our accession, and he should grant the villages (*mauzas*) as detailed below to the Saiyid Salih Muhammad for the maintenance of the anniversary (*urs*) of the blessed Rauzas and the langars there, and he should not allow others any hand in this matter. Written on the seventh of Shawwal 955 H. (November 9, 1548), corresponding to the beginning of the 12th year of the accession.'

1. The genealogy of the famous Bukhari Saiyids of Vatva, as based on the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and on this farman, is given below :—

Saiyid Burhan-ud-din Bukhari, styled Qutb-ul-Alam
d. 1453 A.D.

|

Saiyid Nasir-ud-din *alias* Shah Bada
d. 1479-80 A.D.

|

Saiyid Jalal-ud-din *alias* Shah Shaikhji
(fourth son) d. 1524-25 A.D.

|

Saiyid Bada | Saiyid Muhammad *alias* Shah Manjhala

|

Saiyid Salih Muhammad.

Among the villages mentioned at the end of the Farman as granted by the Sultan for the maintenance of the sacred monuments at Vatva are Koha, Darar, Batwah, Nalol, and Vanch, some of which are easily identified at the present day.[1]

Resumption of the *wanta* estates

Having got rid of his dominating nobles, Mahmud conceived, some time about 1551, the design of reconquering Malwa. The vazir, Asaf Khan, being consulted on the subject, said that he could direct the Sultan to a conquest not less important and nearer home. A fourth part of the land in Gujarat, he urged, was held by Rajputs and 'grasias' as *wanta*[2] or hereditary estate. If the king would resume this and transfer it to Muslims, he would acquire a jagir sufficient to maintain an army of 25,000 horse. The wicked advice was at once acted upon, and the Hindu landholders were forcibly ejected from their ancestral estates. This unscrupulous invasion of the sacred rights of private property at once raised up a storm of bitter opposition, and the feudatory chiefs of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Rajpipla and other frontier districts rose in a formidable revolt. But the Sultan strengthened his military outposts, and the insurrection was put down in the most sanguinary manner. The parties of soldiers stationed at Sirohi, Idar, and other places were ordered 'to extirpate the very name of Rajput and Koli' from these places, excepting, however those who were the armed police of the country, or such as were engaged in trade, and who were to be distinguished by a special mark on the right arm. Should any of this class be found without this mark they were to be executed.[3]

Nor was this all. So bitter was the zeal displayed in the persecution of the Sultan's harmless subjects, that no Hindu was allowed to ride on horseback in the city, and none was to enter a bazar unless distinguished by a red patch of cloth on a white dress as a token of submission. Moreover,

1. My thanks are due to Saiyid Qutb-ud-din, the present *gadinashin* or head of the Vatva Saiyids, for allowing me to take a photo of the farman in his possession, and to my friend Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar for bringing the document to my notice and for help in its translation.

2. Wanta, or portions of village lands, had been originally assigned by Sultan Ahmad I to the Rajput chiefs with a view to conciliate them to the new dynasty. Much of the wanta land is still enjoyed either free from assessment or subject only to a quit-rent (see *ante*, pp. 118-19).

3. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 267.

the public celebration of the festivities of the Diwali and the Holi, the open practice of idol-worship, and the ringing of bells in public were sternly proscribed. Those who practised these rites in private did so with fear and trembling. The iron must have entered deep in the souls of the Sultan's Hindu subjects, for it is related that, after the murder of Mahmud in 1554 by the villain Burhan, they regarded the assassin as their saviour, and set up a stone image of him which they worshipped as a god, saying, 'This is our preserver, who has brought us from death unto life.'[1]

Persecution of the Hindus—the 'Diwali' and 'Holi' proscribed

Though terribly cruel and tyrannical in his treatment of the Hindus, Mahmud III was yet kind and considerate to his Muslim subjects, and carried out zealously all the religious duties enjoined by Islam. Following a practice handed down from the time of his grandfather, Muzaffar the Clement, he used to assemble annually at his court in Mahmudabad, from the first to the twelfth of the sacred month of Rabi-ul-awwal, all the holy and learned men of the town to celebrate the nativity of the Prophet. On the twelfth day, which was the Prophet's birthday, the Sultan, personating the Sharif of Mecca, gave a great banquet to all assembled, when he and his nobles waited in person on the guests.[2] Mahmud was of a charitable disposition, and the revenues of several villages near Cambay, including the port of Gandhar, were set apart as *waqf* to be distributed in the holy centres at Mecca and Medina. He also built a serai at Mecca to which were attached a madrasa and a school for orphans.[3]

Mahmud's zeal for Islam

We shall now turn to relate the circumstances under which Sultan Mahmud III was murdered in his palace at Mahmudabad in 1554. A favourite of the Sultan's later years was a handsome youth named Burhan, the son of the chief of the royal stables. The youth became addicted to wine and gross licentiousness, which facts coming to the notice of the Sultan, he ordered him to be built up in a wall. But on the entreaties of

Murder of Sultan Mahmud III, Feb. 1554

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 439-40 ; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 299.
2. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 444.
3. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 313.

his parents the youth was pardoned, just before it was too late, for he had already been encased up to the shoulders. By a most perverse decision, Burhan was restored to favour and put in charge of some of the most confidential posts relating to the royal person, including that of supervising the Sultan's food. Some years later, in 1554, when the Sultan was out hunting with his ladies in the Deer-Park at Mahmudabad, he accidentally saw Burhan under a tree in the midst of a debauch. Threatening him with condign punishment, the king proceeded after the game and forgot all about the incident. The threat, however, sank deep into Burhan's mind, and he decided to be beforehand in the matter. The next day was the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet (February 5). After celebrating the festival of the nativity in the usual manner, the Sultan took farewell of the assembled guests, and, weary with the exertions of the entertainment, hastened to his private chamber to rest. He called for some drink, and Burhan, who was in waiting by virtue of his office, gave him a poisoned draught, and Mahmud, unsuspicious of evil, drank it off. Finding the Sultan asleep, and fearing the poison might fail to take effect, the villain drew out a dagger and stabbed him to death.[1]

Burhan's villainies and death

The late Sultan had kept near him a company of two hundred bodyguards called the *bagh-mar* or 'tiger-slayers'. Burhan summoned the leaders of this band, and, putting them in an ante-chamber of the palace, told them that it was the Sultan's order that they should put to death whoever might enter. The vazir Asaf Khan was then summoned to the palace in the name of the Sultan for an interview, and, being ushered by Burhan into the fatal room, was quickly despatched by the bravoes there. In this manner about twelve of the highest nobles of Gujarat were invited one after another and done to death in the course of a single night. But Abdul Karim, Itimad Khan, the future regent, suspected mischief, and remained at home refusing to obey the summons to go

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 446-49. Firishta gives a somewhat different version. According to him, Burhan was the *Pesh-Namaz* or private chaplain to the Sultan Mahmud, and, having offended the king, he had been twice subjected to degradation and pardoned. The actual murder, on the night of the Prophet's birthday, was committed by Burhan's nephew Daulat who attended the Sultan in his bedroom (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 148-49).

to the palace. Burhan then bestowed titles upon the soldiers of the guard and the menials of the palace, and breaking open the Sultan's jewel-chamber distributed the ornaments among his vile companions. In the early morning he came forth into the city having the royal umbrella raised over his head and proclaimed his accession to the throne. The surviving nobles led their troops against the usurper who fell at the first attack. Shirwan Khan Bhatti, the adopted son of Afzal Khan, who was one of the murdered amirs, dealt the murderer such a blow that he was cut in twain and fell from his horse.[1]

Murder of Afzal Khan Bimbani at Mahmudabad

Afzal Khan Abd-us-Samad Bimbani had been recalled to office in 1545 when Mahmud III established his personal rule. He was, however, dismissed from his post as vazir in 1547 on the failure of the second siege of the Portuguese fort of Div, the history of which episode will be related in the following chapter. The villain Burhan, after the murder of the Sultan and his minister Asaf Khan, summoned Afzal Khan to the palace, and declaring he was now the Sultan, offered him the vazirate. But the pious and loyal ex-minister realising at last the situation refused, saying, 'O, enemy of God, let me enter paradise with my two friends.' He was thus killed in the royal palace at Mahmudabad on the same night as the others (February 5, 1554).[2] We are told in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that, notwithstanding his high position and wealth, Afzal Khan used to lead a life of piety and devotion. When he sat on his *gadi*, or official cushion, a servant would by his orders hold up a shroud and say: 'Afzal Khan, be not proud of thy present position; death approaches and thou shalt be wrapped in this shroud; worldly honour and rank pass away; beware of the day of judgment.'

The Rauza of Afzal Khan Bimbani, situated outside the city-walls of Ahmadabad between the Raipur and Sarangpur gates, still perpetuates the memory of this great nobleman of the reigns of Bahadur and Mahmud III. In this locality he also founded a suburb, called after him Afzalpur, which had in it at one time, besides the rauza mentioned above, a

1. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 449-52. 2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 306.

caravanserai and a beautiful mosque built by the founder.

The rauza and masjid of Afzal Khan Bimbani at Ahmadabad

During the eighteenth century, in the time of the Subahdar Momin Khan II, the son of Najm-ud-Daulah, when the Marathas laid siege to the city of Ahmadabad, the people, fearing that the invaders should use this mosque as a base for their operations, filled it with fuel and set it on fire. Only the back wall of the structure remained after this, but during the last few years the masjid has been rebuilt by the Sunni Waqf Committee of Ahmadabad. After his unhappy murder, Afzal Khan was regarded as a martyr and the people visited his tomb which was long venerated as that of a saint. His brother Malik Zain-ud-din, a Sufi of renown, is also buried in another tomb by the side of the vazir. Afzal Khan is stated to have built another mosque in the Jamalpur ward within the city-walls of the capital, and it is situated near the later tomb of Sardar Khan, the famous nobleman who served in Gujarat during the reign of Aurangzeb.[1]

Mahmud III's harem: he leaves no heir

During the period of his residence at Mahmudabad, after he had rid himself of his dominating nobles, Mahmud III had lived in great splendour and luxury, indulging his propensity for powerful and poisonous drugs which he employed both as intoxicants and as aphrodisiacs. The Sultan left no heir, having given positive orders that if any of the women in his seraglio conceived, medicines were to be administered to procure abortion. In his dread of rebellions, the feeble ruler regarded this to be the only method of securing his throne from conspiracies or a disputed succession. It may be mentioned that his favourite in later years was Abdul Karim, who had received the title of Itimad Khan in 1540, and who was destined to play the foremost part in the troubled politics of Gujarat during the twenty years that followed Mahmud's death. He was the only person whom the Sultan permitted to attend the royal harem and to supervise the dresses and ornaments of its inmates. The confidence thus placed in Itimad Khan may be realised when we are told that Mahmud was of

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 78; J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Archr. of Ahmadabad*, II, 82.

a disposition so jealous that if two of the women in his harem smiled at each other he had them both put to death.[1]

Firishta says that his father Ghulam Ali Hindu Shah wrote a poem commemorating the death of three Indian rulers who passed away in the Hijri year 961.

Death of three rulers in the Hijri year 961

One of these was Mahmud Shah of Gujarat; the next was Islam Shah Sur, king of Delhi, the son of the great Sher Shah Afghan; and the last was Nizam-ul-Mulk Bheiry of the Deccan. The date of their death was given in the chronogram *zawal-e-khusruwan bud*, 'it was the destruction of kings'.[2] With the possible exception of the last mentioned ruler, the other two hardly deserve the expressions of flattery which are bestowed on them by the poetic fancy of the composer.

The late Sultan Mahmud III's body was taken from Mahmudabad to Sarkhej where it was buried by the side of his grandfather Muzaffar the Clement.[3]

Ahmad III on the throne

The task of restoring order and of finding a successor fell upon the surviving nobles, chief among whom was Itimad Khan. Being questioned if the late Sultan had left any son, Itimad replied in the negative, but he said that there was a blood-relation of the late king, by name Ahmad Khan, who was then at Ahmadabad. The messenger, sent to that city to fetch the lad, found him bringing home in the skirt of his dress some grain for his favourite pigeons. Placing the boy in a carriage, he started post-haste for Mahmudabad. The child's nurse set up a cry demanding where he was taking her charge; to which the courtier gave the sententious reply, 'I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house and where he will not find one friend.'[4]

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1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 151; Bayley's *Gujarat*, 437; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 295.
2. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 151-52.
3. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 311.
4. Bayley's *Gujarat*, 454-55.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SECOND SIEGE OF THE PORTUGUESE FORT OF DIV IN THE REIGN OF THE SULTAN MAHMUD III, 1546

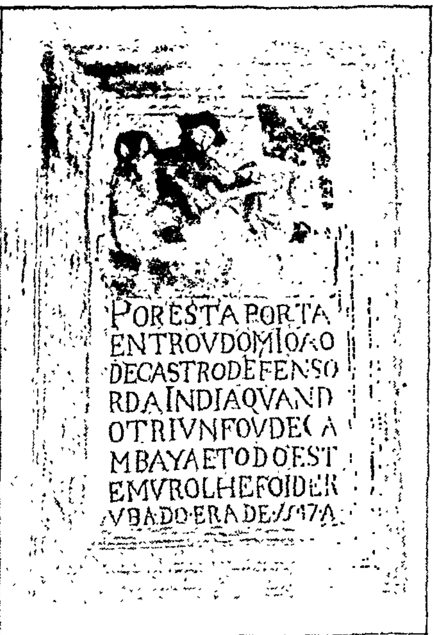
The 'Epic of Diu' and authorities for its history: Principal actors in the episode: Safar, Khudawand Khan: His arguments for the war: D. Joao de Castro, Governor at Goa: D. Joao de Mascarenhas, Captain of the Fort: The Siege lasts from Apr.-Nov., 1546: D. Fernando at Div: The bravery of the women in the Fort: Safar killed by a cannon-ball, June, 1546: His mausoleum at Surat: His son Rumi Khan succeeds in charge: D. Alvaro brings relief to the Fort: The Governor's preparations at Goa: His arrival at Div with a great armament: The battle of Div, Nov. 11, 1546: De Castro's letter to Goa for a loan: Policy of terrorism on the Gujarat coast: De Menezes burns and sacks Broach: The honour of a Triumph granted to the Governor: Details of the triumphal procession at Old Goa: Inscription at Goa for the victory over Gujarat, 1547: Honours conferred by King John III of Portugal on the Governor: De Castro's second visit to Div, Nov. 1547: He is laid up with mortal illness at Goa: His death (6th June 1548) and remarks on his character.

The 'Epos of Diu'—significance of this episode

Eight years after the failure of the combined effort made, in 1538, by the rulers of Turkey and Gujarat to recover the fort of Div from the Portuguese, the nobles of the Gujarat court made a second and even greater attempt in 1546 to drive these foreigners from the town and island over which they had established sovereign authority after Sultan Bahadur's tragic death. This memorable episode has been described as the 'Epos of Diu'. It constitutes the last great duel in the long struggle of over half a century between the Portuguese nation and the Gujarat Sultans, and the conflict appears to have made a considerable impression on contemporaries both in Asia and in Europe. The reasons underlying the immense efforts made by the court of Ahmadabad to recover the seaport of Div will be understood when we point out that the town enjoyed an enviable position during the sixteenth century as an emporium for the trade of all Western and



Dom Joao de Castro, Fourth Portuguese Viceroy of India, 1544–48 (p. 440)



Inscription tablet, dated 1547, at Old Goa, to commemorate De Castro's victory at Div (p. 453)

Northern India and it was thus a very fruitful source of revenue to the Gujarat Kingdom. This is borne out by the accounts given by the two European travellers who visited it at this period. The earliest of these was Ludovico di Varthema, a native of Bologna in Italy, who arrived at Div in 1504, and who refers to the immense trade of this city and adds that four hundred Turkish merchants were permanently resident there all the year. Some ten years later, Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official who served in India, visited Gujarat in 1515, and he mentions in his 'Book' more than a dozen seaports on the Malabar coast, as also on the coasts of Persia, Arabia and East Africa, with which Div had trade relations. After enumerating a large number of raw materials and manufactured commodities which were handled in the great import and export trade of Div, he concludes,

> 'So that this town is the chief emporium of trade which exists in all these parts. It gives such a large sum of money as revenue to the king, for the loading and unloading of such rich goods, that it is a subject of marvel and amazement.'[1]

Authorities for this chapter

If we turn to consider the principal authorities for the events described in this chapter, we find that, as in the case of the first siege and the failure of the Turkish expedition of 1538, our Persian histories, viz., the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, are both completely silent on the matter; but this deficiency is more than made up by the detailed account of the second siege of Div given by Hajji-ad-Dabir in his Arabic History of Gujarat. This is of the utmost value since it helps to confirm or supplement the even more elaborate history of the siege which is to be found in the works of the Portuguese historians and biographers, the chief among these being Diogo de Couto's famous *Decadas da Asia* and the works of Castanheda and Gaspar Correa. We may also add another to these histories, viz., Jacinto Freire de Andrade's grandiloquent biography of Dom Joao de Castro, who was the Governor of Portuguese India at this period, and who assisted

1. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa, trans. by Stanley (Hakluyt Society), 1866, p. 60.

materially in the relief of the beleagured fortress. The manner in which these two wholly independent sources of information, viz., the Arabic history and the works of the Portuguese historians, written in two widely different languages, support or supplement each other, is often surprising. A very full and detailed survey of the memorable second siege of Div and of other incidents associated with that event, based upon all these original sources, has been given by the author in four long chapters in his *Studies in the History of Gujarat*,[1] and it will, therefore, suffice here to summarise the most outstanding incidents of this epic struggle.

Remarks on the *Vida* of Jacinto Freire de Andrade

It may be mentioned here that the well-known historical biography, entitled *Vida de D. Joao de Castro* (1651) and written by Jacinto Freire de Andrade, referred to above, has been specially quoted in my *Studies* not only because it is devoted entirely to the subject-matter of this chapter but also because it is the only historical work written in Portuguese which is available in an English translation.[2] De Andrade is no doubt diffuse, stilted and bombastic in his style, and he is a fulsome and undiscriminating panegyrist of his hero's activities, so much so that he approves and extols not only De Castro's admittedly high sense of duty and complete lack of avarice, but also the acts of violence and terrorism committed on the Gujarat coast by his orders, a policy in which the Governor was only following in the footsteps of the great Afonso de Albuquerque. For these reasons the work requires to be critically handled. There is, however, little doubt that as regards his historical material De Andrade derives his information from De Couto's famous *Decades* written in the 16th century, and also probably from the works of Correa and Castanheda. To give only a few instances, the sack and destruction of Magdala and Hansot by De Lima, and later of Gogha and Gandhar by the same

1. My work entitled *Studies in the History of Gujarat* has been published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., for the University of Bombay, in 1935, and the siege of Div has been described in Part I of the same—'The Gujarat Sultans and the Portuguese—the Last Phase,' 1-49.

2. *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, trans. from the Portuguese into English by Sir Peter Wyche, Kt., London, 1664.

Captain, as also the burning of Broach and the massacre of its population by D. Jorge de Menezes, are all historically authenticated episodes and it would be wrong to state that De Andrade is an 'untrustworthy' authority. To do so would be both unhistorical and unscientific.

Before proceeding further, some reference may be made to the outstanding actors on either side in this great struggle. The Gujarat ruler at this critical period was Sultan Mahmud III, an immature and unwarlike youth who had inherited neither the valour nor the abilities of his famous predecessors and under whom the decline of this powerful kingdom began. The nobles at the Gujarat court appear, moreover, to have been divided into two hostile factions. On the one hand were the native or 'Gujarati' nobles at whose head stood the vazir Afzal Khan Bimbani, and on the other side were the foreign Amirs—Turks and Abyssinians—who held large jagirs and were in command of considerable armies. Outstanding among the latter was Khwaja Safar Salmani, who had a few years before been granted the title of Khudawand Khan and made Governor of Surat where he built in 1540 the famous castle on the Tapti river. Safar was by birth a European, being an Albanian of Catholic parents, and his early career has been given in this history when relating his arrival in India and the welcome given to him by Sultan Bahadur who was known for the patronage he extended to foreigners, especially to those who had experience of the wars in Europe.[1]

Principal actors in the siege—Khwaja Safar Salmani

According to Hajji-ad-Dabir, it was the vazir Afzal Khan who at a court assembly in the capital commissioned Khwaja Safar to proceed with an army against the Portuguese for the recovery of Div, ostensibly to retrieve the failure of 1538 which had been caused by the high-handed action of Sulaiman Pasha, but with the secret design of encompassing the destruction of Khudawand Khan and to

Safar's arguments for war against the Portuguese

1. The references in this chapter will be given throughout to my *Studies in the History of Gujarat* where the original authorities have been cited in the notes. For the interesting Portuguese account of Khwaja Safar's early career see *Studies*, 7.

satisfy his private revenge against this powerful Turkish Amir. The Portuguese chronicles, however, represent Safar as the principal nobleman who induced the Gujarat court by his harangues to declare war against the foreign power which had usurped sovereign authority over the island of Div. Chief among the arguments urged by him in support of his proposals was their duty to avenge the death of Sultan Bahadur at the hands of the Portuguese. He also dilated upon the series of Portuguese conquests in India, and 'how with one arm in Asia and the other in the West they strove to grasp the world'. Lastly, he is said to have pointed out that the Portuguese had in India many Princes under their control but not one friend, and that they would all hasten to join Sultan Mahmud against the common enemy of them all.[1] Among the other Gujarat nobles who took part in the war were Safar's son Muharram, better known as Rumi Khan, and the Abyssinian nobleman Bilal Jhujhar Khan.

The Portuguese leaders in the war: D. Joao de Castro

On the Portuguese side two names stand out prominently in the history of this great siege. These were, first, Dom Joao de Castro, the Governor of Portuguese India from 1545 to 1548 and one of the most heroic figures in the history of this nation in the East; and, secondly, Dom Joao Mascarenhas, the Captain of the Fort of Div, on whom fell the whole burden of the defence for eight months before the Governor arrived with his fleet and his forces at the end of the rains and inflicted that crushing defeat on the Muslim army which ended the war. De Castro came out from Portugal to Goa in September 1545, a few months before the commencement of the siege, and he was accompanied by his two sons, Dom Alvaro and Dom Fernando, both in the prime of youth and men of high courage who took an active part in the military operations of the siege. The garrison in the Fort at the commencement of the siege consisted of only 200

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1. *Studies*, op. cit., 19-20. It may be pointed out, as one of the causes of the war, that the Portuguese warships allowed no merchant vessel to visit any of the ports of Gujarat unless it had first paid customs dues at their own fortress, where their officials would buy such part of the cargo as they might covet, themselves fixing the price.

soldiers, the rest of the population being made up of slaves, women and old men.

General remarks on the siege (April-Nov., 1546)

The siege operations began on April 20, 1546, when Khwaja Safar, Khudawand Khan, entered the city of Div with 8,000 men and a formidable park of artillery, after leaving his heavy baggage at Navanagar (Una-Delvada) on the mainland opposite the island. From this time the Portuguese Fort was cut off from all communication by land while the storms of the monsoon were soon to prevent all succour reaching it by sea. A large part of Safar's army consisted of Turkish mercenaries, and of these over a thousand were the famous Janissaries, men who had at this period the reputation of being the finest soldiers in Europe. There is also little doubt that Safar and his successors were eminent generals and that they were assisted by military engineers who were experts in the art of siege operations and in digging trenches and laying mines under the fortifications. The siege lasted for full eight months from April to November 1546, and the Portuguese chronicles give a very detailed account of the operations from month to month, including the incessant battering and the successive assaults, the mining and countermining, the breaches and repairs. Only the outstanding episodes of this tremendous struggle will, however, be referred to in the pages that follow.[1]

Relief brought by D. Fernando, May 18, 1546

Not long after the commencement of the operations, the young Sultan Mahmud III, accompanied by his vazir Afzal Khan and other nobles of the court, arrived in the Muslim camp at Div. But a random shot from the Fort having killed an attendant in the royal tent, the incident was taken as an evil omen and led to the departure of the Sultan, who left Jhujhar Khan, a brave Abyssinian general, to assist Safar to carry on the operations. On May 18, 1546, Dom Fernando de Castro, the second son of the Governor and a youth of only nineteen years, arrived with a few vessels sent from Goa to the help of the Captain of Div, and the fighting force in the Fort was thus raised to 400 men. This fact heartened D. Joao

1. *Studies,* op. cit., 12, 20.

Mascarenhas who was getting not a little anxious over the breaches in the fort-walls in consequence of the constant battering, and the shortage of provisions and munitions. He offered the Governor's son his own house to stay in, but the brave lad would not accept this, declaring that the part of the fortress most exposed to attack should be his chamber.[1]

One of the most interesting episodes of the second siege of Div, as of the first, was the brilliant part played by the

The bravery of the Portuguese women in the Fort

Portuguese women of the garrison in the work of defence and in sharing with the soldiers the hardships and dangers of the blockade. They showed extraordinary courage in going up to the ramparts without fear, and in helping to bring up materials for repairing the breaches, 'mastering their nature and their sex as if they wore men's hearts in disguise.' There were some among them who even put on arms and braved the enemy. Among these Amazons one named Isabel Fernandes, known as 'the Old Woman of Div', made herself specially prominent by her daring, and on one occasion, when the fort was in danger of being lost, she fought with the men with a 'bill'[2] in her hand, animating them by her example and crying aloud, 'Fight for your God, fight for your King, cavaliers of Christ, for he is on your side.'[3]

The investing army suffered a severe loss in the third month of the siege when Khwaja Safar, who had been the

Khwaja Safar killed, 24th June 1546—his Rauza at Surat

life and soul of the enterprise against the foreigners, was killed by a cannon-ball from the Fort on the 24th June, 1546. By the orders of his second son Muharram, who succeeded him in authority at Div, his body was carried to Surat to be buried there, for Safar was governor of that city under the title of Khudawand Khan. Thus perished one of the greatest generals in the later history of the Gujarat Saltanat. Though often described as a Turk, he was by birth a European and a Christian, and had been trained in the art of war as practised in the West. His memory is still preserved at Surat by the

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 20-21.
2. A bill was a weapon of infantry during the 15th and 16th centuries consisting of a broad, heavy, double-edged blade attached to the end of a long staff.
3. *Studies*, op. cit., 21, 25.

Rauza of Khwaja Safar, Khudawand Khan, at Surat (p. 442)
(Popularly known as Mirza Shami's Rauza)

Surat Castle on the Tapti River
(View from the land side)

beautiful mausoleum, built in the Indo-Saracenic style of Ahmadabad, which was raised over his tomb probably by his elder son Rajab who was appointed after him governor of Surat and who also received his title of Khudawand Khan. The Rauza is situated in the locality known as the Mulla's Ward, and, after a long period of obscurity and decay, it has been recently restored by the Archæological Survey of India. It contains a short epigraph which records:

> 'This is the honoured and resplendent mausoleum of the auspicious and martyred Khan Khwaja Safar-as-Salmani, the exalted and dignified Khudawand Khan.'

This monument is now popularly known as Marjan Shami's Rauza, because the body of this noble, who died in 1559-60, and who had acquired considerable sanctity, is also buried in it.[1]

Muharram Rumi Khan succeeds in command

As stated above, Safar's second son Muharram, described both in the *Arabic History* and by the Portuguese writers under the name of Rumi Khan, succeeded his father in the command of the armies of Gujarat investing the Fort of Div. Having filled up a large part of the ditch round the fortress, Rumi Khan proceeded to deliver a succession of brilliant assaults against the bastions, all of which were heroically repelled by the ever-diminishing garrison, and with heavy losses to the Muslims. In one of these assaults, the valiant Abyssinian nobleman Bilal Jhujhar Khan was killed by a bullet from the Fort (August, 1546). He was the second great general lost by the Muslims after the siege commenced, and his body appears to have been subsequently removed from this spot and buried in the sacred grounds at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad.[2]

Death of D. Fernando de Castro, Aug. 10, 1546

The same month of August proved to be not less unfortunate for the Portuguese garrison, for, on August 10, the Muslims sprang a mine under the bastion of St. Thomas blowing it up with a tremendous explosion and killing sixty of

1. The Rauza of Khudawand Khan contains an inscription slab, dated H. 736, which belongs to quite a different monument and records the foundation of a Jami Masjid. For Marjar Shami see *post*, 471-72.

2. *Studies*, op. cit., 13, 23.

the brave defenders. The most distinguished among those who perished was D. Fernando de Castro, the son of the Governor, who, though laid up in bed with fever, had left it to put on his armour on hearing of the danger to the bastion of which he was in charge. The explosion was so great that the stones of the fortress thrown up by its violence killed a great many in the Muslim camp. Rumi Khan next ordered 500 of his Turks to enter the breach and take the Fort by assault. It was a critical period for the exhausted garrison. But D. Mascarenhas, supported by John Coelho, the Chaplain of the Fort, who with his crucifix in his hand took up his stand in the breach, and by Isabel Fernandez, who, as stated before, animated the men by her example and her words, succeeded in keeping a large army at bay with the help of all the available soldiers who rushed from their posts to the site of the attack. The Janissaries fought bravely under the eyes of their commander, but the heroic nature of the defence baffled all their efforts.[1]

D. Alvaro at Div with reinforcements, Aug. 29, 1546

Meanwhile, letters and despatches sent overland by the Captain of the Fort continued to reach D. Joao de Castro at Goa pointing out the dire straits under which the garrison was conducting the defence and informing him that the battlements were in a condition of ruin owing to the incessant cannonade. Postponing, in the public interest, to a later date his own eager desire to go in person to raise the siege, the Governor equipped and despatched at the end of July two fleets. The larger one of these, consisting of nineteen vessels, was placed in charge of D. Alvaro, his eldest son. The fact that the Governor had hazarded the lives of both his sons in this perilous enterprise induced a large number of ex-soldiers and captains, who were exempted by their years from military duty, to offer themselves for service in the fleet. After being tossed about in the storms of the monsoon, both fleets at last reached the fort of Bassein where they were weatherbound for some time. The first attempt to continue the voyage north was frustrated by the heavy seas, so that D. Alvaro's vessels, overladen with munitions and provisions,

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 24-25.

were scattered about and driven into the harbour of Agashi.[1] Refitting them, the young noble ventured to sea again and arrived at the fort of Div with a combined flotilla of forty ships with their streamers flying (August 29, 1546). The Captain had the gates of the Fort opened to give him and his companions a warm reception.[2]

D. Alvaro finds the garrison faced with starvation

D. Alvaro found the Portuguese Fort in ruins and almost open to the enemy, the walls and bastions being heaps of stones, and the garrison maintaining an inner line of defence and at its last gasp. There was no more powder left than what could be prepared every day. Besides, famine conditions were prevailing owing to the exhaustion of provisions, the food supply being either used up or spoiled in the magazines rendered roofless by the enemy's fire. The sick were fed on crows instead of hens and scarcity had reached such a height that dogs' and cats' flesh was not spared.[3] Alvaro's arrival with provisions and large reinforcements may be regarded as the turning point in the history of the siege. There were now six hundred men in the fortress.[4]

D. Joao de Castro's preparations at Goa

Few governors sent out by Portugal to India have been so deservedly popular as was Dom Joao de Castro during the three short years of his tenure of office before his untimely death in 1548. Fired by his chivalrous spirit and by his unselfish patriotism, the people of Goa and the neighbouring settlements were not slow in responding to his appeals for funds, for the treasury was in a bad way and he had to secure at Goa on his personal credit all the money required to carry on the war with the Gujarat kingdom. We are also told by his biographer that the matrons and maids of Chaul (Revadanda) presented him for this purpose with all the jewels and ornaments which they wore, an incident which helps indirectly to illustrate the wealth and prosperity of this once famous seaport on the western coast. Throughout the later months of the monsoon, and after D. Alvaro's departure, De Castro

1. Agashi is a port and town in the Bassein taluka of Thana District, situated 10 miles north of Bassein and three miles west by road from Virar.
2. *Studies,* op. cit., 23, 26-7.
3. *Ibid.,* 24.
4. *Ibid.,* 27.

busied himself with collecting the forces and equipping the armada with which he was to proceed in person, with the whole might of the Portuguese State in India behind him, to raise the siege of Div and to 'punish' the King of Gujarat, for 'the Governor of India drew not his sword to defend but to chastise.'

The Governor sails for Div with a great armament, Oct. 17, 1546

The preparations being at last completed, De Castro set sail from Goa on the 17th October 1546, after delivering over the charge of the city to D. Joao de Albuquerque, the Bishop of Goa, and to the Commander-in-Chief, D. Diogo de Almeyda Freire. The armada with which he started consisted of twelve large galleons besides sixty other smaller vessels with oars. It carried practically the whole force of the 'State' in India including some 3,000 Portuguese soldiers and nearly the same number of natives from the Malabar and Canara coasts. After six days the Governor reached Bassein which had come into Portuguese possession only about ten years before, in 1534–35. From the outset it was De Castro's deliberate policy to terrorise the coast-towns of Gujarat, which were at the mercy of the power that controlled the seas, and thus to take revenge on the Gujarat ruler for his attacks on the Fort of Div. While anchored at Bassein, therefore, he commissioned one of his Captains, Dom Manuel de Lima, to capture all ships at sea belonging to the enemy and to put their crew to the sword. In further pursuit of the Governor's orders, De Lima carried fire and sword through the towns situated at the mouths of the Tapti and the Narbada rivers. He sacked and set on fire a small Abyssinian settlement named Magdala near Surat, and sailing further north he reached Hansot on the Narbada, 'famous for its proud buildings and wealthy inhabitants enriched by maritime commerce'. Here again he delivered over the town to the flames, and butchered the defenceless inhabitants regardless of age or sex, for, says our Portuguese authority, 'many Bramenish (Brahman) young ladies, exempted from crime by their sex, from the sword by their

faces, in colour and beauty not inferior to those of Europe, were not spared in the victory.'[1]

The Governor at last arrived before Div on the 7th November 1546, where he was received with a salute from all the guns of the Fort, and landed his army with great secrecy in the course of three nights, the soldiers being drafted into the fortress by means of rope-ladders. De Castro announced to his Council his firm resolve to take the offensive, 'making it a point of honour', in the bombastic language of his biographer, 'that the Governor of India should not be even one day besieged in Div, but with Cæsar's fortune come, see and overcome.'[2] The great battle of Div that took place on the 11th November must be regarded as one of the most famous and decisive in the history of Gujarat. The disparity in numbers between the two armies was immense, for the Gujarat troops at the lowest estimates were near 20,000 men.[3] A defeat would have proved fatal to the Portuguese power in India for it would have involved the loss of their reputation. At daybreak on the 11th November, the date of the festival of Saint Martin of Tours, the Governor took his stand on the platform of the fortress clad in white armour and attended by his general staff. Mass was said by the Guardian of the Franciscans at an open altar praying for victory from the God of Hosts. After this, the order was given that the gates of the fortress should be pulled down so that despair of any shelter would lead the soldiers to fight 'both for glory and from necessity.' The small Portuguese army was divided in four divisions, the vanguard with 500 men-at-arms being under the Captain of the Fort. Two more divisions were placed under D. Alvaro de Castro and D. Manuel de Lima respectively, while the rest of the troops, forming a division

The great battle of Div, Nov. 11, 1546

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1. *Studies*, op. cit., 31-32.
2. *Ibid.*, 31.
3. Rumi Khan's dispositions were made under the belief that the main Portuguese army was still on board the ships. In order to confirm him in this false impression, De Castro, on the morning of the battle, gave a pre-concerted signal by firing three rockets, upon which the fleet, manned by non-combatants and preceded by the Governor's state barge, made for the shore about a mile away from the place which the Governor had selected for the battle. To meet this supposed danger Rumi Khan drew off 12,000 of his troops.

of some 1,500 men, were under the direct control of the Governor himself. The battle consisted of a number of separate engagements. The two divisions under D. Alvaro and D. Manuel charged the semi-permanent fortifications which had been raised up by the Muslims in front of the Fort. These were held by the younger Jhujhar Khan with 8,000 mercenaries, but after a fierce struggle the Portuguese gained the whole fortified line of batteries. Rumi Khan, with his 12,000 troops, now arrived upon the scene, but his brave soldiers could not cope, in a hand-to-hand encounter, with the mail-clad Europeans led by Joao de Castro in person. He was slain with 3,000 of his men, while 600 Muslims, including Jhujhar Khan, were made prisoners, and reserved to grace the 'triumph' which was a few months later celebrated by the Governor at Goa. The city of Div was delivered over by the victor to plunder.[1]

D. Joao de Castro appeals to Goa for a loan

Following upon this decisive victory, the next care of the Governor was to undertake the rebuilding of the fortress of Div which had been so rased to the ground that 'not one foot of the wall could serve again'. But his resources were exhausted; his army was in arrears of pay; and men and material were required to build the fort again on a stronger basis and a more expert plan. De Castro, therefore, addressed, at the end of November, a long letter to the citizens and magistrates of Goa explaining his difficulties and requesting a loan of 20,000 Pardaos. This letter deserves perusal as illustrative of the manners and the language of the age, and its English translation, as rendered by Sir Peter Wyche, will be found quoted in full in my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*.[2] After a few preliminary paragraphs relating to the situation, the Governor states that he had commanded the bones of his young son Dom Fernando, who had been killed during the siege, to be dug out in order to send them as pawns for securing the loan. But as they were not found to be in a condition fit to be removed, he sent with the bearer of the despatch and in token of his personal honour, some hairs of his own beard as a pledge for the loan, 'for I have', he wrote, 'neither gold,

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 32-34.
2. *Studies*, op. cit., 35-36.

plate nor anything of value to secure your estate, only a plain and naked truth given me by God Almighty.'[1]

Goa subscribes a loan of 20,000 Pardaos

In less than three weeks from the date of the delivery of the above letter, the Chamber of Goa made up the required amount, and forwarded it with the same messenger along with a reply addressed to the 'Most Illustrious and Excellent Captain-General and Governor of Goa', stating that the money was loaned by the city, '*i.e.*, the citizens and people, as also the Brahmans, merchants, traders and goldsmiths'. The letter further went on to state that the unique security furnished by the Governor was not required and that it was returned, 'for in a business that concerned the service of our Lord the King, and his royal state, such honourable and glorious pawns were not necessary'. The reply was dated 27th December 1546.[2]

The Gujarat coast terrorised

While stationed at Div after his victory, D. Joao de Castro continued his policy of ruthless terrorism over the neighbouring coast, and again sent the same Captain Manuel de Lima, whose cruel exploits have been narrated above, with thirty ships to burn and to sack all the towns and villages within his reach 'in order to make it clear to the Sultan that the Governor's revenge had not been satisfied by the victory.' The reign of terror that followed has been described in some detail and with evident satisfaction by the Portuguese chroniclers. The prosperous seaports of Gogha and of Gandhar on the coasts of Kathiawar and of the mainland were among the first to suffer, and the incidents that took place at Gogha under De Lima's directions may be described in the words of Dom Castro's own biographer:

> 'The slaughter differentiated not cause from cause, person from person, natives and strangers; guilty and innocent with their lives paid for their own or another's offence. From persons the affront passed to Religion: he caused many to be hanged up in the temples of their idols, an outrage in the superstition of their religion inexpiable. He cut the throats of all the cattle, sprinkling the mosques (? temples)

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 36. 2. *Ibid.*, 37.

with cows' blood, an animal as the depositary of souls they adore with abominable worship'.[1]

After his great victory on St. Martin's Day, the Governor continued his stay for full five months at Div, from November, 1546 to April 1547, with the object of supervising the rebuilding of the Fort.

The question of a Commander for the Fort

The question of finding a successor to D. Joao de Mascarenhas, the Captain of the fortress, who being worn out by his exertions during the siege desired to return to Europe, presented considerable difficulty, since no one came forward to assume the command under the belief that there was now little of honour or glory and less of profit to be gained in this charge. As Manuel de Lima, on whom the Governor's choice fell, had about this time to be sent off to take charge of the fortress of Hormaz in a war against the Turks, D. Joao de Mascarenhas solved the difficulty by offering to continue for some time longer at his post.[2]

D. Jorge de Menezes sacks and burns Broach, 1547

Dom Joao de Castro at last left Div for Goa in April, 1547, but on the eve of his departure he commissioned another of his Captains, D. Jorge de Menezes, to sail about the Gulf of Cambay and to commit all possible acts of cruelty and destruction. In pursuit of these activities, D. Jorge arrived a month later at the ancient port and city of Broach on the Narmada, 'whose stately buildings presented him with the politeness of Europe'. The Gujarat nobleman Imad-ul-Mulk, who held the place, was away with all his soldiers at the Sultan's court, and the town was thus left without a garrison that could offer any resistance. Entering the mouth of the river in the dead of night, De Menezes and his troops fell upon the unarmed and defenceless population which being awakened from sleep was in the utmost confusion and terror. After a merciless slaughter, the invader ordered the houses to be sacked and set on fire, so that those who had escaped the sword were consumed in the conflagration, and in a few hours 'the nobility and the people, the

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 38. The historian Diogo de Couto's account of the sack of Gogha and Gandhar by De Lima is given in his *Da Asia*, Dec. VI Liv. IV, Cap. III (Lisbon edition of 1781, Tome VI, Pt. I, 290-95).
2. *Ibid.*, 39.

gardens and the houses, were reduced to ashes'. Imad-ul-Mulk returned with an army but too late to save the city. 'This action', says our Portuguese authority, 'being so famous amongst our soldiers as to give him who was called Menezes the surname of *Baroche*, as the ruins of Carthage gave Scipio the name of Africanus'.[1]

The honour of a 'triumph' granted to the Governor at Goa

The last act in the drama of the siege of Div was enacted not on the soil of Gujarat but in the distant city of Goa. After a stay of nearly five months at Div, and when the new fortifications were far enough advanced, D. Joao de Castro took ship for his capital and arrived at the bar of Goa on April 19, 1547. At the special request of the magistrates and the citizens who waited upon him at sea, the Governor agreed to accept the honour of a Triumph which they desired to bestow upon him for his signal victory, and he was, therefore, asked to halt at Panjim while the preparations for the same were being completed. For the purpose of the triumphal procession, a portion of the city-wall as also the gate in St. Catherine's Bazar were pulled down, and a great arch was erected decorated with hangings of velvet and cloth of gold. The streets were adorned in like manner, and far out at sea the ships which lay at anchor had their flags and streamers fluttering gaily. The date fixed for the ceremony was the 21st April 1547, on which day the Governor left Panjim in a specially decorated galley, accompanied by all the cavaliers who had shared with him both the danger and the glory, and dressed in a rich French suit of crimson satin over which he had put on a coat of mail wrought on cloth of gold. At the quay of Old Goa he was received by the magistracy and the nobility of the city with an address of welcome delivered in Latin. Further on, the procurator of the city removed the Governor's hat from his head 'with much reverence and courtesy', and placed on it a laurel crown for his victory and in his hand a palm-branch. It is in this costume that the portrait of De Castro that has come down to us represents the hero.[2]

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 42-3. De Couto's account of the sack of Broach by Jorge de Menezes is given in his *Da Asia*, Dec. VI, Liv. IV, Cap. VII (Lisbon Edition of 1781, Tome VI, Pt. I, 325-28).
2. *Studies*, op. cit., 40.

The details of the triumphal procession that are found in the works of the Portuguese writers are of special interest for they show that the idea was to follow as closely as possible similar episodes in ancient history when a Caesar or a Cato or an Africanus marched at the head of his army, clad in full military armour, up the Capitoline Hill at Rome, followed by his prisoners, and dedicated his spoils in the temple of Jupiter. No wonder then that Donna Catherina, the consort of King John III of Portugal, when she was informed of these events, remarked that D. Joao de Castro 'had conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen.' First in the order of the triumphal procession came the Guardian of the Franciscan Order, Antonio do Casal, bearing in his hand the crucifix he had held aloft at a critical period in the battle of Div. After him marched the Viceroy with his son. Then followed the royal banners of Portugal, after which came the standards of the Gujarat ruler dragged on the ground in the sight of the younger Jhujhar Khan and other captive Muslim commanders. After them were seen 600 prisoners dragging their chains with them. Last came the field-pieces and the trophies of captured arms. The ladies who stood at their windows to watch the procession sprinkled the Triumpher with distilled water of diverse spices. In this order, Dom Castro entered the Cathedral at Goa, 'the Mother-Church of the East', where the Bishop and the clergy, arrayed in full canonicals, received him with the hymn *Te Deum Landamus,* and where he with religious offerings rendered thanks to the 'Author of Victories'. Thus ended this unique episode in the history of Goa.[1]

The triumphal procession

An interesting epigraphic record of the victory of the Portuguese Governor over the Gujarat Sultan has been preserved for centuries not in Gujarat but in the city of Goa. It has been stated above that, at the time of the Triumph, a great arch was erected after demolishing a portion of the city wall. We are also told that above this arch was placed a brazen flag bearing the image of

Inscription at Goa as a memorial for the victory over Gujarat

1. *Studies,* op. cit., 41 ; Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors,* 150-51

St. Martin, on whose festival day (November 11) the signal victory over the ruler of Gujarat had been won by De Castro at Div. After the ceremonies connected with the Triumph were over, a large slab with an inscription in gold letters was fixed in the city-wall to commemorate the victory. This slab appears later to have found a place in the Chapel of St. Martin which was erected at this site. Many centuries later, when this chapel had fallen into ruins along with many other monuments of Old Goa, the inscription slab was transferred to the adjacent Chapel of St. Catherine, and here it may still be seen. It represents St. Martin mounted on horseback and giving part of his garment to a beggar, while below the picture is the following epigraph in Portuguese rudely carved in uneven letters:

> 'Por esta porta entrou Dom Joao de Castro, defensor da India, quando triunfou de Cambaya e todo este muro lhe foi derubado. Era de 1547-A'.

The English translation of the inscription reads as under:—

> 'By this gate Dom Joao de Castro, Defender of India, entered when he conquered Cambay,[1] and this whole wall was destroyed for him. Era of 1547 years'.[2]

Honours conferred on D. Castro by King John III of Portugal

When the fleet which left Goa at the end of 1546 reached Lisbon, it brought to Portugal the great news of the relief of Div and of the victory won by Dom Joao de Castro. King John III informed the Pope and the great rulers of Europe about the event and received their congratulations. Moreover, the King, his wife Donna Catherina, and the Infante Dom Luis all sent personal letters to the Governor praising his loyal services, as also the timely reliefs that he had sent to the beleagured fortress, and the sacrifice he had made of his young son D. Fernando. At the same time, De Castro's request for permission to return home was declined in the interests of the State, and he was requested to continue

1. Cambay, as usual, stands here for the Kingdom of Cambay, the name by which the Portuguese writers designated the Sultanate of Gujarat, the main seaport of the kingdom being for centuries Cambay.
2. *Studies*, op. cit., 48-9.

in the same charge for three more years with the title of Viceroy, an honour which he richly deserved, but which, as we shall see, he lived to enjoy only for a very few months. The King of Portugal also granted him a gratuity of ten thousand Crusados for the charges he had undertaken, and his brave son D. Alvaro was appointed 'Admiral of the Indian Seas' by letters patent. All these letters and despatches reached India in May, 1548 when the Governor was already in bed with illness and incapable of any work.[1]

Reports of preparations for another siege reach Goa

It now only remains for us to relate briefly the last stages of the war between the Gujarat ruler and the Portuguese, and the death at Goa, in 1548, of Dom Joao de Castro, the principal hero in the great struggle between the land-power and the sea-power that has been described in this chapter. Some months after the celebration of the Triumph, in August 1547, letters reached the Governor at Goa from D. Joao de Mascarenhas at Div to the effect that the Sultan was making great preparations for yet another siege of the Fort. That there was considerable truth in the danger communicated by the Captain may be seen from the accounts of what was taking place at the Gujarat court given by Hajji-ad-Dabir in his *Arabic History.* We are told that when Jahangir Khan, the surviving general of the Gujarat armies, reached Ahmadabad after the disaster at Div, the Sultan placed him in charge of the artillery and commissioned him to cast more cannon, so that in a year's time a hundred of these were got ready, all inscribed with the words 'Jahangir Mahmud Shah'. Moveover, royal orders were issued for the collection of teakwood and for the building of ships, so that the port-officers at Surat, Broach, Gogha, Daman and Cambay soon got together a large fleet to be put to sea. Public orders were also issued to the people of the Gujarat ports, and especially of Div, not to have any commercial dealings with the Firangis. Thus, says our authority, Div was for a time isolated and

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 45-6. According to the oft-quoted words of the historian Faria Y. Sousa, the cause of his death 'was a disease which to-day kills no man . . . for diseases also die. It was a keen sense of the wretched state to which India had come, and of his own inability to repair it' (Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors*, 153).

Navanagar, or Una-Delvada, on the Kathiawar coast began to flourish.[1]

On receiving the news of the Sultan's intentions from the Captain of Div, D. Joao de Castro summoned at Goa the magistrates of the city and again desired their help with another loan of ten thousand Pardaos. Though this fresh demand came within a year of the previous one, the citizens showed their loyalty by furnishing the Governor with the required amount. Moreover, the ladies of quality at the capital sent to Dom Castro a large quantity of their jewels to be utilised for the war. Equipping with these resources a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, De Castro set out a second time for Div in November 1547, a little more than a year after his previous expedition. When he at last reached Div, after a short stay at Bassein, he found that the danger of another siege of the fortress had disappeared. After making all necessary arrangements, including the appointment of one Luis Falcao as Captain of the fort in succession to the brave D. Joao de Mascarenhas, the Governor left Div for his capital, though not without one last act of revenge. Sailing along the coast of Por and Mangrol he burnt the town of Prabhas Patan. Moreover, 180 vessels lying at anchor in various ports of Kathiawar were set on fire. Many other places along the same coast were also destroyed.[2]

De Castro leaves Goa for the North, Nov., 1547

But the great Viceroy of Portuguese India was not destined to enjoy for many months longer his honours and his new dignity. Though only forty-eight years of age, his strength had been worn out by the exertions and hardships of his many wars in India. Already when he left Bassein in April, 1548 on his return journey to his capital, he was ill with fever and in the grip of his last mortal illness. After he reached Goa his disorder became more serious, and he decided to hand over charge of his high office to De Albuquerque, the Bishop of Goa, and to other civil and ecclesiastical magnates of the city. In striking contrast to many others who held before or after him the same high office that he did, and who returned

The Viceroy laid up with mortal illness

1. *Studies*, op. cit., 14-15.

2. *Ibid.*, 45.

with immense wealth to Portugal, De Castro died in honourable poverty, a fact which has made his name famous in the annals of Portugal in the East. Summoning near his deathbed the magistracy of the city, the Vicar-General of India, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order and Father Francis Xavier, as also the Officers of the King's Revenue, he made a short speech to the effect that he was not ashamed to tell them that he was without the means, in his sickness, to buy those conveniences which the meanest soldier found in the hospitals. 'I came to serve', he said, 'not to traffic in the East', and added, 'I would to yourselves have pawned the bones of my son, and did pawn the hairs of my beard, to assure you I had no other plate or hangings'. He then took a solemn oath on the Gospel to the effect that he was not indebted to the treasury by a single Crusado and that he had never received any gratification from Christian, Jew, Moor or Pagan.[1]

His death in the arms of St. Francis Xavier, 6th June, 1548

Finding that his end was drawing near, the great Viceroy secluded himself with the famous missionary Father Francis Xavier, 'providing for so doubtful a voyage so secure a pilot'. Receiving in his last moments the sacraments of the Church, he delivered up his soul to God on the 6th of June 1548, in the forty-eighth year of his age and the third of his government in India. In his study were found a few pieces of money, also a 'discipline' which seemed to have been often used, and the locks of his beard which he had pawned. He had given instructions for his body to be deposited in the Church of the Franciscans at Goa, but his bones were translated later according to his desire to Portugal. His tomb, with an inscription over it, now lies in a beautiful chapel attached to the Convent of St. Dominic at Bemsica, two miles distant from Lisbon.[2]

Reflections

The memorable defence of the Fort of Div in 1546 has been aptly described as the 'Epos of Diu', and it confirmed the Portuguese in the possession of this great commercial emporium on the Western Coast, once so famous, prosperous and coveted, but now so little known and so far removed from the trade-centres of the

1. *Studies,* op. cit., 47.
2. *Ibid.,* 47-8.

Eastern World. The success of the Portuguese may rightly be considered to be their last great exploit on the Indian coast; for after the middle of the sixteenth century their empire in India was slowly on the decline. Though much of the credit for the defence of the fort belongs to its Captain, yet contemporary opinion as well as the verdict of history has acclaimed Dom Joao de Castro as the hero of Div. In the long line of the famous Portuguese commanders in the East there is no name, with the exception of those of Vasco de Gama and the great Albuquerque, which has captured the imagination of his own and succeeding ages as that of D. Joao de Castro who has been variously described as 'the Portuguese Cato' and the 'Last of the Heroes'. His deservedly high reputation has no doubt been tarnished by his policy of terrorism to which he gave full play in his war with the Muslim power in Gujarat, and the acts of vengeance committed under his orders against the defenceless civil populations of the coast towns can never be justified. But there are other aspects of his character which deserve to be emphasised and which explain the position he holds. His high sense of duty, the complete absence in his nature of that grasping avarice which was so common in India among those who held the high office that he did, and the Spartan simplicity of his private life, all these justify the encomiums which have been bestowed upon him.[1] There is still another side of his life and work which finds no mention in the formal histories and biographies of the time. As Mr. K. G. Jayne points out, 'he was the true son of the Renaissance, combining its reverence for antiquity with its new-born interest in nature'. For posterity the enduring interest of De Castro's career lies not in his battles or his triumphs, but in his study of natural phenomena and in his contributions to science, and he deserves to be remembered rather 'as the first of Portuguese scientists than as the last of Portuguese heroes'.[2]

1. De Castro's log of his first voyage from Goa to Div in 1538, when as a young man he came out to India in the fleet of the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha, contains one of the earliest descriptions which have been given by a European writer of the famous caves of Elephanta near Bombay harbour. His measurements of the caves are so precise that they might almost be the work of a modern archæologist.

2. K. G. Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors*, 154.

CHAPTER XXXV

SULTAN AHMAD SHAH III (1554-1561)

The *reign a period of disintegration* and civil wars: Regency of Itimad Khan: Career of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari: His death in battle, 1558: His mausoleum near Mahmudabad: Daman passes into Portuguese hands, 1558: The younger Khudawand Khan at Surat: Murder of Malik Arslan, Imad-ul-Mulk, at Surat, 1559: Portuguese designs on Surat Castle: Changiz Khan avenges his father's murder: Mausoleum of Imad-ul-Mulk at Broach and its inscription, 1560: Loss of districts on the Khandesh frontier: Habshi nobles in the service of the Gujarat court: The Ulugh Khani amirs: Marjan Shami and his tomb at Surat, 1560: The Arabic historian Hajji-ad-Dabir takes service in Gujarat: Bairam Khan, Akbar's Protector, at Patan on his way to Mecca: His murder at the old capital of Gujarat, 1560: The Sahasralinga Tank at Patan: Sultan Ahmad III murdered under Itimad Khan's orders, 1561.

Unhappy character of the reign

For seven years after the death of Mahmud the Martyr, the boy-king Ahmad III[1] was the nominal ruler of Gujarat, and coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name. The advent of a second minority, however, so far emboldened the grasping nobles that in 1554 they divided the kingdom among themselves, so that each of them became almost independent in the districts that came under his charge. But the partition brought no peace to the country. The restless ambition of the amirs, and their shifting combinations, revived the sad history of the first eight years of Mahmud III's reign, and served to hasten the disintegration of the kingdom. To add to the confusion, a number of Afghan adventurers came down to settle in Gujarat owing to

1. In the genealogies of the Gujarat dynasty found in text-books on Indian History, this ruler is invariably described as Ahmad Shah II. But, in view of the fact that Sultan Qutb-ud-din (A.D. 1451-58) is distinctly given the name of Ahmad Shah in the legends on his coins, it appears more correct to designate the boy Sultan who was placed on the throne in 1554 as Ahmad Shah III. (See Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, J. B. B. R. A. S., 1903, XXI, 329.)

the political revolutions in Northern India consequent on the break-up of the Sur dynasty and the re-establishment of the house of Babur. The details of the civil wars of this reign form, perhaps, the most dreary portion of the history of the genial Sikandar; but neither the events nor the majority of the actors possess any permanent interest or importance. The careers of three of the nobles, *viz.,* Itimad Khan, Saiyid Mubarak and Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan Rumi deserve, however, more than a passing notice.

Itimad Khan as regent

Itimad Khan, whose personal name was Abdul Karim, was originally a Hindu servant of Mahmud III, who embraced Islam and rose to favour until his master came to repose such entire confidence in him as to place the harem under his charge. After the murder of this Sultan and of the leading amirs of Gujarat by the villain Burhan, the court and the people turned instinctively for lead to Itimad Khan, and for the greater part of the next twenty years his power was at its height and his influence unchallenged. Twice during this period he played the *rôle* of 'king-maker,' and his invitation to Akbar in 1572 ushered in a memorable revolution in the history of Gujarat. As we have seen, it was at his suggestion that the boy Ahmad was selected to succeed Mahmud III, and during the greater part of this reign he was regent and in personal charge of the sovereign whom he kept under the closest possible confinement at Ahmadabad which became again the seat of government. During the early years of the reign he and the two other nobles mentioned above kept more or less together, for a powerful Abyssinian noble, Darya Khan Habshi, who had the title of Nasir-ul-Mulk, and who held the fiefs of Sultanpur and Nandurbar, made a bid for supreme authority. Though for a time successful he was ultimately defeated. To add to the confusion, Alam Khan Lodi, the regent under Mahmud III, who had been driven into exile in 1546 and had sought refuge at the court of Delhi under Sher Shah Sur, now returned to Gujarat and sought to fish in the troubled political waters.

Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari was a man held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries as the head of the powerful order of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat. His early career also

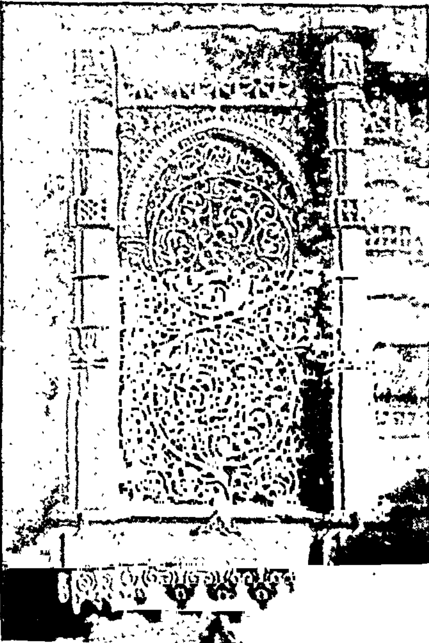
belongs to the reign of Mahmud III. After the murder of that ruler his influence rivalled that of Itimad Khan, and it was at his auspicious hands that the Amirs of Gujarat had the boy Ahmad formally installed on the throne on February 18, 1554. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* dwells at considerable length on the career and virtues of the Saiyid, partly because of the sanctity of his name, and also because the historian's father, Shaikh Muhammad *alias* Manjhu, had taken service under the Saiyid after the departure of Humayun from Gujarat, and was his trusted agent and adviser during the most eventful years of his career. Of all the nobles of this reign, Saiyid Mubarak alone appears to have been actuated by a genuine desire to promote the good of the country, and to prevent civil strife by mediating between the warring factions. Though a spiritual leader, his ambition, and the circumstances in which he was placed, led him to play the foremost part in the politics of his time, and he maintained for the purpose a large army composed of Bukhari Saiyids and Afghans. Personally brave, he often led his army to battle donned in full mail armour. In the partition of the kingdom during this reign, the towns of Patan, Champaner and Cambay, as also the divisions of Kapadwanj, Baroda, Balasinor, Dholka, Gogha and Dhandhuka fell to the share of the Saiyid. His headquarters were at Kapadwanj, but he appears to have had a partiality for Saiyidpur, a place in the vicinity of Mahmudabad and about five miles from the village of Kanij, which he himself populated and made his residence.

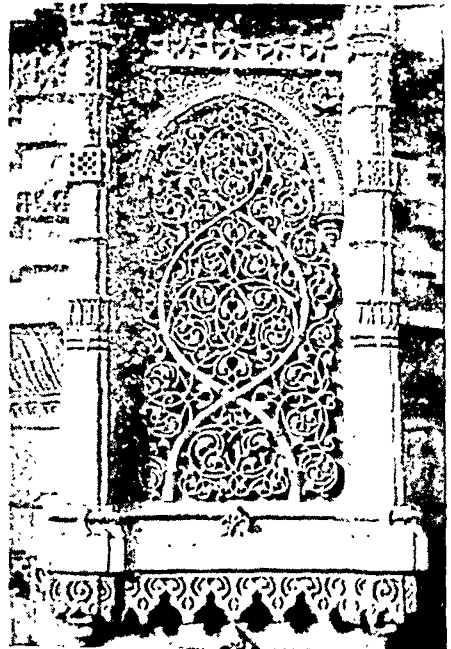
Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari: his character and career

The unprovoked jealousy of Itimad Khan brought about the death of Saiyid Mubarak in 1558. It appears that the young Sultan, unable to assert himself under the vigilant eye of the regent, left Ahmadabad secretly and took refuge with the Saiyid. About this time one Haji Khan, a famous Afghan noble of the Sur dynasty of Delhi, flying before the conquests of Humayun, came to Gujarat with a large force and 150 elephants. Itimad Khan concluded that, in anticipation of Haji Khan's arrival and co-operation, Saiyid Mubarak had invited Sultan Ahmad to his court in order to break the influence of the all-powerful minister. He, therefore, marched

He is killed in battle against Itimad Khan, 1558

Mausoleum of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari built *c.* 1557 at Sojali near Mahmudabad
(pp. 461-62)





Tracery in the niches of the minarets in the Shahpur Mosque at Ahmadabad

with an army from the capital, and, in a battle near Mahmudabad, the Saiyid, who was blind at the time, was defeated and slain (13th July, 1558).[1]

His prophetic powers and patronage of men of letters

The historian Sikandar, himself a spiritual follower of Saiyid Mubarak, expatiates with delight upon his master's miraculous powers. Thus the Saiyid used often to say that he would die a martyr on the field of battle, and the prophecy was fulfilled, for his death was brought about, not in pursuit of self-aggrandisement, but in fighting on behalf of his sovereign, who had come to him for help against his oppressors. He had also prescience of his end, for, on going out to his last battle, he took off his turban and wound it round the head of his grandson Saiyid Hamid, then twelve years old, with the words: 'To-day is the day of my martyrdom; henceforth be this turban yours.' Moreover, in the battle, Mubarak fell at the spot where during his life he had often expressed a desire to be buried. He also appears to have been a liberal patron of men of letters, and it was for him that Aram, the Kashmirian, wrote his history called the *Tuhfat-us-Sadat* which has now been lost. This important work was extensively used by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* and by Hajji-ad-Dabir, who evidently possessed a copy for he frequently quotes from it direct. The work must have been composed before the year 1558 when Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari to whom it was dedicated was killed in battle.[2]

His mausoleum near Mahmudabad

In the vicinity of Mahmudabad, near the village of Sojali, may still be seen the mausoleum of Saiyid Mubarak, which is perhaps the most beautiful of the provincial examples of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture to be seen at Ahmadabad. Though small, 'there is a simplicity about its plan, a solidity and balance of parts in its design, which has rarely, if ever, been surpassed in any tomb in India. The details, too, are all elegant and appropriate, so that it only wants increased dimensions to rank among the very first of its class'.[3]

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 434.
2. *Ibid.*, 113, 192.
3. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 244-45.

The Emperor Jahangir, who visited this mausoleum in 1618, during his prolonged tour in Gujarat, says in his Memoirs:

> 'On the bank of the Mahmudabad river is the tomb of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari. He was one of the leading officers of Gujarat, and his son Saiyid Miran erected this monument to him. It has a very lofty cupola, and it must have cost more than two lakhs of rupees. None of the tombs of the Gujarat Sultans that I saw came up to one-tenth of it. Yet they were sovereigns, and Saiyid Miran was only a servant'.[1]

His descendants

As to the descendants of Saiyid Mubarak, we find that his son Miran continued to play the same creditable and prominent part in politics as his father had done and died in 1572. Miran's son was Hamid, who, as a boy of twelve, and clad in steel armour, had fought by the side of his grandfather in the battle in which the latter was killed. Saiyid Hamid ultimately joined the Emperor Akbar, who, when he left Gujarat in 1573, took the Saiyid to Agra with all his family.[2]

Daman ceded to the Portuguese, 1558

The Portuguese, being by this time masters of Div and Bassein, were now anxious to secure the port of Daman from the Gujarat rulers. Their writers say that Francisco Barreto,[3] the Governor of Goa from 1555 to 1558, sent an envoy to the Sultan's court with ten Arab horses and two dozen rabbits as presents to arrange for its cession. After further exchange of envoys between the two courts, the Gujarat ruler agreed to the grant of the town and fort of Daman provided the Portuguese undertook to drive out the Abyssinian noble who held the city and who did not materially acknowledge the authority of the central government. According to the *Arabic History,* Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan, who was the rival of Itimad Khan at this period, in order to combat the latter, entered into

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1. *Memoirs of Jehangir,* trans. and ed. by Rogers and Beveridge, I, 436.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* 280-81 ; 313.
3. Luiz de Camoes, the author of *The Lusiads,* the great epic of Portuguese exploits in the East, was in service at Goa in 1555-56 when Barreto was appointed Governor, and a play of his was acted during the festivities attending the governor's accession.

an agreement with the Portuguese that in return for the services of 500 'Frankish' troops he would hand over to them the fort of Daman, the fief-holder of which, a noble named Sayf-ul-Muluk Miftah, was included among his officers. This noble, however, refused to surrender the fort even at the orders of Imad-ul-Mulk.

D. Constantino de Braganza takes the fort from the Habshis

Meanwhile, Dom Constantino de Braganza had been sent out from Portugal as Viceroy to India (1558–61), and had reached Goa in September, 1558. He resolved to proceed in person to dislodge the Abyssinians at Daman, being advised to this effect by Diogo de Noronha, a soldier of great valour and experience. A fleet of one hundred ships was got ready and on it was placed a force of three thousand Portuguese. During the voyage along the coast, the Viceroy added all available forces from Chaul and Bassein, and on February 2, 1559, he reached the bar of Daman with this imposing armada. The Abyssinian noble already mentioned, who is described as 'Sidi Bofata' by the Portuguese chroniclers, held the fort with 4,000 Habshis and the place was well provided for defence. D. Constantino's forces were disembarked at the mouth of the Damanganga river and divided into five divisions, the vanguard being under the command of Diogo de Noronha. Finding their retreat cut off both by land and by sea, the garrison abandoned the fort without offering battle and fled in terror across the creek. The Portuguese thus occupied Daman without the loss of a single soldier and planted the royal standard. Entering the fort, the Viceroy knelt down in the presence of the whole army and kissed the ground in thanksgiving to the Lord of Hosts. The Provincial of the Jesuits, one Father Gonçalo da Silveira, who happened to be with the invading force, was called upon to chant a solemn mass for the victory. The mosque used by the Abyssinians was cleaned out for the purpose and consecrated as a church, and the mass was celebrated by this prelate in the presence of the whole army in honour of 'Our Lady of the Purification'.[1]

1. The second day of February is, according to the Catholic calendar, the day of the Feast of 'Our Lady of the Purification.' As Daman was captured on this day, the Viceroy gave the town a new name after the holy

After their flight from Daman, the Abyssinians took refuge in the hill-fort of Parnera,[1] near Pardi, and gave the Portuguese much trouble by not allowing the inhabitants who had fled from Daman to return. The Viceroy, thereupon, ordered Antonio Moniz Barreto to disperse them, which he did and returned to Daman with thirty-six bronze cannon and some cartloads of coins. Dom Constantino, having induced the people of Daman to return to their town, next sent a force and effected the capture of Bulsar, forty miles south of Surat. He continued at Daman for some time supervising the construction of its new fort along with a church and other buildings and then left for Goa. Diogo de Noronha was appointed the first Captain of Daman with an army of 1,200 men. The following year 'Sidi Bofata' (? Miftah) made a determined effort to recapture Bulsar, and though the tiny garrison of 120 men with a few cannon fought with great valour it was ultimately forced to abandon that fort. The Abyssinians razed it to the ground and plundered the surrounding villages.[2]

The Portuguese attack Parnera and Bulsar

The name of D. Constantino de Braganza, the conqueror of Daman, is associated with a memorable episode which took place at Goa and which may be briefly described. In 1560, the Viceroy captured in Ceylon the famous *dalada* or tooth of Buddha and brought it to Goa. The Raja of Pegu, a devout Buddhist, offered to buy it for 400,000 cruzados (£105,000), and promised other benefits if this offer was accepted. Portuguese India was bankrupt at the time and the fidalgos were eager to complete the bargain, but the ecclesiastics at Goa forbade such a policy. In the presence of an immense crowd, and with the Viceroy's approval, the Archbishop of Goa solemnly pounded the tooth to fragments

The burning of the Buddha relic at Goa

Virgin, so that in many Royal letters we find the King of Portugal writes 'Be it known to the inhabitants of my town of Our Lady of the Purification.'

1. Parnera is a fortified hill four miles south-east of Bulsar rising about 500 feet above the plain. The fort was taken from the Raja of Dharampur by Mahmud Begada's general about the end of the fifteenth century. It was twice taken by the Portuguese, viz., in 1559 and again in 1568 when the fortifications were destroyed (Bombay Gazetteer, II, 298-99).

2. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 512, 516.

in a mortar, burned the fragments in a brazier, and flung the ashes into the river Mandavi. Dom Constantino next ordered an escutcheon to be designed on which the whole inspiring scene was figured—flaming brazier with Buddhists offering untold sums for the precious relic. The motto selected was the cryptic letters c.c.c.c.c., which meant *Constantinus cupidine coeli crumenas cremavit,* i.e., 'Constantine, eager for heaven, burned the treasure'. The extravagance of such an absurd display of iconoclastic zeal was condemned even at Lisbon. It also failed in its purpose from the missionary point of view, for the ingenious Sinhalese at once proclaimed that the *dalada* destroyed at Goa was a mere copy, and they brought forth a new tooth which was passed off as the genuine one. This sacred relic is still preserved at Kandy in Ceylon, where it has been venerated by generations of Buddhist pilgrims.[1]

Rajab Khudawand Khan at Surat

Besides the nobles mentioned in the early part of this chapter, two others deserve special mention. One was Rajab, Khudawand Khan, governor of Surat from 1546 to 1560. He was the second son of the great Khwaja Safar who came to Gujarat in 1531 during Bahadur's reign, and who as governor of Surat under the title of Khudawand Khan built in 1540 the famous castle on the Tapti river. Safar died from a cannon-ball at the hands of the Portuguese in the early months of the second siege of Div in 1546, and both his title and his office as governor were granted by Mahmud III to his second son Rajab who may be designated as Khudawand Khan the Younger to distinguish him from his father.[2] His sister Ayisha, the daughter of Safar, was married to a still more famous and powerful noble of the day, Malik Arslan Turki, on whom had been conferred the title of Imad-ul-Mulk after the fall of Malikji, son of Tuwakkul, who had held it under Bahadur and his successor.[3]

1. E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, II, 197-219; Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors*, 289-90 and *n*; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 519-20.
2. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 283, 399-400, 415, 440, 442, 481.
3. Arslan Turki was purchased as a slave by the great vazir Asaf Khan in Mecca and sent as a present to Sultan Mahmud III. In 1549 he received the title of Imad-ul-Mulk, and in 1553 he was made commander of the foreign egion. After the murder of this Sultan, he secured possession of the treasury

Early in 1559, Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan received news at Broach that his wife's brother Rajab Khudawand Khan was oppressing the people of Surat. They complained of his tyranny to Imad and begged him to redress their wrongs. Imad-ul-Mulk, thereupon, led his army against Surat where he laid siege to the castle for some months. Khudawand Khan, finding that none of the nobles at Ahmadabad gave him any assistance, opened negotiations for peace and agreed to give up the fort. He then invited his brother-in-law to a visit, and the latter, on the strength of his relationship, went into the castle, where Rajab, finding him in his power, slew him by treachery on the 3rd of July 1559 (27th Ramzan H. 966).[1] The army of the deceased nobleman thereafter retired to Broach. The death of Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan removed a powerful rival and opponent from the path of the regent Itimad Khan.

Imad-ul-Mulk murdered at Surat by Rajab, 1559

According to the Portuguese writers, Imad-ul-Mulk resolved in 1559 to recover the town of Daman, which was under his jurisdiction, and which he had only shortly before ceded to the Portuguese in return for some help which they had promised him to fight against Itimad Khan.[2] He, therefore, marched against the place with a great army. Diogo de Noronha, who was in command at Daman, finding himself unable to oppose such a force, had recourse to stratagem. He informed Khudawand Khan (*Cedeme Khan*) at Surat that his brother-in-law Imad-ul-Mulk

Portuguese account of the murder of Imad-ul-Mulk

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and armoury. He was in constant attendance on the boy-ruler Ahmad III and became chief minister in 1556 (Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 295, 311, 391-94, 416).

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 286; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 444. It seems strange that Safar, Khudawand Khan, governor of Surat, should slay Imad-ul-Mulk Malikji on the 27th Ramzan H. 952 (1545) in Surat (see *ante* p. 420), and that his son Rajab, also holding the same title and office as governor, should murder his brother-in-law Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan on the 27th Ramzan H. 966 (1559) at Surat. The identity of the day and the month, as also the fact that the same titles were held by different nobles at various periods, makes us suspect that our authorities have mixed up the events of these two periods separated by an interval of 14 years.

2. Imad had arranged with the Portuguese that, in return for the services of 500 'Frankish' troops, he would hand over to them the port of Daman. But when the Portuguese got possession of the place they ignored their side of the bargain and sent no help. Imad thus resolved on the recapture of Daman (*Camb. Hist. of India*, V, 19).

was wanting to drive him out of the city though he professed to be contemplating an attack on Daman. Believing this statement, Khudawand Khan visited his brother-in-law in his camp, and invited him, together with the principal men of his army, to dinner in the town. But no sooner had Imad stepped into Rajab's house than he and his attendants were foully murdered, after which, falling on the camp, Rajab routed the whole army with great slaughter. Thus Noronha escaped the danger he was in without drawing a sword.[1]

The Portuguese play off the rival nobles

Changiz Khan, we are told on the same authority, marched to Surat with a large army to avenge the death of his father, and invested the city while Khudawand Khan retired with his forces into the fortress. The invading nobleman began bombarding the castle with great vigour when ten ships under the command of Luiz Alvarez Tavora, sent by the captain of Daman, arrived in the Tapti. Tavora had orders to make either of the contending parties believe that he came to its assistance. Diogo de Noronha, the captain of Daman, wrote to Changiz Khan to say that he was sending this fleet to his help; while Tavora handed over a letter from the Viceroy, D. Constantino, to Khudawand Khan giving the latter to understand that the ships were sent to his aid.[2] The result was that, for the time being, Changiz Khan withdrew, and Tavora drawing off his fleet returned to Daman.

Rajab's offer of Surat Castle to the Portuguese: his death

In 1560, Khudawand Khan sent news to the Viceroy at Goa that Changiz Khan was again marching upon Surat, and he offered to hand over to the Portuguese the fort of Surat on condition of being conveyed to a place of safety with his family and treasures. The Viceroy at once fitted out a fleet of fourteen ships, which, after touching at Daman, sailed up to Surat and entered the river, the whole

1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 521.
2. It is possible that, as the Muslim historians state, Tavora's fleet arrived in the Tapti in response to Changiz Khan's definite promises of territory to the Portuguese in return for their help, viz., the grant of Daman (or rather confirmation of the cession made by his father) and of Sanjan. But finding the fort of Surat well defended by Khudawand Khan, the Portuguese commander evidently temporised under instructions from his superiors.

force comprising 500 men. Landing his troops, the commander gave battle to Changiz Khan, who had with him an army of 20,000, and routed him. But after his allies had accomplished his purpose, Khudawand Khan repented of his bargain, and refused to give up the Castle to the Portuguese. After the fleet had left for Goa, his intention of surrendering the fort became known to his followers, and he was obliged to fly to escape their anger. In making this attempt, however, he fell into the hands of Changiz Khan, who had his head cut off.[1]

The mausoleum of Imad-ul-Mulk at Broach, 1560

The murdered Turkish noble Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan had his jagirs at Broach, Champaner, Nandod and other districts between the Mahi and the Narbada rivers. His son Changiz Khan inherited these fiefs, and at his orders the body of his father appears to have been taken to Broach and buried there on the hillock near that city which is associated with the name of Baba Raihan.[2] The place is situated near the village of Vejalpur and here Changiz erected a grand mausoleum over his father's remains. This historic monument still remains a prominent landmark on the sacred hill, but for lack of repairs it is fast falling into a dilapidated condition. There are several inscriptions inside the Rauza containing quotations from the Quran, but there is one which is of historic importance for it relates to the erection of the monument in 1560 (H. 967) by Changiz Khan. The translation of the Persian epigraph reads as under:

Inscription in this Rauza

> 'The glorified and exalted Allah says: 'And consider not those slain in Allah's way as dead; rather are they alive, and are provided with sustenance by their Lord; rejoicing in what Allah has given them out of His grace: and with regard to those who, being

1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*. I, 521-23.

2. One of the Persian inscriptions in the Rauza of Imad-ul-Mulk refers to this early missionary of Islam in Gujarat as follows : 'Hazrat Baba Raihan came in the year 308 H. (A.D. 920-21), and with his younger brother Ahmad and forty martyrs is buried here. After Hazrat Baba Raihan—may his tomb be hallowed—promulgated Islam in the port of Broach, for some time Islam continued to flourish, but after a while there was infidelity again.' This was the period when the last Chavada rulers of Anhilvad Patan were probably overlords of Broach.



Inscription in the Rauza of Imad-ul-Mulk at Broach (pp. 468-69)



Rauza of Imad-ul-Mulk and his son Changiz Khan near Baba Raihan's Tomb at Broach (pp. 468-69)
(From J. Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*)

left behind, have not yet joined them, they (the martyrs) rejoice that they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve'.[1]

'The construction of this noble place and of this sublime tomb, which has attained a dignity which cannot be surpassed, and which has opened the closed door (of grace) to the visitors, was ordered by the great Khaqan, the generous and the beautiful, the excellent and the fortunate, Changiz Khan—may God make his dominion prosperous—as a monument for his deceased father Imad-ul-Mulk the martyr, may God bless his tomb and make paradise his abode. In the year nine hundred and sixty-seven, H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60). This is inscribed by Muhammad Khattat.'

Invasion by the Khandesh ruler: alienation of important districts

Twice during this reign, Sultan Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, who was closely related by blood to the Gujarat dynasty, and who resented the fact that the nobles of that kingdom had not only passed over his claims to the succession in favour of boy-rulers like Mahmud III and Ahmad III, but had also partitioned the country among themselves, led his army to the Gujarat frontier in order to take advantage of the distracted condition of that country. On the first occasion he was induced to abandon his designs upon the pious remonstrances of Saiyid Mubarak. But the second invasion was instigated by Itimad Khan himself who had taken refuge at the court of Burhanpur when he found his power at Ahmadabad temporarily eclipsed. This time the invader could only be bought off by the surrender of the districts of Sultanpur and Nandurbar which were thus alienated from the Gujarat Saltanat in this unhappy reign.[2]

One prominent feature of the declining years of the Gujarat kingdom was the rise to power and influence of several nobles of 'Habshi' origin who played no insignificant part in the civil strife of the time. Among these we may

1. The Holy Quran, Chapter III, on the Al-i-Imran, verses 168 and 169, Muhammad Ali's text and translation, 189.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 256-62.

mention the Amirs who enjoyed the titles of Iktiyar-ul-Mulk, Jhujhar Khan, and Ulugh Khan. The term Habshis, though generally applied to Abyssinians, no doubt includes other Negroid races of the African continent. The race appears to have shown the same capacity, as did the Turks, to rise from slavery to the highest positions. The Habshi commanders who rose to fame in Gujarat in the 16th century were the prisoners or descendants of prisoners captured during the Muslim invasion of Abyssinia in 1527. Taken first to Kamran, they were subsequently brought to Gujarat in 1531 by Mustafa bin Bahram, when the latter received orders from Constantinople to proceed at once to India to help Bahadur against the Portuguese. In the disorders that began with the accession of Mahmud III, the more able members found a scope for rising to favour and prominence. Their rivalry with the local nobility, and with the leaders of other foreign mercenaries, brought about a state of dissension which enabled Akbar to conquer Gujarat almost without a blow in 1572–73. At one time the Habshis in Ahmadabad are said to have numbered 5,000 persons.[1]

'Habshi' nobles at the Gujarat court

We shall briefly refer to the careers of three great Habshi nobles who successively bore the high title of Ulugh Khan and who played a prominent part for twenty years during the declining period of the Saltanat. The first was Mandal Dilawar Khan who rose to notice under Mahmud III and was appointed in 1553 Captain of the Bodyguard and put in command of the Arab troops consisting of the Yafis and the Maharas. He was killed in battle in the same year and his vazir Yaqut Sabit Khan Habshi received his title of Ulugh Khan and succeeded to his military commands. Yaqut commanded the Habshi force under Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan and obtained Imad's rank when the latter became chief minister to Ahmad III. He died in 1558, his funeral being attended by all the nobles as also by the Sultan, and he was buried at Sarkhej by the side of Bilal Jhujhar Khan, another famous

Three nobles with the title of Ulugh Khan

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 97, 407, 447; II, Int. XXXIII-XXXIV.

Habshi noble of the day.[1] The third to receive the title of Ulugh Khan was Yaqut's son Muhammad who as vazir to his father was known under the style of Khayrat Khan. He was the patron of Hajji-ad-Dabir, the famous author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat,* who was in this nobleman's service from 1556 to 1573. Muhammad Ulugh Khan thus naturally plays a very important part in this author's detailed history of Gujarat for these years. He secured the same devotion as his father had enjoyed from the Habshi troops in Gujarat and was thus able to take an active part in the confused politics of the time.[2] We find him alternately on the side of Itimad Khan and of Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan during this reign.

Marjan Shami and his tomb at Surat

Mention may also be made here of Marjan Rumi Khani, *alias* Shami or the Syrian, whose tomb at Surat is still held in reverence by the Muslims of that city. He was a noble who was not in royal service, his successive masters being Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan, Muhammad Ulugh Khan and lastly Changiz Khan. In 1560 he gave up the service of these Maliks and left Broach for Daman with a party of volunteers and carried on holy war plundering the neighbourhood of the new Portuguese settlement and doing much execution. He was killed by a gunshot in the same year and his body was taken to Surat where it was buried in the mausoleum of Safar Khudawand Khan. The Arabic historian Hajji-ad-Dabir says that he visited this tomb in 1575 when he returned from Mecca to Gujarat at the time when Muhammad Qilij Khan[3] was governor at Surat. The historian adds that Marjan Shami was regarded both as a *mujahid* (warrior) and a *shahid* (martyr) and that he was known for his miraculous powers,

1. The title of Jhujhar Khan was borne by two Abyssinian commanders in Gujarat, viz., (1) Bilal Habsi, who received the title in 1538, and was killed in the second siege of Div in 1546, and buried at Sarkhej; and (2) Marjan Sultani Habshi, son of Bilal. He was the adopted brother of Yaqut Ulugh Khan, who nominated him as guardian to his son after his death. Marjan was in 1573 trampled to death by an elephant under Akbar's orders and was buried at Sarkhej (Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 276, 332, 581; II, Int. XIV).

2. Ross, *Arabic History*, 310, 415-16, 422, 432-33, 447-48, 456-57.

3. Qilij Khan was in 1573 appointed governor of the fort of Surat on its conquest by Akbar after a siege of 47 days during the second expedition to Gujarat (Blochmann, *Ain*, 34 *n*).

his tomb being visited every Friday night by the Muslims of the city and by other seafaring people.[1] The Rauza of Safar Khudawand Khan at Surat, situated in the locality known as the Mulla's ward adjoining the river, is now more generally known to the residents of the place under the name of Mirza Shami's. After its recent restoration by the Archæological Department, it stands conspicuous among the historical monuments of this city, being in the same beautiful style of architecture for which the Rauzas of the period are famous at Ahmadabad.

The historian Hajji-ad-Dabir in Gujarat, 1555

It is interesting to note that it was in this reign that Hajji-ad-Dabir, the author of *The Arabic History of Gujarat,* first came to India from Mecca in 1555, and settled at Ahmadabad with his father[2]; and in 1558 we find him entering the service, as under-secretary, of Muhammad Ulugh Khan, the prominent Abyssinian noble and general at the Gujarat court. The historian's full name is Abdulla Muhammad bin Siraj-ud-din Omar, al-Makki, al-Asafi, Ulughkhani, but he tells us that he was generally known as Hajji-ad-Dabir, a name given him by his first master Ulugh Khan. The credit of discovering the valuable manuscript of his history, written in Arabic in the author's own hand, belongs to Sir E. Denison Ross. The work, which was probably completed after 1605, remained unknown to the world for over three hundred years, until it was found in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Dr. Ross shortly after he was appointed as Principal of the institution.[3] The value of the *Arabic History* as a first hand authority on the period of the Saltanat, and as complementary and

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, II, 580.
2. The ancestors of Hajji-ad-Dabir, the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, had settled at Patan in Gujarat from northern India ever since Timur's invasion of Delhi in 1398. Their connection with the province, therefore, dates from the time of Zafar Khan, the founder of the Saltanat. In 1535, when war broke out between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, the latter sent away his harem and his treasures to Mecca in charge of his vazir Asaf Khan, who took with him as his *major domo* Siraj-ud-din, the father of the historian. It was in Mecca that Hajji-ad-Dabir was born about 1539, and he first came to India in 1555 as stated in the text.
3. Sir E. Denison Ross, now the able Director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, has published in the Indian Texts Series (John Murray) three volumes of the Arabic text of this History, accompanied by valuable introductions. An English translation of the work will be welcomed by all interested in the history of Gujarat.

corrective to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* written about the same time, can hardly be overestimated.[1]

The great Bahram Khan at Patan

A few months before the murder of Sultan Ahmad III, there perished by the hand of an assassin, and in the ancient capital of Gujarat, a man whose name is intimately and honourably associated with the second establishment of the House of Timur in India. In 1560, the great Bahram Khan, the trusted general of Humayun, and the tutor and protector of his son Akbar, after an ineffectual and half-hearted revolt against his young master, received permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Marching across Rajputana on his way to the coast, he arrived with his family at Patan Anhilvad, where he halted for some days to rest himself. The town at this time swarmed with a large number of disorderly Afghans, in nominal subjection to the governor Musa Khan Fuladi who received the distinguished visitor hospitably. The arrival of the great Protector, however, gave rise to a tumult in the city instigated by a man named Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father had been inadvertently killed by Bahram in the battle of Macchiwara (1553), and who was now determined to take his revenge.

His murder in this city, Jan., 31, 1561

During his stay at Patan, Bahram Khan entertained himself by visiting the beautiful lakes and gardens which then adorned the town. One day he went on a pleasure sail to the island-pavilion on the famous Sahashralinga Tank outside the city. As he left the boat on his return, and mounted his horse, this Afghan arrived with thirty or forty others, and stabbed him to death. Bahram's followers, distracted at the incident, took to flight. His bleeding body lay in the dust until some fakirs charitably buried it near the mausoleum of Shaikh Hissam; but it was afterwards conveyed to the holy city of Mashhad and interred there.[2] The ex-vazir, in spite of his long and distinguished public career, was not more than about thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, which took place on the 31st January 1561. After Bahram's death, the assassins

1. For details about the leading dates in the life of Hajji-ad-Dabir, *See* Ross, *Arabic History*, II, Int. XVIII-XXII.
2. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, II, 199-204.

plundered his camp and his followers. His wife and his little son, Abdurrahim, then four years old, were protected by friends and brought with difficulty to Ahmadabad, and sent after some months to Delhi at the desire of Akbar. The boy came to be in time one of the greatest nobles of the court of this Emperor and of his son Jahangir.

Chronogram on Bahram Khan's death

The date of the Khan Khanan Bahram Khan's tragic death has been given in a chronogram written by Qasim-i-Arsalan of Mashhad, a poet of repute in Akbar's service who was also famous as a calligraphist and a composer of *tarikhs*.[1] Both Abul Fazl and Badayuni have reproduced in their works the verse which contains the chronogram, and this may be translated as under:

'When Bahram put on the *Ihram*[2] in order to circumambulate the Ka'aba,
On the way he met his death, securing martyrdom;[3]
In respect of this misfortune a voice from heaven uttered this chronogram,
Shahid shud Muhammad Bahram
(i.e., Muhammad Bahram became a martyr).[4]

The sum of the numerical values of these letters gives the Hijri year 968, or A.D. 1560–61.

Remarks on the Sahashralinga tank at Patan

The construction of the Sahashralinga *talav*, or 'tank of the thousand shrines', at Patan, mentioned above, is ascribed to the great Solanki ruler Siddhraj Jayasimha (A.D. 1093–1143) who is said to have built it just before he set out on his expedition against Yashovarman, king of Malwa. It must have been a reservoir of immense size and derived its name from the innumerable little temples, containing *lingas*, which lined the

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. by Blochmann, I, 609 and *n*; Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Haig, III, 251 and *n*.
2. The *Ihram* is the Muslim pilgrim's dress, as also the state in which the pilgrim is held to be from the time he assumes this distinctive garb until he lays it aside. The pilgrim is forbidden several actions in the state of *ihram* (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 196).
3. To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a *shahid* or martyr (Herklot's *Qanoon-i-Islam*, 71-72).
4. *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, II, 202-03; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Ranking, I, 41.

ghat or steps all round it. In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreshwar which is said to have been destroyed by the Muslims who evidently raised a large water-pavilion on its ruins. This great lake has now completely disappeared, and its site, pointed out to the north-west of the present town, is given over to fields and cultivation. Fragmentary remains of the shrines are found buried in the *débris* of the embankment. The contemporary lake known as the Mānsar or Mansarovar at Viramgam, the formation of which is ascribed to Mayanal Devi, the mother of Siddh Raj, and which still remains in good preservation after a lapse of eight centuries, gives an idea of what must have been the character of this much larger lake at Patan. The reservoir at Viramgam is a very irregular oblong about 500 feet wide and 1,500 feet long. On the platform above the steps are a multitude of small shrines, both Saiva and Vaishnav, once over five hundred in number, of which three hundred and fifty-seven still remain, and they no doubt resemble in size and construction those which once stood round the Sahashralinga talav. The great tank at Patan has been the theme of legend and song in the Hindu annals of Gujarat, the best known of these being the ballad of the beautiful and chaste Jasma the Odani who is said to have put an end to her life that she might escape the suit of Siddh Raj.[1]

Murder of Sultan Ahmad III, 1561

We shall now describe the circumstances under which Sultan Ahmad came to an untimely end in 1561 as the result of his own rash actions. He was now nineteen years of age, and naturally chafed at his utter dependence on the masterful regent. But he was foolish and impetuous and took but little pains to conceal his animosity. It is related that when in drink he used to draw his sword and to cut up plantain-trees, saying: 'With this blow I sever the head of Itimad Khan.' In this manner did the senseless young man give vent to his impotent rage, and play a perilous farce, repeating the names of all his nobles. He also now began to go out to hunt for several miles outside the city whenever he pleased and thus

1. *Gazetteer of the Baroda State* by Desai and Clarke, II, 576-77; *Bombay Gazetteer*, VII, *Baroda*, 600; J. Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, Pt. II, 91-92 and Plates LXXII to LXXIV.

kept the minister in perpetual anxiety. Itimad Khan saw this bid for independence, and the danger that threatened both his power and his life, and he decided to be beforehand in the matter. Prior to taking final action, however, he assured himself of the treacherous intentions of his nominal master by listening in concealment to a prearranged interview between a trusted lieutenant and the Sultan. As soon as the meeting was at an end, Itimad Khan presented himself, and at his orders Ahmad III was cut down, and his dead body thrown on the sands of the Sabarmati, close by the houses in the Bhadra. A contemporary writer,[1] who happened to arrive at Ahmadabad about this time, says that one morning the people found the Sultan without a head in a small watercourse which flowed near the city. The body was soon after removed and buried in the royal vault of the dynasty in the city (April 21, 1561)[2]. It was, however, given out that the King met his death in a love intrigue at night outside a nobleman's house.[3] The fate of the young Sultan illustrates the utter disorder in which this powerful Sultanate had fallen.

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1. This was the Bijapur historian Rafi-ud-din Ibrahim Shirazi whose work, the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, was written in 1608. It is a history of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur from their rise up to the author's time, and contains, besides the main theme, accounts of various Muslim dynasties in India and Persia, including a history of the Kings of Gujarat. The author originally came to India as a merchant and visited Delhi in 1559-60 (C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, I, 316).
2. J. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 283.
3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 288-89 ; Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 477-78.

CHAPTER XXXVI

TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF THE TURKISH ADMIRAL SIDI ALI REIS IN GUJARAT, 1554

Sidi Ali as a famous Turkish author and admiral: Rivalry between the Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1551–53: Ali Reis defeated by the latter in the Red Sea: His flight across the Indian Ocean: His battered ships reach the coast at Daman: He lands at Surat and encounters Portuguese hostility there: Ali's journey from Surat to Ahmadabad: The *Hanuman Langurs* of Gujarat: J. Forbes's account of these apes: Ali Reis at Ahmadabad and his departure: The *Bhats* as guides: The Turkish admiral at Patan and Radhanpur on his way to Sind: Journey across Asia to Adrianople: Ali's great work *Al Muhit*: Appendix—Accounts of the 'Kabir Vad' on the Narbada near Broach given by J. Forbes (1780) and by J. Copland (1814).

Early career of Sidi Ali — author and admiral

The year 1554, the opening year of the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah III, is memorable for the arrival in Gujarat of the famous Turkish author, admiral and nautical expert, Sidi Ali bin Husain, who was driven with his fleet by stress of weather from the Persian Gulf to the western coast of India, and the history of whose adventures in these parts, as gathered from his work the *Mirat-al-Mamalik,* will be related in this chapter. Before doing so, however, some account of the early career of this well-known scholar and admiral may be given here. Following the example of his father and grandfather, who had both served as administrators of the Turkish arsenal at Galata near Constantinople, he entered the Ottoman navy and was present at the conquest of Cyprus (1522). After this, he took part with Khair-al-din Barbarossa[1] and other sea-captains in their adventures in the Mediterranean and he boasted of knowing

1. The famous sea-captain Khair-al-Din, called by the Christian *Barbarossa*, or 'Redbeard', was one of the renowned Turkish corsairs in the Mediterranean in the first half of the sixteenth century. He conquered Algiers about 1515 and handed it over to Turkey, being made *Beglerbeg* of the place by Sultan Salim I. His greatest naval victory was off Preveza in 1538 when he abased the pride of the famous Genoese admiral Andrea Doria who led the combined fleets of the Emperor, the Papacy and Venice. Ali Rais served in the Turkish fleet at this great victory. In 1543-44, Barbarossa commanded

every corner of that sea. In 1548 he accompanied his potent sovereign, Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent, across Caucasia and Azerbaizan in an expedition against Persia, and availed himself of the cessation of hostilities during winter to take lessons at Aleppo from a philosopher and astronomer. As the result of these studies, he undertook an amplified Turkish translation of the classical work which Maulana Ali Chilebi had written in Persian, and which is entitled 'Outlines of Astronomy' in Sidi Ali's version.[1]

In order to explain the circumstances under which this distinguished Oceanographer found himself in 1554 in the Indian Ocean, and subsequently on the Gujarat coast, it may be noted that Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey, not content with his brilliant conquests in Eastern Europe, was ambitious of extending his Empire in Asia also. Under him heroic efforts were made by the Ottoman Turks for the overthrow of the Persian dynasty of the Safawids by a series of expeditions to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea: but they all ended in disappointment. At this period Turkey was not only a military but a great naval power as well, and the Sultan's ambitious policy also brought him into conflict with Portugal in Eastern waters.[2] The Portuguese captains in the East, on their part, were looking about for securing control over the trade-centres on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf in order to destroy the Turkish monopoly of the lucrative overland trade with the East which served as a great source of profit to the Ottoman exchequer.

Sultan Sulaiman's designs against Persia

In 1551, by the orders of the Turkish ruler, a strong fleet was fitted out at Suez under the command of Piri Bey,[3] a

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the fleet which Sultan Sulaiman sent to the coast of Provence to support Francis I, and he would not allow the bells of the Christian churches to be rung while his fleet was at anchor in the French ports (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., III, 96 ; XXII, 601).

1. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 287-88.

2. This was rather a *renewal* of the conflict between the Turks and the Portuguese in the Indian seas which witnessed the First Siege of the Portuguese fort of Div in 1538 by Sulaiman Pasha Al-Khadim, Governor of Egypt, under the orders of the ruler of Turkey.

3. Piri Reis, with another admiral, conquered the coasts of Yemen and Aden as far as the Gulf of Basra. He also captured Muskat and Hormuz but was finally defeated by the Portuguese and was executed by the Sultan in Egypt because of his defeat. He compiled a detailed sea-atlas of the Aegean sea and of the Mediterranean.

distinguished naval commander, and it sailed into the Indian Ocean visiting Aden and capturing *Muscat* from the Portuguese. Soon after this, Piri Bey heard of the approach of a strong naval force under Dom Fernando, the son of the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha, and in attempting to slip past it he was engaged in a disastrous battle. He escaped with only three galleys and found his way to the safe waters of the Red Sea, but the remainder of his fleet, consisting of some fifteen ships, was bottled up at Basra in the Persian Gulf and sought refuge in the Shatt-ul-Arab. The Turkish ruler, enraged at this disaster, ordered the execution of Piri Bey, and one Murad Bey was sent overland to Basra to save the fleet and get it out of the river. But when he too failed to effect this object owing to Portuguese opposition, Sultan Sulaiman turned in 1553 to Sidi Ali, the experienced Mediterranean admiral who, as stated above, had been trained under the redoubtable corsair Khair-ud-din Barbarossa.

The Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1551-53

At Aleppo, the Imperial headquarters, Sidi Ali received orders to get the Turkish fleet of fifteen vessels out of the Persian Gulf in which it had been entrapped, and to bring it off into the Red Sea and thence to Egypt. Sidi Ali having secured these ships sailed down the Persian coast, touching Bushire (*Rishahr*), Katif and the Bahrain Isles, but near Muskat his armada encountered the Portuguese fleet under the Viceroy's son, and was defeated after a fierce struggle. Ali describes the battle as more terrible than any in which he had been engaged when fighting against the Genoese Captain Andrea Doria under the command of the great Barbarossa. He escaped from the disaster with only nine galleys, the rest having been sunk by the enemy or driven on to the rocks. Being now forced to abandon the idea of sailing up the Red Sea, he tried to make for the coast of India and to find safety in the ports of Gujarat. It was now August, 1554, when the monsoon was in full swing in the Indian Ocean, and the huge Turkish galleys, which depended mainly on rowing power, were not suited for the storms and heavy seas which they encountered. In trying to escape these, as also the pursuit by the victorious Portuguese fleet, Sidi Ali's

Ali Reis defeated in the Gulf: his flight across the Indian Ocean

battered ships were first driven to the inhospitable coast of Mekran, after which they encountered a terrific gale in the Arabian Sea which drove them into the Gulf of Cutch and ultimately to the coast of Gujarat.[1] Sidi Ali has given a full account of these terrible experiences at sea and of his stay in the province of Gujarat in his well-known book the *Mirat-al-Mamalik*, or, 'the Mirror of Countries'.

The Turkish fleet reaches Daman on the Gujarat coast

Passing by Purmian[2] (Porbandar), Mangalor (Mangrol) and Somnath Patan on the Kathiawar coast, the shattered remnant of the Turkish fleet arrived at Div, but Sidi Ali did not enter this port 'for fear of the unbelievers (Portuguese) who ruled there.' After rounding the peninsula, the ships again encountered heavy seas so that, expecting shipwreck hourly, all the crew stripped themselves naked and prepared their casks and skins. Ali adds that he did the same and took a vow to set all his slaves at liberty and to give a hundred ducats to the poor at Mecca if he escaped shipwreck. When the weather cleared, the Turks found themselves two miles off the coast of Daman on the mainland of Gujarat. Here they were befriended by one Malik Izid who was in command of the place on behalf of the Gujarat ruler. There were also several junks belonging to the Zamorin of Calicut lying at anchor in this port, and Sidi Ali says that he sent a letter to that Muslim ruler exhorting him to warfare against the Portuguese and stating that a great Turkish fleet was on its way from Egypt to these parts. The officer in charge of Daman advised the Admiral not to stay long at this open port but to seek shelter at Surat from the menace of the Portuguese fleet which was expected to arrive. Many of the crew were so frightened at this news that they went ashore and proceeded by land to Surat while others took service under the captain of Daman.[3]

The Turkish admiral followed the advice given to him to betake himself to the port and fortress of Surat. As he was

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1. M. L. Dames, *The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean*, J. R. A. S., Jan. 1921, 20-23.
2. Purmian, as used by the Muslim writers, is a combination of the adjacent ports of Por and Miani on the Kathiawar coast.
3. 'The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, etc., during the years 1553-56', trans. from the Turkish by A. Vambery, Luzac and Co., 1899.

setting sail from Daman, a letter was also delivered to him by Agha Hamza, the Kotval of Surat, from Imad-ul-Mulk, the chief vazir of the Sultan, advising him to leave Daman bar as the 'infidels' were gathering. Sidi Ali arrived at Surat five days later, after a voyage of fully three months since his departure from Basra. At Surat he was to get an experience of the political and civil strife that arose on the accession of the boy-Sultan Ahmad III to the throne. He informs us that the army had acknowledged this ruler, but one of the nobles, called Nasir-ul-Mulk, refused to take the oath of allegiance. Having captured the fort of Broach, he set up pretensions to royalty, and invited the help of the Portuguese governor at Goa promising him the harbours of Daman, Surat, Cambay and Broach, as also the ports of Somnath, Mangrol and Por (Furmean), if his claims were acknowledged. Sultan Ahmad proceeded with an army against Broach taking with him two hundred gunners from the Turkish admiral's followers. After recovering that fort he sent Khudawand Khan and Jahangir Khan to Surat while he himself returned victorious to Ahmadabad. The rebel noble died soon after, and peace was restored in Gujarat.[1] Such is Ali's account of the war.

Ali Reis at Surat: political troubles in Gujarat

The Portuguese armada having, as expected, reached the Gujarat coast was not likely to allow the battered remnants of the Turkish fleet to remain in Surat harbour undisturbed; but Ali threw up entrenchments on shore and for two months remained prepared for battle. The latter adds that the rebel noble Nasir-ul-Mulk, being in alliance with the Portuguese, employed hirelings to murder or to poison him, but these attempts were foiled. After this noble's death, an envoy from the 'infidels' came to Khudawand Khan, the Governor of Surat, to say that their hostility was directed not so much against Surat as towards the admiral from Egypt, and demanded that he should be

Portuguese hostility to the Admiral

1. *Ibid.*, 26-28. Sidi Ali Reis's travels and adventures in Gujarat as described in his *Mirat-al-Mamalik* have also been translated into English in a paper prepared by Mr. Hammer of Vienna and read before the Bombay Literary Society on 31st October 1815 and printed in the *Transactions* of this Society, II, 1820, 1-14.

given up to them. This demand was summarily refused, and Ali says that his soldiers would have killed the envoy, but were reminded by him that they were on foreign soil and should commit no rash action.[1]

In referring to a drunken brawl at Surat, during which some riotous Turkish troops assailed their officer Husain Agha, the Sardar of the Circassians, Sidi Ali gives an interesting account of the toddy-palm, the intoxicating juice of which had been the cause of the trouble:

The Tari-tree described

'There is in Gujarat a tree of the palm-tribe called tari. From its branches cups are suspended, and, when the cut end of a branch is placed into one of these vessels, a sweet liquid, something of the nature of arrak, flows out in a continuous stream; and this fluid, by exposure to the heat of the sun, presently changes into a most wonderful wine. Therefore, at the foot of all such trees drinking booths have been placed, which are a great attraction to the soldiers. Some of my men, having indulged in the forbidden drink, determined to kill their Sardar.'[2]

The troops and crew of the ill-fated Egyptian fleet had now been stranded at Surat for many months and their pent-up feelings at last found vent in loud complaints to their Admiral. They had been without any pay for two years; their provisions and supplies were exhausted; their ships had been dismantled and their return to Egypt was practically impossible. The upshot of it all was that the greater number of them took service in Gujarat under the governors of Surat and Broach. The deserted ships with all their rigging and equipment were sold to Khudawand Khan, the Governor, on condition that he should remit to the Sublime Porte the price agreed upon.[3]

Ali's camp at Surat broken up

Having thus disposed of his fleet and the major part of his troops, Ali Reis started from Surat for Ahmadabad in the beginning of Muharram of the Hijri year 962 (November, 1554), being accompanied by Mustafa Agha, the Chief of the

1. *Travels of Ali Reis*, trans. by Vambery, op. cit., 27-28.
2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., 29.
3. *Ibid.*, op. cit., 30.

Egyptian Janissaries, and Ali Agha, the captain of the gunners, together with fifty officers and men. His plan was to return overland from Gujarat to Turkey, a distance of several thousand miles. Sidi Ali describes the unfamiliar trees which he found on his journey to the capital by way of Broach, Baroda and Champaner, some of which had their branches full of huge bats, 'the wings of which on the stretch measured 40 inches across.' He specially mentions the *Vad* or Banyan tree, and it is very probable that he saw on his way the *Kabir-vad,*[1] near Broach, about which he says: 'The most curious part about the trees was that the roots hung down from the branches and when touching the ground planted themselves and produced new trees. Thus, from one tree, from ten to twenty new ones spring up. More than a thousand people can find shelter under their shade'. Besides the trees and the bats, our traveller specially noted the monkeys who made their appearance in the camp in huge numbers carrying their young ones in their arms and making the most ridiculous postures and grimaces.[2]

Journey of Sidi Ali from Surat to Ahmadabad

We might digress a little to point out that almost every European traveller in North Gujarat during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been attracted by the monkeys of these parts and has given some account of the habits of this particular species with which naturalists are familiar under the name of the Common or Hanuman Langur.[3] We shall reproduce a couple of paragraphs from James Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs* giving the observations made by this versatile official during his travels in Gujarat in the last quarter of the eighteenth century:

The 'Hanuman Langurs' of North Gujarat

'This magnificent pavilion (the *Kabir-Vad*) affords a shelter to all travellers, particularly the religious

1. See Appendix to this chapter for two very interesting accounts of this famous tree, one by J. Forbes in 1780 and the other by J. Copland in 1814.
2. *Travels of Ali Reis*, trans. by Vambery, op. cit., 31.
3. The scientific name for this species is *Pithecus Entellus Dufresne*. An excellent account of the habits of this species is given by Mr. C. McCann in an article on 'Observations on some of the Indian Langurs', in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, XXXVI, 1933, 618-623.

J. Forbes' observations on the *langurs*

tribes of Hindoos, and is generally filled with a variety of birds, snakes, and monkeys: the latter have often diverted me with their antic tricks, especially in their parental affection to their young offspring, by teaching them to select their food, to exert themselves in jumping from bough to bough, and then in taking more extensive leaps from tree to tree; encouraging them by caresses when timorous, and menacing, and even beating them, when refractory. Knowing by instinct the malignity of the snakes, they are most vigilant in their destruction: they seize them when asleep by the neck, and running to the nearest flat stone, grind down the head by a strong friction on the surface, frequently looking at it, and grinning at their progress. When convinced that the venomous fangs are destroyed, they toss the reptile to their young ones to play with, and seem to rejoice in the destruction of the common enemy.'

'On a shooting party under this tree, one of my friends killed a female monkey, and carried it to his tent, which was soon surrounded by forty or fifty of the tribe, who made a great noise, and in a menacing posture advanced towards it: on presenting his fowling-piece, they retreated, and appeared irresolute, but one, which from his age and station in the van, seemed the head of the troop, stood his ground, chattering and menacing in a furious manner; nor could any efforts less cruel than firing drive him off: he at length approached the tent door, and when finding his threatenings were of no avail, he began a lamentable moaning, and by every token of grief and supplication seemed to beg the body of the deceased: on this, it was given to him: with tender sorrow he took it up in his arms, embraced it with conjugal affection, and carried it off with a sort of triumph to his expecting comrades. The artless behaviour of this poor animal wrought so powerfully

on the sportsmen that they resolved never more to level a gun at one of the monkey race.'[1]

Reverting to our Admiral and his party, we find that they at last arrived at Ahmadabad by way of Mahmudabad, taking fifteen days over the journey after they left Surat. Ali Reis visited the young Sultan, as also his grand vazir Imad-ul-Mulk and other nobles at the capital. He presented his credentials to the king who gave him a horse, a team of camels, and money for the journey. It appears that the Portuguese envoy whom Ali met at Surat had preceded him to Ahmadabad where Imad-ul-Mulk had refused his request for delivering up the Turkish Admiral. Ali Reis was present at one of these interviews in the vazir's house, and, angered by the envoy's demand, exclaimed: 'Hold thy cursed tongue! Thou foundest me with a shattered fleet, but I swear by God Almighty, thou shalt see ere long not only Hormuz but Goa itself yield before the victorious arms of the great Badshah'. To this the 'unbeliever' retorted: 'Henceforth not so much as a bird will be able to leave the ports of India'. The subject was then allowed to drop after the Turkish Admiral had rejoined that there were land routes as well as sea routes, an argument which reduced the envoy to silence.[2]

Ali Reis at Ahmadabad

Ali Reis tells us that at Sarkhej, in the vicinity of Ahmadabad, he visited the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Maghrabi. Also that Sultan Ahmad offered him the command of the fort of Broach with a large jagir, but that he refused asking only for permission for the departure of his party, which was granted 'out of respect for his sovereign'. On leaving the city, the Admiral was provided by the Muslims of the place with the services of two Bhats or Charans to serve as guides and escort, and the account which the Turkish traveller has given of this important fraternity deserves to be quoted for it is completely in agreement with what we know about its manners and customs:

Departure from the capital of Gujarat

1. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1813, I, 26-28.
2. *Travels of Ali Reis*, trans. by Vambery, op. cit., 32-33.

'In this land of the Banians there is a tribe which they call the *Bhats*, whose business it is to escort merchants or travellers from one land into another, and for a very small remuneration they guarantee their perfect safety. Should the Rajputs attack the caravan, the Bhats point their daggers at their own breast and threaten to kill themselves if they should presume to do the slightest harm to the travellers entrusted to their care. And out of respect for the Bhats the Rajputs generally desist from their evil purpose, and the travellers proceed on their way unmolested. Occasionally, however, the Bhats carry out their threat, otherwise it would have no force. But if such a thing does happen, if a caravan is attacked and the suicide of the Bhats becomes necessary, this is considered a terrible calamity, and the superstition of the people demands that the offenders be put to death. The chief of the Rajputs deems it necessary to kill not only the offenders but also their sons and daughters, in fact to exterminate the whole of their race.'[1]

Account of the 'Bhats' of Gujarat who served as guides

No fuller account than this of the interesting community of the Bhats and Charans of Gujarat has been handed down to us in the work of any of the great European travellers in Western India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The only other reference that approaches it is that about the Charans which is given by the French traveller M. de Thevenot who visited Gujarat in 1666, more than a hundred years after the Turkish Admiral.[2]

Ali Reis at Patan and Radhanpur on his way to Sind

Five days after leaving Ahmadabad, the party, travelling by carriages, reached Patan, the old capital of Gujarat, where they visited the grave of Shaikh Nizam, the *Pir* of the city. Here, once again, Ali Reis had an experience of the civil strife that had now become chronic in the country. Sher Khan and his brother Musa Khan Fuladi had collected

1. *Travels of Ali Reis*, trans. by Vambery, op. cit., 34.
2. See my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 117-18; 120-23.

troops to fight against Baloch Khan of Radhanpur and they would not allow our Admiral and his men to proceed further for fear they might join their enemy. But Ali Reis assured them that his intention was not to render any assistance to either party but to continue on his journey for which he had a farman from the Sultan. They were allowed to proceed, and after five days arrived at Radhanpur, having met a Rajput chief on the way who proved very friendly and helpful. Here they dismissed the Bhats who had escorted them from Ahmadabad, bought some camels, and plunged into the *Ran* of Cutch on their way to Sind through the Parkar district.

Journey across Asia and arrival in Turkey, 1557

It is beyond the purpose of this History to follow the interesting narrative given by Ali Reis in his *Mirat-al-Mamalik* of his visit to Sind and the provinces of Northern India, including his stay at the Mughal capital, on his way to Persia and the lands beyond. Everywhere in India, and especially at the Mughal court, the greatest respect was paid to him and his Emperor. He repeatedly received the offer of an exalted post, such as the rule of a province or the command of an army, in order to induce him to remain in these parts. But his loyalty to his master prevailed, and he pushed on with his return journey with the handful of followers who shared his grand spirit of adventure. Travelling by land across the Punjab, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khurasan, Azerbaizan and Iran, he arrived at Adrianople in April 1557, and submitted to the Sultan his account of the failure of the naval expedition which had been entrusted to him nearly four years previously. He received pardon at his master's hands and was even honoured by an appointment at the court.

Ali's great work *Al-Muhit*—'The Ocean'

Before we take leave of this versatile author and man of action we may mention that it was at Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat, that he finished, in 1554, his great compilation which is called *Al-Muhit*, or 'The Ocean'. Based as it is on the books of the Arabian and Persian pilots of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and on his own experiences, it contains a complete geographical and nautical description of the sea. It is besides, so far as we know, the only work which supplies us with information concerning the progress and the state of Muslim

oceanography in the middle of the 16th century. The author, we find, is not unaware of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries of the New World. It may also be mentioned that, apart from his capacities as an astronomer and an expert in nautical science,[1] Sidi Ali was one of the most popular, though not one of the most famous, poets of his time, and his verses, especially on the element which he might claim as his own, *viz.*, the sea, were long afterwards in everyone's mouth.[2]

APPENDIX

Accounts of the famous Banyan Tree called the Kabir-Vad, near Broach, by James Forbes (1780) and John Copland (1814)

I

J. Forbes on the Kabir-Vad, 1780

An interesting account of the Kabir-Vad, situated on an island in the Narbada river near Broach, is given in the well-known *Oriental Memoirs* by James Forbes,[3] an officer in the service of the East India Company at Bombay, who, after holding an appointment at Broach during the British operations in Gujarat in the First Maratha War, became in 1780 Collector and Resident at Dabhoi. He thus describes the famous tree in his usual grandiose and discursive style:

1. Another work on which Ali's literary renown is founded is the *Mirat-i-Kainat* ('the Mirror of Beings'), which is a mathematical treatise on the use of the astrolabe, the quadrant, etc.

2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 287-88.

3. James Forbes (1749-1819) came out to Bombay in 1765 as a writer to the E. I. Company. After the treaty of Salbai was signed in 1782, Dabhoi and other conquests were ceded to the Marathas, and in 1784 Forbes left India. Being a good draughtsman and keen observer, he had during his sojourn in Western India filled 150 folio volumes (fifty-two thousand pages) with sketches and notes on the flora, fauna, manners, religions and archæology of India. He became later an F. R. S. In 1801 he went over to France and was detained there till 1804. The *Oriental Memoirs* appeared in four quarto volumes, profusely illustrated, in 1813-15. Forbes was the grandfather of Charles, Count de Montalambert, the well-known French orator and historian, and he took a great personal interest in the early education of his brilliant grandchild.

'On the banks of the Narbudda I have spent many delightful days with large parties, on rural excursions, under a tree supposed by some persons to be that described by Nearchus, and certainly not at all inferior to it. High floods have at various times swept away a considerable part of this extraordinary tree; but what still remains is near two thousand feet in circumference measured round the principal stems; the over-hanging branches, not yet struck down, cover a much larger space; and under it grow a number of custard-apple and other fruit trees. The large trunks of this single tree amount to three hundred and fifty, and the smaller ones exceed three thousand: each of these is constantly sending forth branches and hanging roots to form other trunks and become the parents of a future progeny'.

'The banian tree, I am now describing, is called by the Hindoos cubbeer-bur, in memory of a favourite saint, and was much resorted to by the English gentlemen from Baroche. Putnah was then a flourishing chiefship, on the banks of the Nerbudda, about ten miles from this celebrated tree. The chief was extremely fond of field diversions, and used to encamp under it in a magnificent style; having a saloon, dining-room, drawing-room, bed chambers, bath, kitchen, and every other accommodation, all in separate tents; yet did this noble tree cover the whole, together with his carriages, horses, camels, guards and attendants; while its spreading branches afforded shady spots for the tents of his friends with their servants and cattle. And in the march of an army it has been known to shelter seven thousand men.'[1]

II

J. Copland on the Kabir-Vad, 1814

Mr. John Copland, Assistant Surgeon in the Bombay Medical Department, gives, in a letter written to the Secretary of the Bombay Literary Society, another excellent account of the Kabir-Vad which he visited at the end of 1814 while halting at Broach for a few days.

1. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813, I, 26-28.

on his march with a detachment of troops from Bombay to Baroda. The journey was made on the evening of the 3rd December 1814 by taking a boat on the Narbada. The interesting particulars may bc given in the author's own expressive language:

'About midnight we arrived at the island of Kabeer Bur, twelve miles N. E. of Baroach. The moon, while it enabled us to form a tolerably accurate idea of the tree, left darkness enough in its shades greatly to increase the solemn grandeur of the scene. The lofty arches and colonnades, the immense festoons of roots, the extent of ground it covered, and its enormous trunks, proclaimed its great antiquity, and struck me with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral; while the fresh green of its thick foliage showed it still in the vigour of life. I should guess it to cover from three to four acres. Its branches rise so high that many miles off it is a conspicuous object, bearing a resemblance to a hill on the extremity of the island. The tree is washed on its eastern base by the river, having to the west and south a ridge of sand, which is covered by the spring tides, and on the north the island extends for three miles, exhibiting a plain most fruitful in whatever requires a light sandy soil. At the time of the high swells at the latter end of the rains the island is overflowed, and the few inhabitants, like so many of the monkey tribe (with whom they mingle), are compelled to take refuge in the lofty branches of the tree, and remain there for several days until the water subsides, the current being too rapid for a boat to render them relief.

'The popular tradition among the Hindus concerning the tree is that a man of great sanctity named Kubeer (Kabir), having cleaned his teeth, as practised in India, with a piece of stick, struck it into the ground, that it took root and became what it now is. He was afterwards canonised, and his image we saw sitting in a temple near one of the oldest-looking trunks (his metamorphosed tooth-brush).

To this temple, people from far and near come to pay their devotions: the ceremonies are performed by the religious mendicants called Byragees under the superintendence of a headman who is stationary; the rest being wanderers from all parts of India.'[1]

1. Article entitled 'Account of the Cornelian Mines in the neighbourhood of Baroach' by John Copland, printed in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, I, 1819, 313-14.

CHAPTER XXXVII

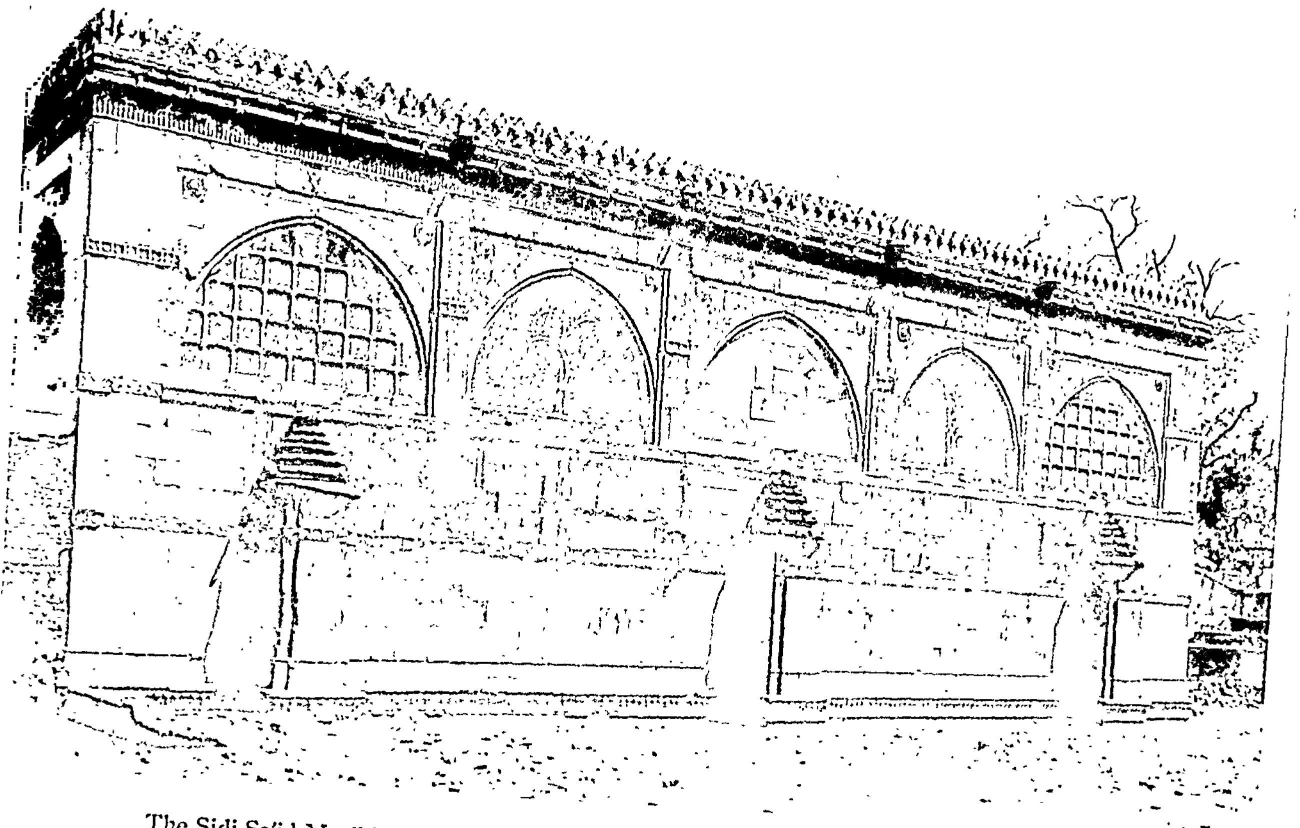
SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH III, 1561-1573

Itimad Khan as 'king-maker' and regent: Second partition of the kingdom among the nobles: Ambitious designs of Changiz Khan of Broach: Akbar's cousins, the 'Mirzas', take refuge in Gujarat with their forces: Changiz Khan supreme at Ahmadabad: His murder by Marjan Jhujhar Khan in 1567: Origin and history of the 'Changizi Mahmudis': Itimad again expelled from the capital and his invitation to Akbar: First notice of Mir Abu Turab, politician and author: The 'Koris' of Kathiawar and their mintages: The Venetian traveller Caesar Frederick at Div and Cambay in 1563: Career of Sidi Sa'id, an Abyssinian noble in Gujarat: His famous Masjid at Ahmadabad built in 1572–73: Later history of the mosque: The unique architectural beauty of its tracery-windows: H. G. Briggs' account of the Masjid in 1847.

Itimad Khan again a 'King-maker'

After Sultan Ahmad III's tragic end the throne was again vacant, but Itimad Khan was equal to the occasion, and played the *rôle* of 'king-maker' with consummate ability. He produced a youth of twelve, named Nathu or Habib, and asserted on oath that he was the son of Sultan Mahmud III. The boy's mother, he explained, had been delivered to him by the Sultan to make her miscarry; but, as this could not be effected, the child had been brought forth and reared up in secret. The story was palpably a fabrication, but the nobles thought it best to accept the version, and the boy was proclaimed Sultan under the title of Muzaffar Shah (III) in May, 1561. He was destined to be the last ruler of the dynasty. The advent of a third minority completed the fall of the Saltanat. Being of tender years, the Sultan was but a puppet-ruler, and the kingdom was again partitioned among the leading nobles. Itimad Khan retained the city of Ahmadabad, the port of Cambay and the districts between the Sabarmati and the Mahi; the *Sarkar* of Patan as far south as Kadi was given to the Fuladi chiefs Sher Khan

Second partition of the kingdom



The Sidi Sa'id Masjid built in 1572-3 near the Bhadra Citadel at Ahmadabad (pp. 503-5)

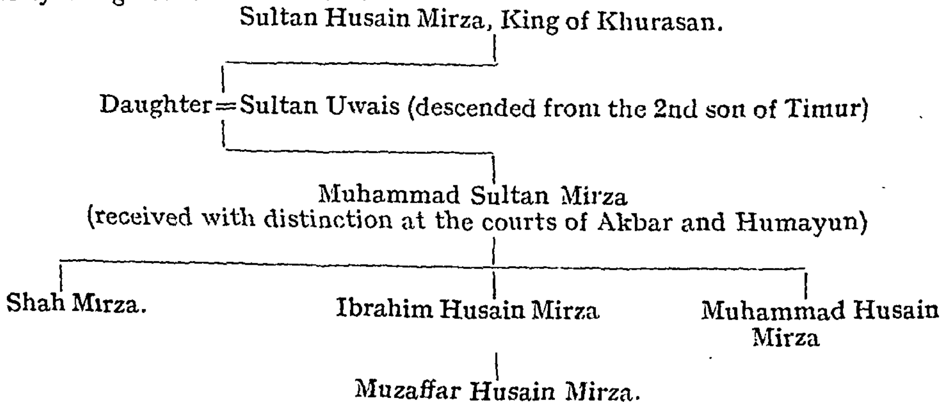
had passed during the late reign into the hands of the Khandesh ruler. Being of a warlike disposition, Changiz Khan was attracted by the proposition, and marching into Khandesh in 1566 he took Nandurbar, but attempting to proceed further to take Thalner he was defeated with heavy loss by the Khandesh Sultan and forced to fall back on Broach. He next resolved to march on Ahmadabad with the help of the Mughal princes known as the 'Mirzas' who had taken refuge at his court, and sent intimation to the regent Itimad Khan to withdraw to his fiefs as he was coming to pay his respects to his sovereign, and it was undesirable that their armies should meet in the capital. Itimad Khan, taking the king with him, marched to oppose Changiz Khan as far as Nadiad, but owing to his timidity he had not the heart to face his opponent, and fled to Dungarpur, from which place he sent the first fateful message to Akbar inviting him to invade Gujarat.[1]

The 'Mirzas' arrive in Gujarat

Many of the nobles by this time came to distrust Itimad Khan, and, with the consequent weakening of his authority, anarchy and warfare became worse than ever. To add to the confusion, a new and disturbing element appeared on the scene after 1566. The turbulent family of Timurid nobles, commonly described as the 'Mirzas,'[2] having raised an

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 158-59.

2. It is difficult to give a collective name to these troublesome descendants of Sultan Husain of Khurasan, who are generally referred to by Abu-Fazl and other Indian historians as 'the Mirzas.' Hajji-ad-Dabir calls them *awlad Mirza Muhammad Timur Sultan*. For our purpose the family tree may be given as follows:—.



insurrection against the Emperor Akbar, and being driven by him out of Hindustan, came down in their flight to Gujarat, where they obtained refuge with Changiz Khan at Broach who admitted them among his Amirs. The distracted condition of the province offered them just the opportunity they wanted for adventure and power, and they availed themselves of it and played a prominent part in the last days of the Saltanat. They had given substantial help to Changiz Khan in the military events mentioned above, and he had rewarded them with extensive fiefs near Broach. But they soon began to complain about the insufficiency of the estates allotted to them, and seized on other places without consulting Changiz Khan, and even defeated a small force which he sent against them. Finding, however, that Changiz Khan was making serious preparations to lead an army against them, they marched into Khandesh and plundered Burhanpur, after which they retired for a time into Malwa.[1]

Changiz Khan supreme at Ahmadabad, 1567—his murder

After the flight of Itimad Khan from Nadiad, Changiz Khan arrived with his army at Ahmadabad and the year 1567 saw the supreme power at the capital in his hands. To him all the great nobles of the distracted kingdom now came to offer allegiance and service. Among these were the powerful Abyssinian amirs Muhammad Ulugh Khan and Marjan Jhujhar Khan, both of whom left Itimad Khan and made their peace with the victorious noble. Saiyids Miran and Hamid were also among the supporters of Changiz Khan. There came to his court still more distinguished men, such as the 'Mirzas' and Baz Bahadur—the accomplished ex-king of Malwa, the husband of the beautiful Rupmati, and one of the most celebrated musicians of India at the time. But when his short-lived supreme power was at its height, Changiz Khan was basely assassinated at the capital by the Abyssinian nobles mentioned above whom he had raised to his intimate friendship. He invited them one day to play polo in the Bhadra citadel at Ahmadabad, and, as the three were riding together to the polo ground, Jhujhar Khan at the instigation of Ulugh Khan drew his sword and with one stroke cut off

1 Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 162.

Changiz Khan's head. After this the traitors took possession of the Citadel. Rustom Khan, the son of the murdered noble, placed his father's body on an elephant and carried it to Broach[1] where it was interred in the mausoleum of Imad-ul-Mulk on the hillock sacred to Baba Raihan.

The historian Sikandar, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, informs us that Changiz Khan had a right royal presence and a most generous heart. Nor was his administration of the city, during the short period of his supreme rule, unworthy of commendation. As far as it was possible in those rough times, he maintained justice with rigour and gave the people protection against the license of his soldiery. Our authority gives an illustration in support of this and says that he himself saw Changiz Khan's army encamped near the Kankaria tank amidst cultivated fields with a crop of *jawari* standing in them. Though the troops remained encamped there for eleven days, and the troopers had pitched their horses on the borders of these fields, not one dared to break a single stalk of *jawar* and to throw it before his horse.[2]

His character and strong rule

After Akbar's final conquest of Gujarat a few years later in 1573, the traitors Ulugh Khan and Marjan Jhujhar Khan submitted to the Emperor along with other nobles. When Marjan was taken in custody he uttered abusive words towards the Emperor, but Akbar took no notice of the matter until after he had captured Surat. When Bibi Saheb, the mother of Changiz Khan, was asked by the Emperor at Broach to take revenge on her son's murderer, she made the noble reply, 'Who is Jhujhar that I should be revenged on him for such a man as Changiz Khan?' But Akbar insisted on punishing the assassin, and by his orders the Abyssinian noble was thrown under an elephant and crushed to death in the imperial presence. His body was subsequently taken by his son from Broach to Ahmadabad where it was buried between the tombs of Bilal Jhujhar Khan and Yaqut Ulugh Khan.[3]

Jhujhar put to death by Akbar, 1573

1. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 163.
2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 296; *See* also Ross, *Arabic History*, II, 507-09, 512-13, 515-16.
3. Ross, *Arabic History*, 581-82.

The supreme power exercised for a time by Changiz Khan in the capital of Gujarat, and the status of an almost independent ruler enjoyed by him in the districts which had fallen to his share in the partition of the kingdom, help to explain the name of 'Changizi Mahmudis' under which the silver coins struck during this reign were popularly known for a long time in the districts of Baroda, Broach and Surat.

The 'Changizi-Mahmudis' of Gujarat

To students of Gujarat numismatics the origin and history of the beautiful silverling known as the 'Mahmudi' is of special interest. It was so called because Mahmud I Begada was the first to coin this piece in preference to the heavy silver 'Tankas' which had been common under his predecessors and which were probably found 'unsuited to the requirements of an impecunious people.' The weight of the Mahmudi as struck during his reign was about 88 grains, and, according to the statements made by the Persian historians, its exchange value was two-fifths in terms of the Akbari Rupee. Muzaffar II, the son and successor of the great Begada, coined a heavier silver piece of 111 grains, and this mintage, which was called the 'Muzaffari', was equivalent to about three-fifths of the Akbari Rupee. Under Sultan Mahmud III, and later under Muzaffar III, the 'Muzaffari' acquired a mint-standard of 118 grains, and it was probably this coin that came to be popularly known under the eponym of the *Changizi*, or the double-barrelled *Changizi-Mahmudi*, in those parts of Gujarat which were the fiefs of the great Turkish noble Changiz Khan whose career we have reviewed.[1] We may add that coins were minted at Surat from 1577 to 1618 which were known locally as Mahmudis and were in circulation in the districts of South Gujarat long after the Saltanat had passed away and the Mughal imperial coinage had been introduced in the province.[2] Moreover, documents have been found at Navsari dated 1640

1. S. H. Hodivala: *The Unpublished Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat* in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., August 1926, pp. 43-51 ;
A. Master: 'The Gujarat Mahmudi: Note upon the Eponym of Changizi' in *Num. Suppl.*, 1914, No. XXIV, Art. 141.

2. Geo. P. Taylor: *The Coins of Surat,* Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXII (1908), 247. These 'Surat Mahmudis' have been declared to be identical with the silver coins which S. Lane-Poole has designated in the British Museum Catalogue as 'Coins of the Gujarat Fabric.' (*Numis. Supplt.*, No. II, Art. 14, 1904, and No. VI, Art. 45, 1905).

in which the sale of land for building and certain 'incorporeal rights' by some Parsis of that town for a number of Changiz-Khani Mahmudis' has been recorded at length.

The 'Mirzas' supreme south of the Mahi

After Changiz Khan's death the country to the south of the Mahi fell an easy prey to the ambitious 'Mirzas'—Ibrahim Husain, Muhammad Husain, and Shah Mirza. They laid siege to Broach and took it after an obstinate defence of the place by Rustam Khan Rumi, the son of the late Changiz Khan. Shortly after, they captured the castle of Surat and became masters of Baroda and Champaner. In fact, they made themselves rulers of the whole country from the south of the Mahi to the borders of Khandesh and maintained their authority with the help of a small number of Mughal troopers. In 1568, after Changiz Khan's death, Itimad Khan returned to Ahmadabad with the Sultan and resumed his former authority. This lasted for four years more and ended only with the extinction of the kingdom.

Itimad's second expulsion from Ahmadabad—his invitation to Akbar

In 1572 Saiyid Miran died. His had been a restraining influence, and, after his death, the flames of dissension again broke out in Gujarat, and 'rose so high as to envelop and consume all.' Sher Khan Fuladi advanced from Patan and laid siege to Ahmadabad with a view to expel Itimad Khan. Sultan Muzaffar, thinking the balance of power was on the side of Sher Khan, left the protection of his minister and went over to the Afghan noble. Itimad Khan had again to face one of the most formidable crises in his career. But he was not yet at the end of his resources, and for the third time he decided to play the part of 'king-maker.' He sent urgent messages to the Mirzas at Baroda and Broach reminding them of their royal descent and promising to hand over to them the government after the Afghans under Sher Khan had been repulsed from the gates. Ibrahim Husain came up to the capital by forced marches in response to the request. But, while inviting him, Itimad Khan had taken a step that was destined to have the most momentous consequences: for he also wrote again to the Emperor Akbar, describing to him the political confusion in Gujarat, and requesting him to annex

the kingdom to his empire if he wished to prevent it from falling into the grasp of the Mirzas.

Mir Abu Turab Vali

It is at this period that we have the first historical notice of Mir Abu Turab al-Uraizi, one of the most influential of the nobles of Gujarat, to whom was entrusted the delicate task of carrying on the negotiations between Itimad Khan and the Emperor. He is especially interesting to us as the author of a small work on the history of Gujarat, which narrates the events of the last days of the Saltanat and the details of Akbar's acquisition and government of the country up to 1584.[1] Mir Abu Turab Vali belonged to the family of the Salami Saiyids[2] of Shiraz, and his grandfather, Saiyid Shah Mir, was a scholar of great renown who had established himself at Muhammadabad-Champaner in Gujarat during the reign of Mahmud Begada.[3]

Origin of the 'Koris' of Kathiawar and Cutch

According to Diwan Ranchhodji's *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, it was in the year 1568–69 (Samvat 1625) that Jam Satrasal (Sataji) bin Vibhaji, the feudatory ruler of Navanagar in Kathiawar, received permission from the Gujarat Sultan to coin money, with the stipulation that the coins should be called Mahmudis and that the Sultan's name should also appear on them. The following interesting particulars are given in connection with the alleged grant. On one occasion, the Jam presented a rupee to the Sultan with a newly-struck silver coin as *nazranah*, and said, 'Just as the dignity of Rajas is augmented by giving their daughters in marriage to the Sultan, so I wed my coin as a *kumvari* (maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour will increase.' The Sultan, pleased with the conceit, granted him permission for coining money, and

1. The Persian text of Abu Turab's brief History has been edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

2. The name 'Salami Saiyids' is explained as follows: One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the prophet; arriving at the sacred spot, he said the customary *Salam*, when a heavenly voice returned the greeting. The family of Abu Turab had for long been attached to the *Salsalah-i-Maghrabiyah*, or Maghrabi (western) Sect, the 'lamp' of which was the saintly Shaikh Ahmad Khattu (Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 507, (No. 315).

3. Ross, *Arabic History*, I, 499, 504.

ordered this small coin to be called *Kumvari* in the Gujarati language, and the term afterwards became contracted to *Kori*.[1] The derivation given above of the Koris minted by the rulers of Cutch and of the major Kathiawar states has not received any general support and is probably apocryphal—'a mere example', as Professor Hodivala says, of 'folk-etymology'. But the intimate connection of the coins struck by the feudatory states at this period with the mintages of Muzaffar III is a matter of common knowledge to numismatists. A large number of these *Koris* have been found to bear the name of the last Sultan of Gujarat, and they have invariably the same Hijri date 978 (A.D. 1570–71). This fact has given rise to the assumption that the Raos of Cutch and the Jams of Navanagar did not stamp any money before the year 1570. But the discovery of several copper Cutch Dokdas of an earlier date, bearing the name of Mahmud-bin-Latif in Persian along with that of the Rao in the Nagari character, appears to show that the earliest issues of the rulers of Cutch were those in copper and that the permission to coin money was first given to them not by the last ruler Muzaffar III but by Sultan Mahmud III[2]. The silver Koris of the Kathiawar states continued to be minted for many centuries after this period by the rulers of Navanagar, Junagadh and Porbandar, and they have ceased to be issued only within the last few years.[3]

The Venetian Caesar Frederick in Gujarat, 1563

It was in 1563, two years after Muzaffar III had been placed on the throne as a puppet ruler by Itimad Khan, that Master Caesar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, desirous of seeing the Eastern World, arrived in the 'Kingdom of Cambay' by way of Aleppo, Basra and Hormaz. He describes Div as the greatest stronghold which the Portuguese had in the Indies, and as a city which, in spite of its small size, had

1. *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, trans. by E. Rehatsek, ed. by J. Burgess, Bombay 1882, pp. 246-47.

2. S. H. Hodivala, *The Unpublished Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Aug. 1926, pp. 32-33.

3. 100 Navanagar koris, known as *Jamshahis*, were equal to 28-4-4 Imperial rupees.
100 Junagadh koris, known as *Diwanshahis*, were equal to 27-2-2 Imperial rupees.
100 Porbandar koris, known as *Ranashahis*, were equal to 31-7-11 Imperial rupees.
(*Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII, *Kathiawar*, 201-02).

an extensive trade with the Red Sea and other places. He saw at this port a large number of ships belonging to Muslims and to Christians laden with merchandise for foreign ports, the goods being all brought to Div in small barks from Cambay owing to the peculiarly shallow waters in the latter port. We are also informed that the control of the seas had passed to the Portuguese to such an extent that the native merchants could neither sail nor trade abroad without obtaining a license or pass from the Portuguese Viceroy, in the absence of which their boats were liable to be captured as prizes.

His account of the trade of Cambay

Cambay, which is described as 'a very fair city', was in 1563 in the grip of a great famine, for Caesar Frederick witnessed the Hindus of the town taking their children, both sons and daughters, to the Portuguese and asking the latter to buy them. He saw them being actually sold for eight or ten *larins* each, which amount he estimates as equivalent to 10*s.* and 13*s.* 4*d.* respectively in sterling. The Venetian merchant was surprised at the commercial activity of this port. 'If I had not seen it', he says, 'I could not have believed that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is, for in the time of every new moon and every full moon the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the moon the tides and waters are higher than at other times they be'. Among the commodities brought in from foreign countries are mentioned spices, silks from China, sandals, elephants' teeth, velvets and gold sequins (equivalent to 7*s.* each). On the other hand, the merchants sent to Div for export from India 'an infinite quantity of cloth, white and painted, indigo, ginger, myrabolams, sugar, raw cotton, opium, asafœtida, cornelians, agates, etc.' Among the handicrafts of Cambay, Cæsar Frederick selects for special mention the manufacture of bracelets (*mani*) made of elephants' teeth in diverse colours for the Hindu women, who took 'a marvellous fond delight' in them and had their arms fully decked with these ornaments.[1]

1. 'Purchas His Pilgrimes or Hakluytus Posthumus,' 1905, X, 89-91. See also James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (1813), III, 86, 87.

The mosque of Sidi Sa'id at Ahmadabad

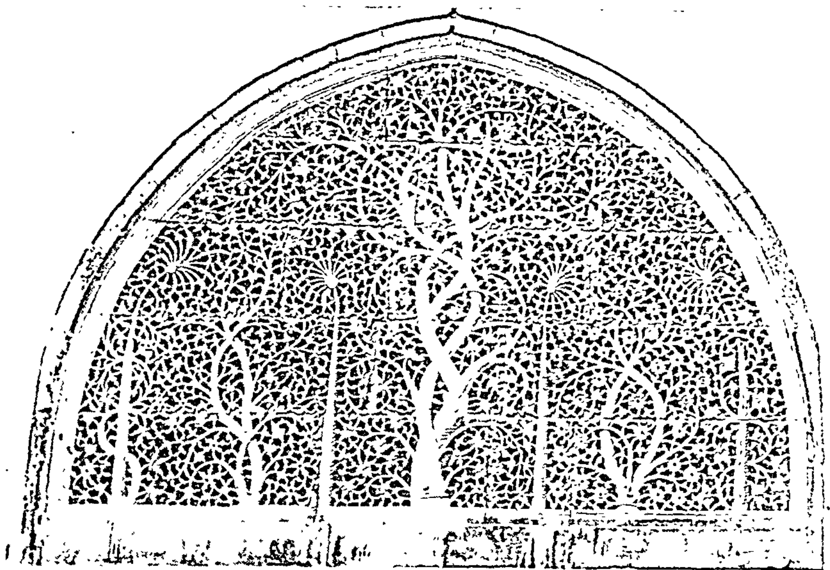
To the *Arabic History* of Hajji-ad-Dabir, and to the distinguished scholar who brought it to light, we are indebted for the solution of an important and long-standing puzzle connected with one of the most famous of the architectural monuments at Ahmadabad. This is the identity and the historical position of Sidi Sa'id who built the pretty mosque in the north-east corner of the Bhadra citadel in which are carved those exquisite window traceries which are the pride of this city and one of the most famous works of art in all India. In the absence of the inscription slab over the central mihrab, the date of this masjid has, for well nigh seventy years past, been placed at the end of Mahmud Begada's reign, 'though possibly later', and so accepted by historians and archæologists alike for lack of all other data.[1] The information now available makes it clear that the mosque was built by a Habshi nobleman in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar III in H. 980 (1572–73), in the very last year of the independent Gujarat kingdom.

Career of this nobleman

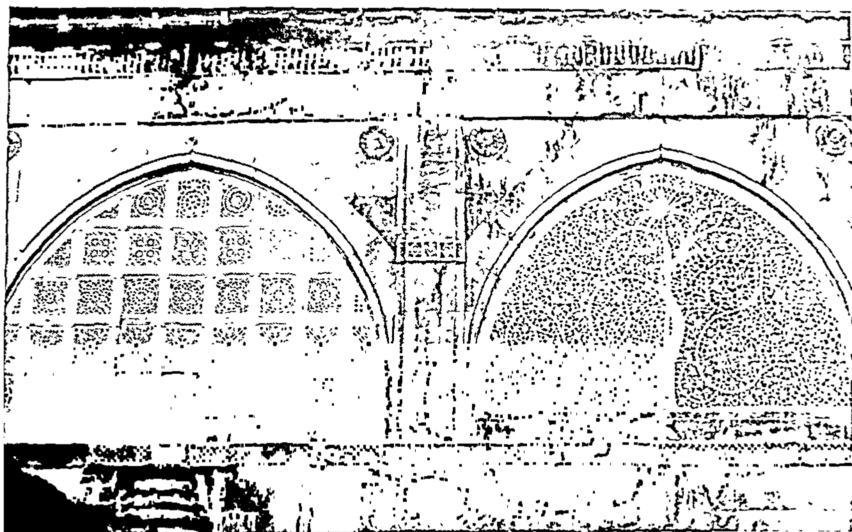
Shaikh Sa'id Al-Habshi Sultani was originally a slave of Rumi Khan and later entered the service of Sultan Mahmud III. On the death of his royal master he joined the great Abyssinian captain Jhujhar Khan. After a long and distinguished career as a soldier, he retired from active service, and Jhujhar Khan, who regarded him as a brother, settled some villages upon him. He managed his jagir very efficiently and became rich. Being fond of the company of learned persons he had collected a fine library. His establishment was on a grand scale and he had over a hundred slaves, as also a large number of horses and camels in his stables. He had performed the Hajj and was generally held in high respect by the people. He maintained a *langar*, or public kitchen, where cooked food and grain were distributed to the poor and nearly a thousand people were fed at his expense every day. In his own house he dined daily in the company of several nobles and divines. All this continued, says the *Arabic History*, up to the conquest of Ahmadabad by Akbar.[2]

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1. J. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, I, 41.
2. Ross, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, II, 640-43.



Window Tracery in the Sidi Said Masjid at Ahmadabad



Window Traceries in the Sidi Said Masjid at Ahmadabad

To the information supplied above by Hajji-ad-Dabir is added the fact that this nobleman also constructed in H. 980 (1572–73) a mosque which was situated near the royal residence (*Dar-us-Saltanat*) on the public road. This reference to its position, and the name under which the building has always been known, leave hardly any doubt about the identification of the monument. We are also told that a small brick masjid existed on the spot originally, but that Shaikh Sa'id rebuilt it in stone, raising its height and size and doming its roof. It is further stated that large stones of very fine quality were employed in its construction and that the windows were adorned with excellent tracery work. Sidi Sa'id's death took place at Ahmadabad on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwal H. 984 (24th December 1576), and he was buried near the mosque built by him. The chronogram for the construction of his masjid is to be found in an Arabic line which reads: 'For the sake of God he erected this mosque and the builder is Sa'id.'[1]

The famous mosque built by him in 1572-73

The mosque of Sidi Said has, in the course of history, been exposed to rough treatment. During Maratha rule it fell out of use and repair. It was converted into an office or *kachery* for the Mamlatdar of the Dascrohi taluka some time after British rule was finally established at Ahmadabad in 1818, though the exact date and the circumstances under which this was done are not known.[2] This fact, though aesthetically objectionable, has probably helped to preserve a remarkable building from decay and ruin.[3] The mosque continued to fulfil this utilitarian purpose right up to the end of the nineteenth century, the front arches being altered to make room for a couple of mean doors, two of the mihrabs being converted into presses for official files, and the whole interior defaced by a coat of hideous whitewash.[4] From

Vicissitudes through which it has passed

1. Ross, *Arabic History*, II, 643.
2. H. G. Briggs says in his *Cities of Gujarashtra* (p. 231) that it was after General Goddard's capture of Ahmadabad in 1780 that the Sidi Said mosque was converted into an office. But this is certainly a mistake, for Goddard's military occupation of the capital was a very temporary one and the city was soon after restored to the Peshwa.
3. A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in Ahmedabad*, 1886, p. 38.
4. J. Burgess, *The Muhamn. Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, 41; H. G. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 231.

these disfigurements Lord Curzon delivered this beautiful masjid during one of his official visits to Ahmadabad as Viceroy of India, and by his orders the Mamlatdar's office was removed from the sacred precincts. We may here assert with confidence that, long after the controversies associated with Lord Curzon's memorable viceroyalty have passed into oblivion, the name of this great proconsul will be remembered with gratitude in India for his signal services in connection with the preservation and restoration of the magnificent monuments which remind us of India's historic past.

Unique glory of the Sidi Sa'id mosque

In spite of the vicissitudes through which this mosque has passed, its most attractive feature happily remains intact in its windows of carved sandstone, of which there are seven, the remaining three arches being, strangely enough, left incomplete. Of these exquisitely perforated screens, two on the west side are carved in a style that is perhaps unrivalled in the East.[1] 'At Agra and Delhi', says Mr. Fergusson, 'there are some nearly as fine, but neither so extensive nor so exquisitely balanced as these... It is probably more like a work of nature than any other architectural detail that has been designed, even by the best architects of Greece or of the Middle Ages.'[2]

H. G. Briggs on the Sidi Sa'id Masjid

When Henry George Briggs visited this masjid on the 24th December 1847, he thought that its minarets, of which moieties still remained, merited attention, and that they were the only pair within or outside the city 'so neatly and elegantly finished by floriated bands'.[3] All traces of these elegant minars above the level of the roof have now disappeared.

1. 'In form this mosque is unusually plain and chaste', says Sir John Marshall. 'Anything more simple and unassuming, or more unlike the richly adorned mosque of Rani Sipari could hardly be imagined. But though such simplicity is rare enough in Gujarat, there is no mistaking the Gujarati genius in the graceful well-proportioned arches and superbly designed window-screens. It is these screens that have made the mosque of Sidi Sayyid world-famous. Ten (? five) of them....are divided into small square panels, filled with ever varying foliate and geometric patterns. The other two are adorned with free plant and floral designs, the like of which does not exist in any other monument in India.' (*Cambridge History of India*, III, 616.)
2. Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, 86, 87.
3. H. G. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 231.

After describing the beautiful trellis-screens in two of the semi-circular windows in the west wall of the masjid, Briggs also records that the third or central one had 'most unfortunately been plastered up'. No information is so far available about why or when this arch was closed up with stone slabs and the mystery of the missing central screen is yet unsolved. But the reference to it by Briggs, made as early as 1847, serves at least to dispose of the tradition which has persisted for many years that the screen was removed from the mosque and transported to England some time about the end of the last century.

Reasons for the uncompleted windows on the north side

The date of the construction of Sidi Sa'id's Masjid may help to supply one plausible explanation for the absence of the screens in the three arches on the north side. The Hijri year 980 (A.D. 1572–73) is of great importance in the history of Gujarat and of its capital, for it saw the invitation to Akbar, the conquest of the province by the Mughals, and the extinction of the independent dynasty of the Sultans of Gujarat. Now this was the very year in which the Sidi Sa'id Mosque was built, and we may well believe that, in the confusion caused by these momentous political changes, the work of completing the window-screens in the remaining arches was abandoned. *Inter arma silent artes*: In the clash of arms the arts are at a standstill. The death shortly after, in 1576, of the noble who built the masjid, might also account for some of the arches remaining without the screens. Be that as it may, this lovely and world-famous mosque is the last noble specimen of the great creative period of the Muslim architecture of Gujarat.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AKBAR'S CONQUEST OF GUJARAT, 1572-73

Reasons for Akbar's invasion: Details of his march from Agra to Patan, July–September, 1572: Itimad Khan and the Gujarat nobles pay him homage at Jotana and Kadi: His stay at Ahmadabad and Cambay: Gujarat annexed without a blow: The calm deceptive: The Habshi noble Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk escapes to Idar: Akbar at Baroda and the Mahi to meet the opposition from the Mirzas: Battle of Sarnal or Thasra and defeat of Ibrahim Husain, December, 1572: Akbar marches against Surat: Siege and capture of Surat Castle, January–February 1573: Akbar and the Parsis—his meeting with Dastur Meherji Rana in his camp at Surat: Patan besieged by the Mirzas and Sher Khan Fuladi, January 1573: Aziz Koka defeats the confederates: Akbar's return from Surat: Execution of Marjan Jhujhar Khan at Broach: Return journey from Gujarat to Agra.

The lure of Gujarat

With its fertile soil and extensive seaports, for centuries enriched by foreign commerce, Gujarat was regarded at this period as one of the richest kingdoms in India, and to a sovereign 'consumed', as Akbar was, 'by ambition of Empire', the opportunity of adding so famous a province to his dominions must have appeared very attractive. When, therefore, Itimad Khan, who was besieged by Sher Khan Fuladi at Ahmadabad, wrote to Akbar to interfere and to put an end to the political confusion in Gujarat, the Emperor was not slow in responding to the appeal. He perhaps also thought that the peace and order which his Imperial sway would bring to the distracted Sultanate would be preferable to continued political anarchy in a country now broken up into a number of petty governments. He may also have been influenced by the fact that his rebellious kinsmen, the Mirzas, had made themselves all but masters of South Gujarat, and the imperative necessity of preventing them from usurping the whole kingdom probably decided him to march in person to Gujarat.

Akbar started on the Gujarat expedition from his capital at Fathpur Sikri on July 2, 1572, reaching Ajmer on the 26th

of the same month. He visited the sacred mausoleum of the famous saint Muin-ud-din Chishti in this city, and sending forward Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Kalan,[1] with 10,000 horse as vanguard, himself proceeded by leisurely marches through Rajputana. In the neighbourhood of Nagor, which he reached on the 17th September, the happy news of the birth of a Prince at Ajmer was brought to him, and the child was named Daniyal after the holy Shaikh in whose house he was born.[2] Passing by Mirtha, the royal camp arrived at Sirohi, where a murderous attack had been made by a Deora Rajput on the Khan-i-Kalan when he was passing through. Akbar ordered a charge to be made on the Rajputs at Sirohi to punish them for the offence and in this skirmish about 150 of them were slain. In the vicinity of Deesa news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khan Fuladi had raised the siege of Ahmadabad and had fled to Junagadh while his two sons were conveying his family and goods to a place of safety. It was also reported that Itimad Khan was preparing to wait on His Majesty. Akbar sent Kunvar Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagvandas, in the direction of Idar in pursuit of Sher Khan Fuladi's sons.[3]

Akbar's march through Rajputana: July-Sept. 1572

On the 7th November 1572, the Imperial camp arrived at 'the pleasant city of Patan formerly known as Nahrvala', thus reaching the borders of Gujarat four months after it left the capital. The people of the city, high and low, tendered their homage. The young noble Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan, the son of the great Bahram Khan, Akbar's Protector who had been murdered at Patan in 1560, appears to have accompanied the camp, and he was now summoned by the Emperor to his presence and questioned about his father's martyrdom. The Emperor promised him the jagir of Patan, but in view of his minority, for he was only sixteen years old, it was entrusted to

The Emperor at Patan Nahrvala

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1. He was the elder brother of Shamsuddin Atgah Khan who was Akbar's foster-father and whose wife had the title of Jiji Anagah.

2. Sultan Daniyal was born at Ajmer on the 10th Sept. 1572 and was so called in remembrance of Shaikh Daniyal, a follower of Muin-i-Chishti, to whose tomb at Ajmer, Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, made frequent pilgrimages (Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 309).

3. Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, trans. by H. Beveridge, III, 6-8; Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, trans. by Lowe, 143-44.

Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha. Man Singh now joined the Emperor with the booty taken from Sher Khan's sons who had fled into the defiles. After a week's stay at Patan, the Emperor started on the march for the capital of Gujarat.

Itimad Khan and the Gujarat nobles arrive in the camp

The next halt of the Imperial party was at Jotana. Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat had left the protection of Sher Khan Fuladi when the latter abandoned the siege of Ahmadabad and fled to Kathiawar. The imperial nobles who had been sent to search for him found him 'wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood', and having captured him brought him before the Emperor on November 15, and he was placed in charge of Shah Mansur Vazir. Here also the great nobles of Gujarat arrived to pay homage to the Emperor. Among these are mentioned Mir Abu Turab, 'the chief counsellor of Gujarat'; Saiyid Hamid Bukhari, the grandson of Saiyid Mubarak; the Abyssinian nobles Ulugh Khan, Jhujhar Khan and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk; and also other local Amirs such as Wajih-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan. Akbar sent special envoys to welcome Itimad Khan, the greatest of the Gujarat nobles and the vazir of the Saltanat, and on arrival he was graciously received in the camp in the neighbourhood of the town of Kadi. Akbar won over the nobles by his gracious reception, and following up the same diplomatic policy he declared that he would entrust the administration of Gujarat to Itimad Khan and would leave with him all the officers he asked for. At the same time, to ensure their loyalty, he made them give securities for each other. As Akbar's officers were suspicious of the attitude of the Abyssinian nobles, the Emperor entrusted them to trusty persons to be employed in guarding the harem.

Akbar's halt at Ahmadabad, Nov. 20-Dec. 8, 1572

On the way from Kadi to Ahmadabad, at the village of Hajipur, a false rumour in the imperial army led to the plunder of the Gujarati camp. Akbar was furious at this breach of discipline and ordered all those in possession of the plunder to be trampled to death by elephants in his presence. At last, on November 20, 1572, the Imperial standards arrived at the capital of Gujarat and the camp halted on the banks of the Sabarmati, and this city, in the fulsome panegyric of



Akbar receiving the homage of the Gujarat Nobles, 1572
(From *The Library of A. Chester Beatty*)

Abul Fazl, 'became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shahinshah'. Akbar stayed for nearly a fortnight near the capital and visited the city several times. During this period envoys from Amin Khan Ghori, the ruler of Junagadh, arrived with suitable presents and offered homage. Before his departure for Cambay, the Emperor made over the government of Ahmadabad and of all Gujarat north of the Mahi to his foster-brother, the great Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Azam; while all south Gujarat, which had been usurped by the Mirzas, was placed in nominal charge of Itimad Khan and the Gujarati nobles.[1]

Akbar at Cambay: he sails on the waters, Dec. 1572

Akbar left Ahmadabad for Cambay on the 8th December 1572 and reached the famous seaport four days later. The merchants from Rum, Syria, Iran and other foreign countries resident there came and paid him homage. Here the Emperor had his first sight of the sea, and embarking on a ship with a select party he made an excursion on the waters. The famous historian Couto states that Akbar was visited by the Portuguese merchants then at Cambay and that he assumed their dress and allowed them to kiss his hand.[2] We shall find that the aquaintance thus begun with the Portuguese at Cambay was carried further when Akbar was encamped at the port of Surat.

The Gujarat nobles taken into custody

The Emperor had hardly left the capital for Cambay when on the march he heard that the Gujarat nobles, whom he had at their special request given permission to remain at Ahmadabad, had begun to waver in their loyalty to him. It is evident that when too late they realised that they had bartered away their political independence and they now longed to get back their power. The Abyssinian noble Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, the chief of the Habshi guards under the late Sultan, escaped with his troops in the direction of Idar. Itimad Khan and other nobles, with the exception of Mir Abu Turab, were also contemplating disloyalty and flight so that Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk and Abu Turab could barely restrain them from their purpose pending the arrival of the Imperial

1. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, III, 11-13; Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, 145.
2. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 13-14; 38 *n*.

orders. Akbar at once despatched the Mir Bakhshi, Shahbaz Khan, to Ahmadabad to arrest and bring over all the Gujarat nobles to his camp, and they were distributed for custody among his officers. Itimad Khan now fell into disgrace and was handed over to the care of Shahbaz Khan.[1] We shall find that he was released in 1575 and taken back into favour.

Akbar arrives at Baroda to chastise the Mirzas

But the calm that had so far attended Akbar's arrival in Gujarat was deceptive. The irrepressible Mirzas, his distant cousins, had, during the short period that had elapsed since their first arrival in the province, made themselves masters of Surat, Baroda and Champaner, and they had no intention of surrendering their power without striking a blow. The Emperor, therefore, now addressed himself to their subjection. After a week's stay at Cambay, he proceeded towards Baroda with this purpose, and at the same time he sent off the Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Aziz Koka, to his government at Ahmadabad. On reaching Baroda on December 20, Akbar forwarded an army under some of his ablest generals, such as the Khan Alam, Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Shah Quli Khan, Raja Bhagwandas, Man Singh and others, against the fort of Surat which had been put in a condition of defence by the Mirzas. Soon after their departure, news arrived that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had put to death Rustom Khan Rumi, the son of the late Changiz Khan, in the fort of Broach, and was marching within eight *kos* of the imperial camp with the object of creating trouble for Akbar in the northern provinces of the Empire.

Akbar on the Mahi in pursuit of Ibrahim Husain Mirza

Akbar's spirit was up at the news, and, though his army and officers were away, he decided to attack the Mirza and to intercept his march. He left the royal harem, as also Prince Salim and others, in his camp at Baroda in charge of trusted nobles, and with a handful of select followers was in full march for the Mahi. He consented, however, to the loyal advice tendered by those about him and despatched Shahbaz Khan to bring back the Imperial generals who had been sent off to Surat. On the way he received the

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 13-15.

news that Ibrahim Mirza had crossed the Mahi at the Vankaner ford and was on the way to Sarnal, a small town about five miles east of Thasra. Akbar was preparing to attack his cousin with only 40 men fully armed when the other officers who had been recalled joined him. Even then the Imperial party did not number more than 200 persons while the Mirza had a thousand troopers under him. As Akbar's party entered the gates of Sarnal, Ibrahim Husain left the town by another gate. In the open plain behind, which was very rugged and uneven owing to the slopes of the Mahi, and thickly intersected by numerous cactus hedges, the contest between the opposing sides was fought out. It was sharp, short and decisive and 'resembled a tourney rather than a battle'. During the struggle the Mirza's Mughal troops fought very bravely, and Bhupat, the brother of Bhagwandas, was among those who were slain. Owing to the thorn-bushes barely two horsemen could advance abreast at some places, and at one stage Akbar and Raja Bhagwandas found themselves alone and attacked by three of the enemy's troopers, one of whom made for the Raja and the other two went for the emperor. But Akbar, whose life was in imminent danger, managed to ward off the attack. Finding himself at last vanquished, Ibrahim Husain sought safety in flight and escaped by way of Rajputana to his ancestral estates at Sambhal. He died a wounded prisoner shortly after.[1]

Battle of Sarnal, Dec. 23, 1572

Akbar next turned his attention to the reduction of the castle of Surat which was the chief stronghold of the Mirzas and to which they had sent their wealth and their families while they moved about the country with their troops. The fort was in charge of an officer named Hamzaban, who had been formerly in the service of the Emperor and his father Humayun, but who had since joined the rebellious Mirzas. Akbar sent his troops under Shah Quli Khan Mahram and other officers to Surat in advance of his camp with orders that none of the garrison should be allowed to escape. When news of this reached Gulrukh Begum, the wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza

Akbar decides to attack Surat fort

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 17-22; Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II, 146-47.

and a daughter of Mirza Kamran, she fled from the fort taking her young son Muzaffar Husain with her, and, evading the pursuit of the Imperial officers, made her way to the Deccan with a few trusted adherents.[1] Akbar also ordered the famous Raja Todar Mal to proceed to Surat and to reconnoitre the defences of the fort, and the Raja reported on his return that the capture of the castle would not be a difficult affair. Abul Fazl says that he did this probably with the object of dissuading the Emperor from proceeding in person to Surat when so many able and loyal officers were at hand to take up the duty. But Akbar was not to be denied. With his usual foresight, however, he made arrangements before he left Baroda for the security of his new province, and sent orders to Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, who was in charge of Malwa, to march at once to Gujarat with his officers and army in order to support the Khan-i-Azam.[2]

Siege of Surat Castle, Jan. 11-Feb. 26, 1573

Akbar left the imperial headquarters at Baroda on the last day of the year 1572, and moving slowly from stage to stage, hunting and administering justice on the way, he arrived near Surat Castle on the 11th January 1573. The siege of the great fort which now began lasted for one month and seventeen days. As the site of the Emperor's camp was found to be exposed to cannon-shot from the Castle, it was moved to the vicinity of the Gopi Talav, where it was protected by a forest and some undulating ground. Even so, balls from the artillery in the fort reached the bounds of the camp. The garrison was well provided with ammunition, guns and provisions, and as the Castle built by Khudawand Khan was specially strong, its capture was not an easy matter. But the imperialists made long covered trenches right up to the walls of the fort and laid mines to blow these up. They also threw up mounds and embankments on which they mounted their guns and subjected the garrison to a continuous fire accompanied by assaults. The water-supply of

1. The account of Gulrukh Begum's return to Gujarat in 1577, and the revolt of her son against the Viceroy Vazir Khan, will be related later. This prince—Muzaffar Husain—became later son-in-law to the Emperor. (Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II, 148).

2. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 22-24 ; Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II, 147-48.

the fort was also cut off. Finding that further resistance was hopeless, the commander Hamzaban sent his father-in-law, Mulla Nizam-ud-din Lari, a man famed for his persuasive eloquence, to Akbar's camp to beg for mercy and pardon. The capitulation was effected on the 26th February 1573, and some of the royal officers were sent to bring over Hamzaban and at the same time to reassure the garrison. The Emperor gave a free pardon to all with the exception of the commander and a few others who were put into custody. According to Abul Fazl's account, Hamzaban had his tongue cut off for having used some improper language against the Emperor during the progress of the siege.[1]

The 'Sulaimani' guns taken from the fort to Agra

The day after the surrender, the Emperor went to inspect the Castle and gave orders that the breaches and ruins should be repaired. During this visit he came across a number of cannon, which were known as 'Sulaimani', and by his commands several of them were conveyed to his capital. As stated in a preceding chapter, these guns were so called because they had been originally cast under the orders of Sulaiman the Great, the Sultan of Turkey. They were brought to India when this ruler sent an expedition under Sulaiman Pasha, the Governor of Cairo, to the Gujarat coast in 1538 to attack the Portuguese fort at Div. That expedition had failed in its object largely because of the lack of co-operation between the Turkish admiral and the Gujarat nobles. When Sulaiman Pasha sailed away from Div, in November, 1538, he left behind him all his heavy artillery which had been landed on the shore to be put in position by the Gujarat general Safar Salmani. Two years later, in 1540, the latter nobleman, who had the title of Khudawand Khan and who was governor of Surat, built the famous Castle on the Tapti, and he transported a large number of these 'Sulaimani' cannon to Surat to man the new fortress. Some more were taken to the fort of Junagadh by the governor of that place.[2] Akbar was naturally struck by the size and range of these guns which had been

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 25-26; 30-40.
2. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 40-41 and *n*; Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II 149-50.

made in Europe at a time when Turkey under Sultan Sulaiman was perhaps the first military power in Europe.

When encamped in the neighbourhood of the Gopi Talav at Surat, Akbar appears to have come into contact with the Parsis living in that city and his natural bent of mind made him interested in their ancient religion. The Emperor evidently could not find any Parsi at Surat with sufficient learning to interpret the tenets of his religion, and it was a learned priest and prominent Parsi divine named Meherji Rana from the neighbouring town of Navsari who was able to satisfy his curiosity. The most direct reference to this event is contained in the manuscript notes of the French writer M. Anquetil du Perron, an Avestic scholar who visited India and stayed at Surat during the years 1755 to 1761. He has recorded the tradition which he gathered about this episode, and the relevant passage in his notes in French has been translated as follows:

Akbar meets the Parsi priest Meherji Rana of Navsari

> 'The Mogul Akbar, Jahanguir's father, came to Kakrikari (Kankra Khari),[1] one f. and a half from Surat, one hundred and fifty years (ago) or more. He was curious to know the religion of the Parsis. He found the Dastur Meherji Rana of Navsari who was able to explain the law to him.'[2]

When, therefore, some years later, Akbar held during 1576–79 his famous congress of religions in the *Ibadat-Khanah* at Fathpur Sikri, and summoned to it the representatives of all the great religions for the purpose of disputations, he appears to have remembered his meeting with Dastur Meherji Rana at Surat, and invited him to his capital. The historian Badayuni,[3] while gravely deploring Akbar's apostacy, clearly says that it was the 'fire-worshippers' from Navsari that came to the Mughal capital and 'proclaimed the religion of

Meherji Rana's later visit to Akbar's court

1. There is a locality still known as 'Kankra Khari' at Surat which is situated near the suburbs of Gopipura, Salabatpura and Rustompura.
2. 'The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana' by J. J. Modi, 1903, 185-86. This reference to the notes of M. Anquetil du Perron, now located in the *Bibliotheque Nationale* at Paris, was supplied to Dr. Modi by Mlle. Menant on her return to France after a visit to Western India in 1900-01 for the study of the Parsi religion.
3. *The Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, by Al-Badaoni, II, trans. by W. H. Lowe, 2nd Ed., 268.

Zardusht as the true one'. Local tradition at Navsari, as also other convincing evidence, leaves little doubt that it was as the result of the teaching of Meherji Rana and his associates at Fathpur that Akbar put on the visible symbols of the Zoroastrian religion, viz., the sacred shirt and thread, just as he had adopted the outward symbols of the Hindu faith, and he also ordered the sacred fire to be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl who was to see that it was kept blazing perpetually by day and night. The history of the Parsi mission from Gujarat to the Court of Akbar is of great interest, and we shall refer to it in detail in the following volume of this history, along with the account of the Jain mission under the holy saint Hirvijayasuri from this province. It will suffice here to emphasise the fact that the great Emperor's contact with the Parsis of Gujarat and his interest in their hoary religion dates from the time when he was encamped near the Gopi Talav at Surat in January, 1573, to supervise the military operations connected with the siege of Surat Castle.

Portuguese embassy to Akbar at Surat

During the investment of Surat Castle, Akbar was again brought into contact with the Portuguese power, and an embassy which came to visit him was given a cordial interview. The account of this event given by Abul Fazl may be supplemented by reference to the *Decadas* of Diogo de Couto. It appears that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet had arrived at Daman about this period presumably in response to an invitation from the Mirzas. Abul Fazl clearly hints at this reason and says that the Mirzas intended to hand over the fort of Surat to the foreigners. The Viceroy no doubt expected to profit from the troubled political conditions in Gujarat. But when he found that Akbar was too strong, and had a large army with a powerful siege-train, he changed his plan of helping the rebels and sent instead an embassy to wait on Akbar at Surat. It is also quite possible that, as Couto says, Akbar had likewise sent envoys to the Portuguese Viceroy. That he was anxious to keep on friendly terms with these aggressive foreigners who were so powerful at sea may be readily understood. He had brought his harem with him to Gujarat, and several of the ladies wished to go on a

pilgrimage to Mecca, and for this purpose passes for safe-conduct from the Portuguese would be necessary. Couto specially mentions the intention of Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begum (Maryam Makani)[1] in this connection, and it is probable that this lady, as also Akbar's paternal aunt, the famous Gulbadan Begum, were anxious to make the pilgrimage. For these reasons, as also owing to the fact that many of the Portuguese ships were in the Tapti, the Christian ambassadors were graciously received. Couto gives a translation of Akbar's farman granted on 18th March 1573. This date is ten days after the Emperor left Surat, and the farman was, therefore, possibly issued at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Ahmadabad.[2]

Imperial victory near Patan, Jan. 22, 1573

While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat Castle, his enemies made a bold attempt to challenge his authority in North Gujarat with the object no doubt of forcing him to abandon the siege. Ibrahim Husain, after his defeat at Sarnal, had been driven out of Gujarat and had fled towards the north. But his brothers Muhammad Husain and Shah Mirza combined with the veteran Afghan noble Sher Khan Fuladi, who now emerged from Kathiawar, and their armies now laid siege to the ancient city of Patan Anhilvad which had been left in charge of Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha. When news of this formidable revolt reached the Khan-i-Azam at Ahmadabad, he collected his forces and marched to the relief of Patan. He was also joined by Qutb-ud-din Khan[3] and the other fief-holders of Malwa and Chanderi whom Akbar in his foresight had summoned to Gujarat before he left for Surat. The advance of the Imperial army from Ahmadabad forced the rebel leaders to abandon the siege of Patan in order to oppose this force. A great battle took place at a

1. Akbar's mother died at Agra in Aug. 1604, and was buried by the side of her husband Humayun in the latter's mausoleum at Delhi, having outlived him forty-eight years. Her son Akbar died in 1605 a year later.

2. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 37 and *n*; Diogo de Couto, 9th Decade, Chap. XIII, 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon Ed. 1786; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, 4.

3. Qutb-ud-din Khan was the youngest brother of Akbar's foster-father Shamsuddin Atgah Khan. He was thus the uncle of Mirza Aziz Koka, the son of Atgah Khan. He was murdered at Baroda in 1583 during the rebellion of the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III against Akbar's authority. (Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 333-4).

distance of five *kos* from Patan, though the place is not mentioned. For a time, victory appeared to incline on the side of the Mirzas who defeated the wing commanded by Qutb-ud-din Khan and pursued it. But Azam Khan held his ground, and when Sher Khan Fuladi came up to attack him, he was able to beat him back. The date of the victory was the 22nd of January 1573. The confederacy was broken up and Sher Khan returned to Junagadh while the Mirzas fled to the Deccan. When news of this success reached Akbar at Surat, he summoned Mirza Aziz Koka to his camp while Qutb-ud-din Khan and other nobles were ordered to pursue the rebel forces. The Khan Azam reached Surat on the 23rd February and was graciously received.[1]

Akbar at Broach: he avenges the murder of Changiz Khan

Akbar left Surat on the 8th March 1573 after a stay of nearly two months in that city and started on his return journey to Ahmadabad. Abul Fazl states that when he was halting at Broach, the mother of the late Gujarat noble Changiz Khan came to him and demanded justice against Jhujhar Khan who had basely slain her son at Ahmadabad while professing friendship. Akbar had a full enquiry made into the circumstances of the murder with the help of witnesses, and, when it was reported to him that the charge was true, he ordered that the murderer should undergo capital punishment. Jhujhar Khan Habshi was thereupon thrown under the feet of an elephant 'in the presence of high and low'. Abul Fazl's account of the stern justice rendered by the Emperor differs in some material particulars from that given by the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, where Akbar is stated to have taken the initiative in the matter. When the Imperial camp arrived at Mahmudabad, it was joined by Qutb-ud-din Khan and other nobles who had been sent in pursuit of the Mirzas and their forces after the great victory near Patan. According to Badayuni they had managed to hunt out from the jungles the powerful Abyssinian noble Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk who had escaped from the custody of the Imperial officers at the time when Akbar left Ahmadabad

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 32-36; Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II, 151-53.

for Cambay. The Emperor arrived at the capital of Gujarat on the 3rd April 1573 and encamped outside its walls.[1]

Akbar starts on return journey, April 13, 1573

Akbar remained ten days at Ahmadabad to make final arrangements for the conquered province which was entrusted to the charge of Mirza Aziz Koka. In the distribution of the other offices we find that Patan was bestowed on Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Kalan,[2] and Baroda was placed under his younger brother Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan. Though both of these nobles were uncles of Aziz Koka and much older than him, they were made subordinate to the Viceroy, for 'in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years.' Dholka and Dhandhuka were given as jagirs to Saiyid Hamid Bukhari, whom Akbar had taken under his special patronage. After the festival of the *'Id,* the Emperor left Ahmadabad, on April 13, 1573, on his return journey towards Agra by way of Patan and Jalor. At Siddhpur the Khan-i-Azam and other fief-holders were allowed to depart, the former being given valuable advice on the principles of government. Man Singh and a number of other officers were now placed at the head of a section of the royal army with instructions to proceed to the Imperial capital by way of Idar, Dungarpur and Udaipur enlisting the loyalty and submission of these Hindu principalities by princely favours or by other methods.[3]

The Emperor arrives at his capital, 3rd June, 1573

When the camp reached Sirohi, the capital of the Deora Rajputs, Akbar, in order to do honour to Raja Bhagwandas, sent the Raja's sister, 'who held high rank in the Imperial harem' as the mother of Jahangir, to Amber (Jaipur) in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhupat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnal. Here also the Emperor received the news that Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had so far been giving trouble to the officers in the Punjab, had been wounded and taken prisoner and was dead. It appears from Abul

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, 44-46; Al-Badaoni, *op. cit.*, II, 151.
2. He died at Patan in 1575-6. He was also a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of 'Ghaznawi' in allusion to his birth-place (Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 322).
3. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 46-48.

Fazl's language that the nobles, being apprehensive that Akbar might forgive him, 'dissolved the bond between his perverse spirit and his vile body'. On May 13, His Majesty arrived at Ajmer where the courtiers who had been specially sent for the purpose brought over the little Prince Daniyal from Amber for being fondled by his royal father. After a week's stay in this city, Akbar proceeded by rapid marches to his capital, ordering the camp to follow slowly stage by stage. On 3rd June 1573 he reached Fatehpur-Sikri, eleven months after he left it for this first expedition to Gujarat.[1]

1. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, III, 49, 54-55.

CHAPTER XXXIX

AKBAR'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO GUJARAT, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1573 : THE END OF THE SALTANAT

Rebellion against Imperial authority in Gujarat raised by Muhammad Husain Mirza: He effects a junction with Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk: The Governor, Mirza Aziz Koka, besieged in the capital: Akbar's lightning march from Fathpur to Ahmadabad in nine days: The enemy taken completely by surprise: Battle of Ahmadabad, Sept. 2, 1573, and Akbar's victory: Muhammad Husain taken captive and put to death: Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk advances with his forces, but is defeated and slain: Aziz Koka emerges from the city-walls and joins the Emperor: Akbar's fresh dispositions for the government of Gujarat: His return journey to Agra: End of the Saltanat: Later career of ex-Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat.

Revolt of Mirza Muhammad Husain in Gujarat

Akbar had not been settled fully three months in his capital at Sikri after his conquest of Gujarat when very disconcerting news reached him to the effect that the province was in a flame and that imperial authority there had been seriously challenged. The lead in this revolt was taken by the Timurid prince Muhammad Husain Mirza who returned to Gujarat from his retreat at Daulatabad as soon as the Emperor's back was turned on the province. He entered Surat (where the Mughal governor Qulij Khan shut himself up in the Castle), took Broach, and captured Cambay. Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Azam, whom Akbar had left behind him in charge of his conquest, was at this time engaged in Idar territory, where Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, the Abyssinian noble of Gujarat, had raised a disturbance in conjunction with Rao Narandas of Idar and the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi, and had taken Ahmadnagar (Himatnagar). When, however, Mirza Aziz received information of the success and rapid advance of Muhammad Husain, he retired in the direction of Ahmadabad by rapid marches and managed to enter the city. Meanwhile, he had sent the imperial forces under Saiyid Hamid and Naurang Khan against Muhammad Husain, who, being defeated near

Cambay after an obstinate encounter, led his troops in the direction of the capital and effected a junction with the army of Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. The rebel leaders next advanced against Ahmadabad, but Aziz Koka did not consider it advisable to engage them in open battle, with the result that he found himself practically besieged by them in his capital. It is probable that he was acting on the parting advice given to him by the Emperor that in the event of a rebellion he should not risk everything on the chances of a single engagement.[1]

Akbar's march to Ahmadabad in nine days

When despatches of this crisis reached Akbar he decided not to lose any time but to march in person to Gujarat to recover the province. A force with the camp equipage was sent in advance to Gujarat, as also the royal harem in charge of trusted nobles such as Raja Bhagwandas and Saiyid Mahmud Barha. After making arrangements for the government of the Punjab and Multan, Akbar himself left Fathpur on the 23rd August 1573, accompanied by a small but select band of his personal companions[2] all mounted on swift she-camels and fast horses. Dashing across Rajputana the party passed by way of Basawar and Toda covering the distance of a 100 *kos* in two days. At Ajmer the Emperor, as usual, visited the shrine of the Chishti saint and sought help from the spirit of the holy man. From this city the march was again pushed forward with lightning rapidity, the party often travelling all night with the briefest of halts for rest and sleep. Passing by way of Mirtha, Sojat, Jalor, Deesa, Balisna and Kadi, the Emperor arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad accomplishing in nine days a distance of about 600 miles which caravans ordinarily took two or three months to complete. It was a fine performance which has few parallels in history.[3]

When the Emperor and his army, in all not more than 3,000 horse, arrived on the banks of the Sabarmati at

1. Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, trans. by Beveridge, III, 59-61.
2. Abul Fazl enumerates by name 27 officers of rank who accompanied Akbar in this rapid march, of whom not less than 14 were Hindus, a fact which shows the great faith which the Emperor placed on his Rajput nobles (*Akbarnama*, III, 69).
3. *Akbarnama*, III, 61-69; Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. by Lowe, II, 168-69.

Ahmadabad, Akbar decided to cross the river and give battle to the rebels whose forces numbering 20,000 men were pressing on the siege of the capital.[1] His officers advised a night attack in view of their small numbers, and also because neither the garrison from the city under the Khan-i-Azam nor the troops from Patan under the Khan-i-Kalan had yet been able to effect a junction with the imperialists. But Akbar was not to be denied and ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded to proclaim his arrival and to herald the advance. The rebels, who had no suspicion of his presence, were taken completely by surprise, and their leader Muhammad Husain Mirza rode out in person with two or three others to the river to ascertain the cause of this commotion. When he saw Subhan Quli Turk and a few royal officers who had come to the riverside to reconnoitre, he asked whose the troops were. Being told that it was the imperial army with Akbar in person at its head, the Mirza was frankly incredulous. 'My scouts informed me to-day', he exclaimed, 'that they had left him at Fathpur fourteen days ago. If this is the imperial army, where are the elephants which always accompany it?' Subhan Quli retorted, 'How could elephants travel a distance of 400 *kos* by forced marches in nine days?' The Mirza was convinced and hastened to his camp to arrange his forces. The imperial retinue put on their cuirasses and advanced under the Emperor's orders, the latter plunging his horse into the swollen river with his special followers to put an end to all indecision among his officers.[2]

He crosses the Sabarmati and gives battle

The battle of Ahmadabad that followed was sharp and decisive (September 2, 1573). The exact site of the action, which is said to have been fought near high ground one *kos* from the river, cannot be located. After deputing Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk with 5,000 horse to prevent the Khan-i-Azam from leaving the city, Muhammad Husain Mirza drew up his ranks in order of battle. The right wing was placed in charge of Wali Khan, the son of Jhujhar Khan Habshi who

The battle of Ahmadabad, Sept. 2, 1573

1. According to Badayuni, the rebel army was composed of Mughals, Gujaratis, Afghans, Abyssinians and Rajputs.
2. *Akbarnama*, III, 73-75.

had been trampled to death by an elephant under Akbar's orders during the first expedition to Gujarat for the murder of Changiz Khan. A number of Abyssinians and Gujaratis were placed under Wali Khan. The left wing, consisting of a large body of Afghans, was placed in charge of a son of Sher Khan Fuladi. The Mirza in person was in charge of the centre at the head of 1,500 devoted and veteran Mughals—Badakhshis and men of Transoxiana—about whom Abul Fazl says that their 'brains and bones had been nourished by sedition against the Emperor'. The Mirza's special force was distinguished by red standards on this day. Badayuni tells us that Akbar's battle-cry in this action was *Ya-Muin,* which means 'Lo, the Helper'; though it is possible that it had special reference to his patron saint Muin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmer. At one stage of the battle, as his centre had not yet come up, Akbar found himself practically alone with only two of his personal retinue to support him. One of the enemy struck his horse's head with a sword, but the Emperor charged him with his spear with such force that the weapon pierced his opponent's armour and sank into his body. Akbar was trying to extract the spear when its head broke off and the adversary fled. Another man now came up and aimed a blow with his sword at the Emperor's thigh, but it was warded off. The royal centre having by this time arrived on the scene, the imperialists charged and routed the Mirza's ranks. The victory was complete.[1]

Muhammad Husain Mirza taken captive

Akbar turned his horse slowly towards Ahmadabad wondering why neither Mirza Aziz Koka nor the army of Gujarat had yet joined him. News was at this time brought to him that his cousin Muhammad Husain Mirza, the cause of all this sedition, had been taken captive. This Prince had fought most valiantly in the battle, but in attempting to escape after the disaster, his horse, which had been wounded, stumbled in some thornbushes and fell. A Turk named Gadai Ali, who had been hotly pursuing him, sprang upon him and taking him prisoner brought him to Akbar. The Emperor treated his kinsman kindly and ordered him to

1. *Akbarnama,* III, 76-81; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* II, 170.

be placed in charge of a Hindu noble. Just then the Mirza's foster-brother Shah Madad was brought before the imperial presence, but Akbar transfixed him with a spear which he had in his hand, and thereby avenged the death of Bhupat, the brother of Raja Bhagwandas, whom Shah Madad had killed in the battle at Sarnal near Thasra during the first campaign in Gujarat.[1]

While the Emperor and his troops were resting after the battle, and many had retired from the field, a large army of more than 5,000 men came in view which gave rise to much surprise until it was ascertained that it was the rebel Habshi noble Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. This general, when he heard of the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirza, gave up blockading the city and now made his appearance in the open plain. Akbar had a retinue of only one hundred men in attendance, but he was ready to meet this fresh danger and ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded. The consternation in the imperial ranks at this unexpected attack may be judged from the fact that a drummer, who was near by, could neither hear the order nor carry it out until Akbar brought him to his senses by pricking him with his spear. At the same time the Emperor, at the instance of Raja Bhagwandas and Rai Singh, gave permission for the captive Muhammad Husain Mirza to be put to death. Once again, Akbar's good fortune stood by him, for the Abyssinian general, on finding his vanguard routed, began to retreat. In attempting to escape, his horse stumbled in a thorn-brake and he was thrown on the ground. A royal trooper named Sohrab Beg Turkman, who had been pursuing him, now overtook him, and in Abul Fazl's words 'lightened his shoulders of the burden of his head'. As mentioned above, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk had been engaged in the siege of Ahmadabad along with Muhammad Husain Mirza's forces, but it appears that on the defeat and capture of his confederate he was more anxious to effect a retreat with his large array of elephants than to engage in a pitched battle. Anyhow, the powerful combination of opponents which the Mirzas had created in Gujarat had now effectually been broken up, and Akbar was at last free from the designs of his ambitions

Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk on the scene: his death

1. *Akbarnama,* III, 82-84.

and turbulent kinsmen. Shah Mirza, the only member who survived, became a homeless wanderer.[1]

Akbar's stay at Ahmadabad for eleven days

But the surprises of this memorable day were not yet over. Late in the evening, another army was seen to advance in battle array, and the imperial troops were preparing to meet what they considered a fresh foe when they learnt that it was Mirza Aziz Koka with the garrison which had hitherto been blocked up in the capital city. Akbar embraced his foster-brother, while Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, the uncle of the Khan-i-Azam, and other Gujarat officers were received with due honour. Just then the head of Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk was brought in to complete the satisfaction for the victory, and Akbar gave orders that a pyramid should be made of the heads of more than a thousand rebels who had fallen in the battle as a warning to others. At the end of the day the Emperor made a ceremonial entry into the city and took up his residence in the palaces of the Sultans. As Mirza Aziz, the Khan-i-Azam, had represented that several learned men and distinguished recluses at the capital (among them being the well-known scholar Shaikh Wajih-ud-din, the disciple of Muhammad Ghaus) had been in sympathy with the rebels, the Emperor summoned them to his presence and being satisfied with their replies exonerated them. During his short stay at Ahmadabad, Akbar spent some days at the house of Itimad Khan Gujarati, who had been instrumental in bringing about the Mughal conquest of the province, and he likewise busied himself with making arrangements for the administration of his conquest. Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan and his son Naurang Khan, with a body of troops, were sent to the districts of Broach and Champaner as the surviving rebel leader Shah Mirza had fled in that quarter. Raja Bhagwandas and some other officers were despatched towards Agra by way of Idar and the territory of the Rana of Udaipur with instructions to chastise these factious Rajput rulers and to secure their allegiance. The Khan-i-Kalan, the uncle of Aziz Koka, was confirmed in the government of Patan, while Dholka and Dhandhuka were given as jagirs to Wazir Khan.[2]

1. *Akbarnama*, III, 85-86; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, 172.
2. *Akbarnama*, III, 87-89.

The Emperor halted for eleven days at Ahmadabad to settle the affairs of Gujarat, and left the city on the 13th September 1573, proceeding first to Mahmudabad and then for a day to the 'pleasant' town of Dholka where he made his final dispositions and gave permission to Mirza Aziz Koka to depart after giving him some useful instructions.[1] Khwaja Ghias-ud-din Ali of Qazwin, who had done excellent work during the campaign, was given the title of Asaf Khan and appointed Diwan and Bakhshi (military Paymaster) of the province. The return journey of the Emperor was accomplished rapidly in three weeks by way of Kadi and Siddhpur. At the latter place Akbar received information that Raja Bhagwandas, who had been sent through Idar territory, had taken the fort of Vadnagar from Rawalia, the servant of Sher Khan Fuladi. On the 27th September 1573 Akbar was back at Ajmer paying his devotions at the shrine of his favourite saint. His amazing powers of endurance are seen from Abul Fazl's remark that, after leaving Ajmer, 'he travelled the rest of the day, the whole night and to the end of the next day', till he arrived at Sanganer, now in Jaipur State. At this stage, Raja Todar Mal, who had been hastily summoned from the capital, arrived in the Imperial camp and was ordered to proceed to Gujarat to make the revenue settlement of the new conquest and to forward the details of the same to the court. Marching again from this place with great rapidity, the Emperor and his retinue entered the capital with their lances in hand on the 5th October 1573. The Begums and the royal household welcomed Akbar on his return from what had been 'one of the quickest campaigns on record'—the march to Gujarat, its re-conquest and pacification, and the return journey being all accomplished in the short period of forty-three days. It must be remembered that the Emperor was at this time in the prime of life, being in his thirty-first year and in the full enjoyment of his extraordinary physical powers. A month later, Raja Bhagwandas also arrived at court with the army

Return journey to the Mughal capital

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1. During the course of the next 50 years Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, plays a very prominent part in the history of Gujarat, being appointed four times Subahdar of the province. *Koka* means foster-brother, being the same as the Turkish *Kokaltash*.

which had been sent by way of Idar, having secured the submission of Rao Narandas of that state and of the Rana of Udaipur. At a later date Raja Todar Mal also returned from Gujarat and deposited in the imperial archives a revised settlement (*jama manaqqah*) of the newly annexed territories.[1]

End of the Gujarat Saltanat

The Gujarat Saltanat was now at an end. That it had long outlived its utility will be readily admitted. The judgment on the last thirty-seven years of its existence is written large in the chaotic condition of the province during that period. Nor could it have abdicated in favour of a more worthy successor; for the Mughal sway was at least a guarantee for peace and order. But let us not forget that for a century and a half the Sultans of Gujarat had held a commanding place among the powers of Hindustan, and that they have left behind them memorials of their greatness in the architectural monuments at their capital, which still command our admiration after the lapse of more than four centuries. One hundred and seventy years after the first Muzaffar had proclaimed his independence from the effete Tughluq Sultanate at Patan Anhilvad, the kingdom of Gujarat was again reunited to the Empire of Delhi. With the exception of one formidable revolt, during which Muzaffar III, having escaped from his captivity, recovered his throne for a few months (1583–84), the conquest of Gujarat effected by Akbar in 1573 was final, and the province remained under the charge of Mughal viceroys until it passed into the grasp of the Marathas about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Later career of Muzaffar III

The story of Sultan Muzaffar III's chequered career after his captivity in 1572 still remains to be told, but its details belong to the imperial period of the history of Gujarat and will be treated there. In 1578 he eluded the vigilance of the royal servants, and fled to Gujarat, where in 1583 he raised a formidable rebellion against the authority of the Mughal viceroy, and for six months reigned again as Sultan. Defeated and driven from the capital, he offered for nearly ten years a stubborn resistance, and was pursued from place to place—on the main-

1. *Akbarnama*, III, 90-93.

land and in Kathiavad and Cutch—until, hounded like a wild beast, he put an end to his life by cutting his throat near the little town of Dhrol in the Nawanagar state (1593). Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, 'last but not least of the Sultans of Gujarat'.

APPENDIX

Explanatory Note to the Mughal Painting Reproduced at Page 508

This beautiful specimen of Mughal miniature painting has been taken, with its owner's special permission, from the three magnificent volumes, entitled *The Library of A. Chester Beatty,* which have been published by Emery Walker Ltd., and in which are reproduced over a hundred paintings selected from the unique collection of no less than eighteen illustrated oriental manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Chester Beatty.

This particular miniature, entitled 'Akbar receiving the Homage of the Gujarat Nobles', is by the pen of Sur Das, and is found in a superb manuscript of Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* which contains the text of a portion of this well-known history and is illustrated with some 61 original paintings by the best artists of Akbar's reign. The late Sir Thomas W. Arnold, who wrote the Introduction and the letterpress to Mr. Chester Beatty's publication (revised and edited by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson), is of opinion that 'the sumptuous character' of this particular manuscript of the *Akbarnama,* 'and the care devoted to the decoration, indicate that it was intended for the royal library, and some of the greatest of Akbar's court painters were employed in illustrating it'. The same distinguished scholar remarks that this may well be one of the volumes carried off to Persia by the great invader Nadir Shah from the royal library at Delhi. Commenting on the technique and excellence of these paintings, Sir Thomas Arnold adds that 'the sixty-one paintings exhibit greater delicacy of execution and more refinement of colouring than those in the Akbar-Namah in the Indian Museum—South Kensington, the only other copy known to exist with illustrations by Akbar's artists'.

Besides the painting reproduced in Chapter XXXVIII on the subject of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat, there is yet another on the same subject in Vol. II of the publication bearing on Mr. Chester Beatty's collection, and it is also from the manuscript of the *Akbarnama.* It is a double-paged painting, by the same artist Sur Das, and is entitled 'The Battle of Ahmadabad', showing Akbar and his retinue with their horses and elephants fording the Sabarmati river. An account of this battle has been given in the early part of this chapter.

CHAPTER XL

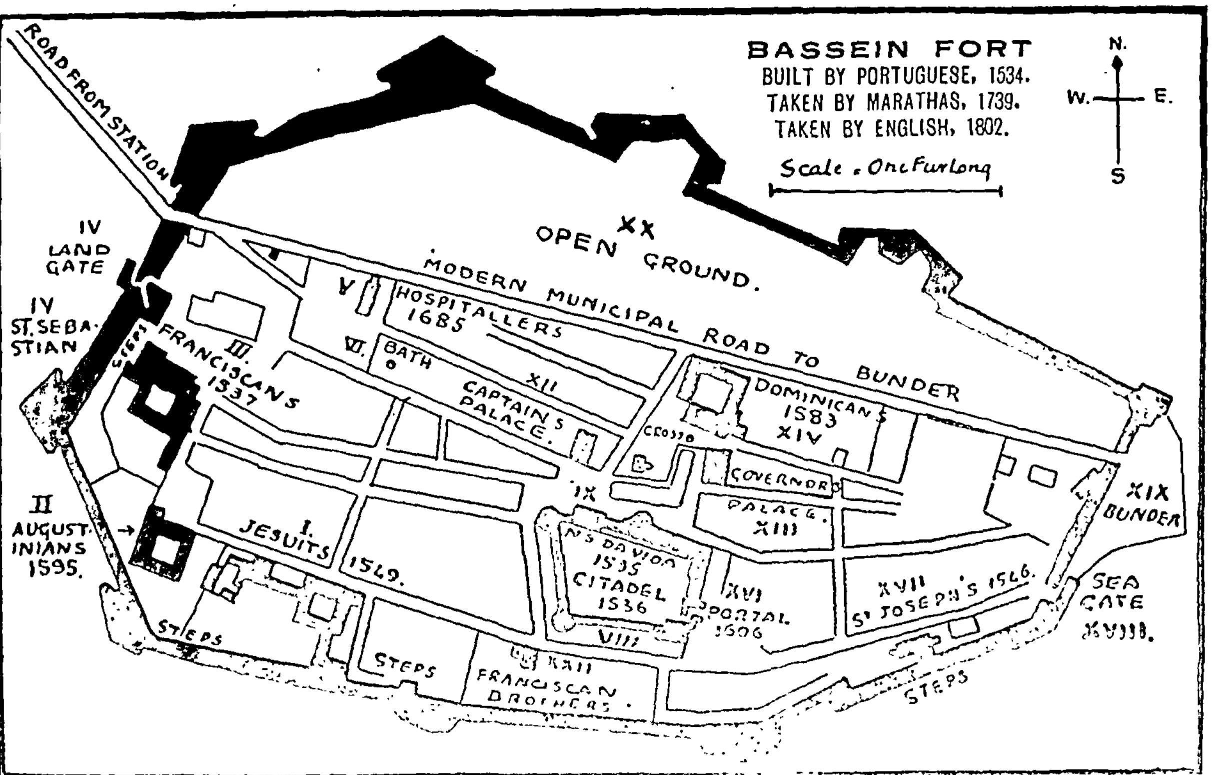
BASSEIN UNDER THE PORTUGUESE DURING THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The history of Bassein at this period a part of the general history of Gujarat: Topography of the island of Bassein: Nuno da Cunha as the 'founder of Bassein', 1534–35: Garcia de Sa the first Captain of the settlement: The Fort (city-walls) of Bassein built during the 16th century: The General of the North and his extensive jurisdiction: Pyrard de Laval on the ship-building industry of Bassein, 1609: Dr. J. Fryer's account of Bassein and its 'Fidalgos', 1675: Bassein looted by the Arabs of Maskat, 1674: The Portuguese ladies of Bassein: Gemelli-Careri on the gardens and villas in the suburbs, 1695: St. Francis Xavier's visits to Bassein, 1544–48: Foundation of the Jesuit Mission and its proselyting activities in these parts: The Commissary of the Inquisition at this centre: Great siege of Bassein by the Marathas and its capture in 1739: Reflections on the fall of Portuguese Bassein: Its decline under Maratha rule and its present condition.

The history of Bassein connected with that of Gujarat

Bassein, or more properly Vasai[1] as it is commonly known to the people, is picturesquely situated on the coast of the North Konkan about 30 miles north of Bombay on the creek of the same name, and is now the headquarters of a sub-division of the Thana district. For over two hundred and thirty years it was under the Muslim rulers of Gujarat from the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji's conquest of these parts early in the fourteenth century up to the year 1534 when it passed into the hands of the Portuguese by virtue of the treaty made by Sultan Bahadur with this power in the distressful hour of the invasion of his kingdom by the Emperor Humayun. The history of Bassein under Portuguese rule during the rest of the 16th century and in the century that followed, till its capture by the Marathas in 1739, forms, therefore, part of the general history of Gujarat. It is proposed in this and the following chapters to offer a

1. Vasai (i.e., 'the settlement' or 'residence') was changed into Basai by the Muslims, and later into Bacaim by the Portuguese, and into Bassein by the British.



Plan of the Portuguese Fort of Bassein and its monuments

(From Plan by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes in Fr. Hull's *Guide to Bassein*)

general account of this once flourishing Portuguese settlement with special reference to its monuments, the ruins of which are still of considerable interest to all students of history.

The island of Bassein described

Though it has lost its insular character in recent years by its connection with the mainland, Bassein was for many generations an island, being bounded on the north by the Vaitarani or Dantura river, on the south by the creek of Bassein, on the east by the Gokhirva or Sopara creek, and on the west by the Arabian Sea. The island so formed was about eleven miles long and five miles broad, and had an area of nearly 35 square miles. The famous Portuguese Fort stands on its south-west extremity on a low flat plot of ground once abounding in palms and mangrove bushes. A good metalled road, 4½ miles long,[1] now leads from Bassein Road station on the main Bombay and Baroda Railway line to the old Portuguese city of Bassein and to the walls of the Fort which enclose it.

Nuno da Cunha builds the citadel of Bassein, 1536

As stated above, Bassein came into the hands of the Portuguese at the end of 1534 by virtue of a treaty made by Sultan Bahadur with Nuno da Cunha during the crisis of the Mughal invasion.[2] Within a year of this transfer, in 1536, the new settlement was attacked by the Mughal forces then in Gujarat, and Nuno was obliged to appoint his brother-in-law Garcia de Sa to conduct its defence. The latter, however, finding the place poorly equipped for defence, was for abandoning it, but the decision was opposed by one of his officers named Antonio Galvao who later on distinguished himself as the governor of the Moluccas. The Mughal general, finding the garrison ready to resist, withdrew without firing a shot. Shortly after, Nuno da Cunha himself arrived at Bassein where he began the construction of a citadel, and he honoured Galvao by asking him to lay the corner-stone of the Castle.[3] The date of the construction of the Portu-

1. The motor car or bus which covers the distance in about 15 minutes has now displaced those picturesque modes of transport—the bullock-carts, the saddle-ponies and the palanquins—to which Dr. J. Gerson Da Cunha referred half a century ago in connection with his visits to Bassein in 1876 to write his excellent treatise on its history and antiquities.

2. See *ante* Chap. XXVIII, p. 349.

3. J. Gerson Da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Bassein.* Bombay, 1876, p. 137.

guese citadel, the ruins of which may still be seen within the Fort-walls of Bassein, is preserved in an inscription which will be mentioned in the next chapter.

Nuno da Cunha, who is generally described as 'the founder of Bassein', left India in 1538 and died at sea on his way home in February, 1539. His name stands high in the annals of the growth of the Portuguese power in the East, and he belongs, along with Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque and Joao de Castro, to 'that brilliant galaxy of intrepid soldiers of old Lusitania who for about half a century dazzled the world with their splendid achievements'.[1]

The first Captain of Bassein—Garcia de Sa

Nuno had appointed Garcia de Sa as the first Captain of Bassein, and the latter continued to improve the condition of the new possession until 1548. On the death of Dom Joao de Castro in this year, the royal 'letters of succession' being opened at Goa with the usual formalities, De Sa was found to be named for the succession and he was proclaimed Governor of India, though he died shortly after, in 1549. Garcia de Sa is thus the first in the long list of Portuguese rulers of Bassein in the two hundred years that followed. His place as Captain of Bassein was given to George Cabral who was also called to Goa to act as Governor on the death of De Sa, till the year 1551 when the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha arrived to hold the reins of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

The Fort of Bassein built

Soon after the building of the 'Citadel', the Portuguese began to plan out a fine city to be enclosed within an extensive circuit of walls. These city-walls, now known as the Fort of Bassein, were completed in the course of the sixteenth century, though they were afterwards improved upon.[2] Between 1535 and 1600 a flourishing settlement grew up at this spot, semi-European in character, with fine mansions and public buildings, including an unusually large number of churches and monasteries, all of which appear to have been constructed before the end of the sixteenth century. The Fort of Bassein is built in the form of an irregular decagon, the

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 137-38.
2. De Couto, XIV, 65, quoted in Nairne's Konkan, 46.

circuit of the walls covering a mile and a half, and at each of the ten corners is a four-sided bastion. There were originally three entrances to the fort, *viz.*, two main double gateways and a postern. The area of the city enclosed within these stone-walls measures about two-thirds of a mile from east to west and one-third of a mile from north to south. The height of the walls of the Fort is from thirty to thirty-five feet, and on three sides, *viz.*, the north, south and east, the walls are of the average thickness of only five feet, for the works on these sides derive their chief strength from nature, the swamps rendering it almost impossible for a besieging army to approach in any of these directions. On the western or land side, however, the wall consists of a double front of considerable thickness, this being the only quarter from which the Portuguese city was exposed to attack from its enemies.[1] The city-walls just described as also the ramparts are still in a fair state of preservation, but the area within is now desolate except for a few persons and the ruins of the monuments which once constituted the glory of the city. The houses of the present village of Bassein lie about half a mile inland and to the north of the walls of the old fort.

Greatness of Bassein in the days of its prosperity

The Portuguese remained in possession of Bassein for roughly two hundred years, from 1535 to 1739, during which period the city rose to a position of grandeur and opulence that earned for it among the Portuguese the appellation of the 'Chief City of the North' in relation to their capital at Goa in the south. It was during these two centuries the resort of the proudest nobles and the most prosperous merchants of Portuguese India, so much so that a great man came proverbially to be described as a 'Fidalgo, or Cavalleiro, de Baçaim.' With fine streets, large squares, and stately dwellings graced with covered balconies and large windows, as also many magnificent churches with their convents and colleges, Bassein was next to Goa the largest and richest of the Portuguese possessions in the East, and the ruins of these monuments serve as a silent memorial of its vanished greatness.

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 207-08; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, 38.

The 'General of the North's' extensive jurisdiction

As the Portuguese possessions on the coast of the North Konkan increased in number and became consolidated, Bassein came to be the headquarters of a compact administrative province under the command of an officer who was called 'The General of the North',[1] and whose jurisdiction extended over eight districts. These included the Saibana of Bassein (*i.e.*, the whole island of that name exclusive of the fort), the *kasba* of Thana, the island of Salsette, the island of Karanja, the island of Bellaflor de Sambayo (Belapur), the parganas of Manora and Asserim, and the island of Bombay. The 'General of the North' always resided in Bassein, and, except the Governor at Goa and some of the high dignitaries of the Church, there was no higher official than this in the whole of the Portuguese settlements in the East.[2] An excellent and detailed survey of the history and antiquities of these eight divisions comprised in the Province of the North, the chief towns in which were only less remarkable for their churches and convents than the city of Bassein itself, is given by the late Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha in his brilliant monograph on Bassein.[3]

Pyrard de Laval on ship-building at Bassein, 1609

Some idea of Bassein in its palmy days may be obtained from the references to the city made in the works of several of the well-known European travellers who visited it during the seventeenth century. The earliest of these was François Pyrard of Laval, an adventurous Frenchman, who, after a long stay on the Maldive Islands, where the ship in which he came out was wrecked, fell into the hands of the Portuguese and was taken to Goa as a prisoner in 1608. He subsequently proceeded to the Gujarat coast in 1609 and among other places visited Bassein, and he makes special reference to the excellent timber which it supplied to all the Portuguese settlements for building ships and houses. 'This place, Bassein', he says, 'is to the Indies what Biscay in Spain is

1. Gemelli-Careri, referring to this functionary, says, 'The Portuguese General resides at *Bazaim*, with sovereign authority over the Captain of that and all other northern places, whence he is called General of the North' (Churchill's *Voyages*, IV, 191).
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 140, 157, 222.
3. *Ibid.*, 158-207.

here, for all the vessels built for the King of Spain in the Indies are constructed there, because no such country yields so much timber'.[1] Pyrard also refers to the fine quality of building-stone that was available at Bassein: 'It also supplies a very fine and hard free-stone, like granite; and I have never seen columns and pillars of single blocks so large as what are produced there. All the magnificent churches and palaces at Goa and the other towns are built of this stone'.[2]

John Fryer's account of Bassein, 1675

A much fuller reference to Bassein is to be found in John Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia.* He was surgeon to the English factory at Surat, and during a visit to Bombay and its neighbourhood in 1675 he was sent for by a wealthy noble of Bassein to treat his only daughter, 'illustriously born, handsome, and on the point of marriage with the Admiral of the North, though not full twelve years old'. Dr. Fryer informs us that the Captains of Bassein, like those in charge of other Portuguese settlements in India, held office for three years and that these posts were 'entailed on certain families' and circulated among them by turns. The Captain, at the time of our Surgeon's visit, used to summon the Fidalgos[3] every morning to the State-house for consultation, at which they all kept standing, a chair not being permitted for the Captain himself though he was gouty. Towards evening they met there 'to game'.

The Fidalgos of Bassein

We also gather from Dr. Fryer's *Account* that the wealthy Portuguese nobles of Bassein lived in stately dwellings two stories high, graced with covered balconies, and having large windows with panes of oyster-shell, 'or else latised'. The nobles showed their importance by their *sumbreiros,* or umbrellas of state, and by the number of Kafir servants who attended them, 'whereby it is dangerous to walk late for fear of falling into the hands of those pilfering abusive rascals'. Another very interesting fact that we gather from Fryer is that no one but

1. Voyage of Pyrard de Laval, trans. by Gray and Bell, Hakluyt Society (1888), II, 182.
2. *Ibid.*, 257.
3. Port. *fidalgo, filho de algo,* 'son of something, a nobleman.'

Christians was allowed to lodge within the city-walls and that the Banyas had to repair to the suburbs.[1]

Bassein looted by the Arabs of Muskat in 1674

A long and deep-seated hostility had subsisted for nearly two centuries between the Arabs of Muskat and the Portuguese, for the latter had spared no cruelties and respected neither age nor sex at their first capture of that town under Albuquerque in 1507. In the declining days of Portuguese power in the East, the Arabs took their revenge. In 1674, the year before Fryer's visit, six hundred Muskat pirates landed at Bassein, and, unopposed by the garrison, plundered all the churches outside the walls, refraining from no cruelty and violence.[2] 'And this', adds the English surgeon, 'is done often, setting fire to their villages, and carrying away their Fidalgos prisoners together with their wives and families, butchering the *Padres,* and robbing the churches without resistance, conceived of a deadly feud, partly out of revenge of the Portugal cruelties at Maschat, but chiefly out of detestation of each other's religion; in so much that quarter is denied on either side'.[3]

The Portuguese ladies of Bassein

A tradition is recorded to the effect that the proud and fastidious Portuguese ladies of Bassein would not walk in the streets unless these were carpeted, and that they had private entrances to the churches. The arched passage over the way which connects the *Matriz* with a private house near by, made Da Cunha presume that it was intended perhaps to enable the patrician ladies to pass direct into the church without being seen. But if we identify the adjacent house as the vicarage, it would naturally have a covered passage leading from it to the church.[4] It is also related that Bassein could boast of more than one hundred Portuguese families which were among the highest and richest in India. As an illustration of their opulence we may mention the fact that, at the close of the 16th century, the

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1. Fryer's *New Account*, op. cit., (Hakluyt Society) I, 192.
2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, 32, quoting Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire*, 46.
3. J. Fryer's *New Account*, op. cit., I, 192-93.
4. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 245-46. The very satisfactory explanation about the purpose of the arched passage has been suggested to me by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes, who points out that the *Matriz* being served by the secular clergy, a vicarage was a necessity.

ladies of a few of the most famous Portuguese families of the town subscribed no less than £10,000 (200,000 Xeraphins) to build a nunnery at Goa.[1]

Gemelli-Careri on the gardens in the suburbs of Bassein, 1695

The remarks made by the Italian traveller Gemelli-Careri on the Portuguese villas and gardens in the suburbs of Bassein, which testified the good taste as also the opulence of the nobles, deserve to be quoted:

> 'The outskirts (of Bassein) were then in a high state of cultivation, nothing appearing for 15 miles but delightful gardens with several sorts of country fruit-trees, as palm, fig, mangoes and others, and abundance of sugar-canes. The soil is cultivated by Christian, Mahomedan and pagan peasants inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful by watering them by certain engines, so that the gentry, allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure-houses at Cassabo (*Casabe*), to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air, and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called *carazzo* that used to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities.'[2]

St. Francis Xavier's visits to Bassein

It is an interesting fact that not less than five of the great religious Orders that arose in the Roman Catholic church in Europe during the Middle Ages and later were represented at Bassein, each having its own special church and convent or monastery within the confines of the Fort walls. For a dozen years or so after the Portuguese had settled at Bassein, the Franciscans were the sole religious ministers of the colony and its neighbourhood. But after 1548, when Francis Xavier, the future Apostle of the Indies, laid the foundation of the Jesuit mission in Bassein, this Order played the most active part in the spread of Christianity in these parts. This famous mis-

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 139 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, 30 *n*.
2. 'A Voyage round the World' by Dr. G. F. Gemelli-Careri printed in Churchill's *Voyages*, London, 1732, IV, 191.

sionary had landed at Goa six years before this date, in 1542, and with his advent there dawned a new epoch in the history of the Portuguese in India. During the ten years between his arrival in India and his death in December, 1552, this great ecclesiastic visited Bassein three times. The first occasion was about the end of the year 1544 when he was on his way north to confer with Dom Afonso de Souza, the Governor of Portuguese India, who was then at Div. The second visit was on the 29th March 1548, in the company of an envoy from the King of Kandy, when Xavier came to see the Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro, who, already in the grip of his mortal illness, was halting at Bassein on his last voyage from Div to Goa. It may be mentioned that at the end of 1546 De Castro had successfully raised the great siege of Div by the Gujarat armies, and that in November, 1547 he had undertaken a second expedition to the island on receiving information that the Sultan of Gujarat was preparing for yet another attempt to recover that seaport.[1]

Francis Xavier's third and last visit to Bassein was about the end of the same year, 1548, after the death of the Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro whom he had attended on his death-bed at Goa. This time the object of his visit was definitely the extension of the missionary operations of his Society to Bassein. Availing himself of the arrival of nine Jesuits from Europe, he now laid the foundations of a splendid mission which in course of time extended its activities throughout the Northern Konkan.[2] The first Rector of the mission at Bassein was Fr. Melchior Gonsalves who began the construction of the original church of the society at this place called the 'Church and College of the Holy Name of Jesus'. We learn from the *Life and Letters* of Francis Xavier that, in spite of his absorption in missionary and proselyting labours of great importance

He establishes the Jesuit Mission, 1548

1. See my *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, 43-46.

2. In 1550 the King of Portugal used to make a grant to the Franciscans of Bassein of an annual sum of 2,070 pardaos derived from a source which before the conquest was solely applicable to the lighting of the mosques at Bassein. After the Jesuits were established in the city this amount was divided equally between them and the Franciscans and disbursed under the head of 'conversion to the faith.' (Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 215 *n*, 235).

in other parts of the East, his interest in the Jesuit mission at Bassein was maintained till the end of his life.[1]

The year 1573 is described by a modern writer as 'a red-letter epoch' in the annals of the Jesuit mission at Bassein, for in this year no fewer than 1,600 natives were baptised in their church, the largest number hitherto reached. These public christenings went on increasing in a progressive ratio with the help of subordinate missions, such as that established at Bandra in 1575, until the year 1588 when in the church at Bassein alone the huge number of 9,400 converts is said to have received baptism.[2] The tribunal of the Inquisition is said to have been first established at Goa in the year 1560, and a Commissary (officer) of the Inquisition was soon after appointed at Bassein also as at the other principal settlements such as Chaul, Daman and Cochin.

The proselyting activities of the Jesuits at Bassein

We shall refer to Bassein in the next volume of this history whenever its affairs bring it into contact with the general history of the province of Gujarat during the Mughal period. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the greatness of Bassein had run out its course. It did not escape those general and particular causes, social and political, which account for the decline and fall of the Portuguese power on the western coast of India.[3] In 1739 it passed into the hands of the Marathas after a long siege by Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the Peshwa Baji Rao I. The details of this famous siege are now fully available to us both from the British records as also from the Maratha chronicles, but they need not be discussed in a work dealing primarily with the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. After an investment lasting for three months, Bassein capitulated on May 16, 1739, and the brave Portuguese garrison was allowed to march out with all the

Bassein taken by the Marathas, 1739

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 230-32.
2. The Jesuit Society in India had express orders from Rome not to administer any parish church unless it had been founded by it among a pagan community which had been converted to the Christian faith (Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 234).
3. These causes have been fully discussed by Rev. H. Heras in his paper on 'The Decay of the Portuguese in India,' in the Journal of the *Bombay Historical Society*, 1928, I, 36-41.

honours of war. Eight days were allowed to the members of the civil population to leave the city if they wished, taking with them all their movable property. All the Europeans, military, civil and ecclesiastical, departed for Goa, while a number of the better-class Indian Christians took refuge at Bombay. With this terrible disaster the Portuguese lost all their northern possessions from Bulsar in the north to Chaul in the south, retaining only the small colonies at Daman and Div.

Reflections on the fall of Bassein

The passing away of a semi-European settlement on the western coast of India within thirty miles from Bombay after so much prosperity and splendour must needs provoke gloomy reflections which are best described in the eloquent words of a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* for 1856:

> 'Thus fell a European city in India as a stately tree, the growth of two centuries, which falls never to flourish again. Melancholy as was the issue, yet no contest had been so glorious for the Indo-Portuguese—in none had they earned such unsullied fame since the days when Pacheco, with his four hundred countrymen, repelled the Zamorin's army, and Albuquerque twice conquered Goa. Gallant as many of their deeds unquestionably were when they struck boldly for supremacy in India, yet their one motive was then a thirst of conquest and desire of gaining by robbery what was beyond the reach of honest industry. . . . But no one who ever told the tale of Bassein's last days breathed an insinuation against the honour and courage of its Indo-Portuguese defenders; and this portion of Anglo-Indian annals would have had a brighter hue for us if the English had not been restrained by their calculations and mercantile propensities from rendering the unhappy city more prompt and valuable assistance—if for the sake of England's ancient ally the Government of Bombay had expended some of their increasing treasure, and responded to the moving appeals of the chivalrous Caitano de Souza'.[1]

1. The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, IV, July and October, 1856, pp. 85-86.

Bassein under the Marathas and the British

For about sixty-four years, from 1739 to 1802, Bassein remained under the Marathas, but the attempt of its new rulers to maintain the importance of the city proved a failure. In spite of their policy of toleration the population continued to dwindle, and the great churches and convents built in the sixteenth century by the religious Orders established at Bassein began to fall into the condition of decay and ruin in which we find them now. The English first took Bassein in 1774, and again in 1780, but each time it was restored to the Marathas. Finally, in 1802, by the Treaty of Bassein it became a British possession, and in 1818 it was incorporated in the Bombay Presidency. By this time the place was not thought of much military value, the ramparts of the Fort were overgrown with brushwood and scarcely a house was habitable. Even the small guard stationed at one of the gates was withdrawn in 1830. But for the attempt to lease the area within the Fort for sugarcane cultivation to one Major Littlewood, and the erection of a sugar factory by the latter in the second half of the nineteenth century, Bassein has continued for the last hundred years almost desolate. The ruins of its monuments have, however, always attracted travellers and antiquarians and to the history of these we shall devote a special chapter. The Franciscan Missionary Brothers have in recent years put up a cottage within the Fort area where they maintain an orphanage and a horti-agricultural school and help visitors with water and refreshments.

APPENDIX

The Caves of Elephanta in Bombay Harbour and their History under Portuguese Rule

Gharapuri or Elephanta and its topography

The island of Elephanta or Gharapuri lies in Bombay harbour about seven miles to the east of the Apollo Bandar and has a circumference of about four miles at high water. The ancient Hindu name of Gharapuri, under which the place has been known for centuries, is now borne by a small village in the south of the island. The European name of Elephanta was given to the place by the

Portuguese, after they came in possession of the island in 1534, from the fact that a huge rock-cut elephant in life size stood formerly on a knoll a little to the east of Gharapuri village.[1] The island contains a range of trap-hills, about 500 feet high and a mile and a half long, cleft by a deep ravine that crosses it from north to south about the middle of its length. Though Gharapuri island has now lost most of its population and almost all its holiness, it was probably the site of a large town and an important religious centre from an early period to about the tenth century of the Christian era, or perhaps later. The chief object of interest at Elephanta is the great Cave-Temple hewn out of the living rock about half way up the north face of the western block of hills.[2]

When were the cave-shrines constructed?

There are at present no inscriptions in the Cave Temples at Elephanta, and the dates of these memorable Brahmanical rock-shrines and the names of their builders are therefore unknown. James Fergusson was led by the style of the pillars and the close resemblance to the famous Dhumar Lena at Ellora, as also other criteria, to assign the construction of the Elephanta caves to a period after the middle of the eighth century A.D. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has also assigned the caves to about the same date. In the opinion of this famous Gujarati historian and numismatist, the characteristics of the sculptured images point to a period slightly later than the date of the *Das-avatar* cave at Ellora which is known to have been built between A.D. 720 and A.D. 750. Dr. J. Burgess of the Archæological Survey of India was also of opinion that the Great Temple belongs probably to the latter part of the eighth or of the ninth century of the Christian era. A most exhaustive and scholarly monograph on these shrines and their sculptures, based upon a study of all the original sources of information, was published by him nearly seventy years ago under the title of The *Rock-Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri,* 1871), and it still remains the standard authority on the subject.

1. The elephant was about 13 ft. in length and about 7 ft. 4 in. high. But its head and neck dropped off in Sept. 1814, and subsequently the body became a shapeless mass of stones, which were removed in 1864 to the Victoria Gardens in Bombay (Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri*, 1).

2. Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, *Thana*, 59-60.



Entrance to the Great Cave-Temple at Elephanta Island in Bombay Harbour

(From *The Glories of Hindustan* by Dr. Alfred Nawrath)



Interior, with sculptured pillar, of the Elephanta Cave-Temple

(From *The Glories of Hindustan* by Dr. Alfred Nawrath)

There is enough evidence to show that, when the Elephanta caves were new, and for many centuries afterwards, their walls and ceilings, as also the huge columns and sculpture-groups, were painted, as at Ajanta and Kanheri, with a beautiful coating of coloured cement. The bright and attractive effect so produced must have made the caves appear very different from the dark and gloomy aspect which they present at the present day. The historian Diogo de Couto also refers, in his *Decadas*, to this interesting feature as follows:

The caves and sculptures painted with coloured cement

'The stone of the mountain where this Pagoda has been carved is of a grey colour, but the whole body inside, the pillars, the figures and everything else, had formerly been covered with a coat of lime mixed with bitumen and other compositions, that made the Pagoda so bright that it looked very beautiful and was worth seeing; and not only the figures looked very beautiful, but the features and workmanship could be very distinctly perceived, so that neither in silver or wax could such figures be engraved with greater nicety, fineness or perfection'[1].

The famous caves at Gharapuri probably continued to be frequented for worship and were well cared for till the overthrow of the Yadav rulers of Devgiri by the armies of Ala-ud-din Khalji early in the 14th century. During the whole of the 15th and up to the first quarter of the 16th century, this island, along with the rest of the Bombay Konkan, was nominally subject to the power of the Sultans of Gujarat. The Muslim rulers, however, do not appear to have interfered with these sculptured caves, probably because of their isolated situation. When, therefore, the island passed under the Portuguese in 1534 along with Bassein and its dependencies in the reign of Sultan Bahadur, the cave-temples were probably in a high state of preservation. The earliest reference to them by a Portuguese writer is found in the *Colloquios* of the celebrated physician of King Dom Joao III of Portugal, who saw the Caves in 1534 and who describes them as under:

Gharapuri passes under Portuguese rule, 1534

1. Couto's Decada, VII, Book III, Chap. XI, trans. by Rev. W. K. Fletcher in *Journal, B.B.R.A.S.*, I (1841-44), p. 41.

'There is another pagoda, better than all others, in an island called Pori, which we name "the island of the elephant". There is a hill in it, and at the top of this hill an underground dwelling hewn out of a living rock. The Dwelling is as large as a monastery, and has open courts and cisterns of very good water. On the walls around, there are large sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers, and of many human figures, such as amazons, and other various kinds well cut. At present (1563) this pagoda is much damaged by the cattle that enter there; but in 1534, when I came from Portugal, it was really worth seeing. I saw it then when we were at war with Bassein, which place was soon afterwards given by the king of Cambay to Nuno da Cunha'[1].

Joao de Castro on the Elephanta Caves, 1538

In 1538, D. Joao de Castro, one of the greatest names in the history of the Portuguese in India, arrived on his first visit to this country in the fleet of the Viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha. De Castro's log of his voyage from Goa to Div in that year contains a short account of the island of Elephanta which the Viceroy's fleet evidently touched on its way north. He thought the caves so beautiful that they could not be the work of human hands. 'Even Apelles', he says, 'might have learned from the proportion and symmetry of the figures'. Moreover, his measurements of the caves are so precise that they might almost be the work of a modern draughtsman[2].

Linschoten's account, 1579

John Huyghen Van Linschoten, the well-known Dutch traveller in the East Indies, writing about forty years later, gives the following very interesting account of the Elephanta Caves in 1579.

'The Pagodes and images are many and innumerable throughout the Oriental countries. . . . There is yet another Pagode which they hold and esteem for the highest and the chiefest Pagode of all the rest, which standeth in a little island called Pory: this Pagode by the Portingals is called the Pagode of the Elephant. In that Island standeth an high hill,

1. Garcia de Orta, *Colloquios*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1872, p. 212, quoted in *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, 1819 (Reprint), I, 269.
2. *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India* by D. Joao de Castro, 66, quoted in Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, 59-60.

and on the top thereof there is a hole, that goeth down into the hill, digged and carved out of the hard rock or stones, as big as a great cloyster; within, it hath both places and cisterns for water, very curiously made, and round about the walls are cut out and formed the shapes of elephants, lions, tigers, and a thousand other such like wild and cruel beasts: also some Amazons and many other deformed things of diverse sorts, which are so well and workmanlike cut that it is strange to behold. It is thought that the Chinos (which are very ingenious workmen) did make it, when they used to traffic in the country of India. These Pagodes and buildings are now wholly left overgrown and spoiled since the Portingals had it under their subjections.'[1]

Diogo de Couto on the inscription-slab at the caves, 1603

The Portuguese historian Diogo de Couto, writing in 1603 in the opening years of the 17th century, has given a fairly long account of the rock-cut temples at Elephanta, their dimensions and their images, in the Seventh *Decada* of his work.[2] These details are now not so important in the light of the more exact knowledge of Hindu mythology available to us. But the reference made by Couto to an inscription-slab that once stood in these caves is very important and deserves to be quoted in the historian's own words which are rendered below:

'When the Portuguese took Bassein and its dependencies, they went to this Pagoda and removed a famous stone over the Gate which had an inscription of large and well-written characters, which was sent to the king, after the Governor of India had in vain endeavoured to find out any Hindu or Moor in the East, who would decipher them. And the King, D. João III, also used all his endeavours to the same purpose, but without any effect, and the stone thus remained there—and there is now no trace of it.'

Though the last few words in Couto's reference to the inscription-slab are discouraging, epigraphists and historians in India would

1. 'The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies', ed. by Burnell and Tiele (Hakluyt Society), I, 291.
2. Translated into English by the Rev. W. K. Fletcher in his paper entitled 'Couto's Decade VII—Book III—Chap. XI', published in *Journal, B.B.R.A.S.*, I (1841-44), pp. 40-45.

give much to-day to bring to light this important record if it could be effected by a diligent search in the old palaces, churches, and museums of Portugal.

Damage done by Portuguese soldiers

After passing into Portuguese hands in 1534, the rock-temples at Elephanta appear to have suffered considerable damage, not so much from any iconoclastic zeal on the part of the new rulers as from wanton mischief by their soldiers, and utter lack of appreciation of their historical and archæological value as memorials of antiquity. Describing an image with eight hands and two legs in one of the rock-temples (probably the *Bhairava* group), De Couto says that one of the hands 'has been broken by the frolic of the soldiers of the fleet that visited the place, as is nearly the case with everything else.' And describing another of the temples, after stating that it was damaged in many parts, he adds, 'and whatever the soldiers have spared is in such a state that it is a great pity to see thus destroyed one of the most beautiful things in the world.'[1]

It is interesting to note that this year, in 1937, more than 300 years after Couto's day, when no care and expense are spared by man to preserve the Elephanta temples, the hand of nature has been heavy on these celebrated monuments, and as the result of the steady percolation of rain-water there are ominous fissures and signs of the slow crumbling away of the hard trap. An overhanging rock in front of the Great Cave collapsed some months ago destroying in its fall one of the two stone lions that stood there to guard the entrance.

Capt. Pyke's account of the mischief, 1712.

Captain Pyke, of the East Indiaman *Stringer*, afterwards Governor of St. Helena, who visited the Island in 1712, mentions the large stone elephant that formerly stood near the old landing place on the south side of the island, and adds that the Elephant had a smaller one on its back. He likewise refers to a stone horse, a little further up the valley, which had also been noticed before him by Dr. Fryer and the *Padre* Ovington.[2] Captain Pyke's account is, however, specially important for the information it gives about the wanton

1. *Journal, B. B. R. A. S.*, I, 42-44.
2. 'Here likewise are the just dimensions of an horse carved in stone, so lively, and with such a colour and carriage, and the shape finished with

damage done to the sculptures in the Cave-Temples by the thoughtless frolic of the Portuguese. He says:

> 'The Portuguese now fodder all their cattle there in the rainy seasons and to defend them from the violence of the monsoons: and lately one of their Fidalgos, to divert himself with the echo which is here most admirable, fired a great gun into it with several shot, which has broken some of the pillars.'[1]

The Great Cave-Temple at Elephanta

Of the four rock-hewn Shaivite temples that have been discovered in the excavations at Gharapuri, three are of small importance, and the main centre of interest in the Island has for centuries been the Great Cave in the western hill situated at an elevation of about 250 feet above the sea-level. It is approached from the present landing-place to the north-west of the Island by an easy flight of steps constructed in 1853 by a pious merchant from Bombay at a cost of Rs. 12,000.[2] The cave faces the north and is entirely hewn out of a hard species of trap rock, and in the opinion of James Fergusson, the greatest authority on Indian architecture, it bears a singular resemblance in size, plan and detail to the Dhumar Lena, the largest and one of the finest of the Ellora caves. The central hall of the Great Cave is of striking dimensions, being 130 feet long and almost as many feet broad. Of the twenty-six beautifully carved columns in this hall, eight have fallen but the rest have been saved from a like fate by the labours of the Archæological Department.

Dr. J. Burgess on first impressions of the Great Cave

The effect produced on the visitor as he enters this stupendous Cave-Temple from the principal entrance, over which hangs a thick mass of nearly perpendicular rock, may best be described in the polished language of the late Dr. James Burgess:

> 'The impression on the mind may be imagined rather than described when one enters the portico, passing from the glare

that exactness, that many have rather fancied it, at a distance, a living animal, than only a bare representation' (Ovington's *Voyage to Surat in the Year* 1689, ed. by Rawlinson, 97).

1. Quoted by J. Burgess in his *Rock-Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri*, 1871, p. 55.

2. This philanthropist was Karamshi Ranmal, a Lohana merchant, and the stone used for the steps was all carried over from Bombay. He built also a paved ascent at Tribak near Nasik (Burgess, op. cit., 54-55).

and heat of tropical sunshine to the dim light and cooler air of the temple, and realises that he is under a vast roof of solid rock that seems to be supported only by the ranges of massive columns that recede in the vistas on every side, and some of which appear to have split or fallen under the tremendous superincumbent weight; and the feeling of strange uncertain awe that creeps over the mind is only prolonged when in the obscure light we begin to contemplate the gigantic stony figures ranged along the walls from which they seem to start and from the living rock of which they are hewn.'[1]

The Trimurti group of sculpture

The huge sculpture-groups in the main hall and in the sanctum and other compartments of the Great Temple at Elephanta, whose fantastic and 'monstrous' forms so perplexed the travellers of the 17th century, have been the subject of very careful study and interpretation by scholars in the last century, and there is now general agreement about the mythological scenes and episodes which they represent. The most famous of these sculptures is no doubt the colossal three-faced bust at the back of the cave, called the *Trimurti*, which occupies a recess ten and a half feet deep. The 'Trimurti' has been supposed by some to be an emblem of the Holy Trinity,—but such an idea, in the Christian sense of the term, has perhaps no existence in the Hindu mind. There can be little doubt, however, that it represents *Shiva* as the supreme divinity of the Hindu pantheon under his threefold emanation of Brahma, the creator and generator, of Rudra, the destroyer, and lastly of Vishnu, the preserver. On the whole, the triad Shiva at this place is a very remarkable group of sculpture, its total height being seventeen feet ten inches, and a line drawn round the three heads at the level of the eyes measuring twenty-two feet nine inches in length. The group remained entire and undamaged for well-nigh a thousand years, when the wanton mischief of some thoughtless visitors broke off a portion of the noses of two of the faces of this bust in 1865.

1. J. Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri*, 1871, 2-3.

Only a brief reference to the various other Shaivite sculpture-groups in this cave and its adjoining compartments would suffice. The three feet high cylindrical stone, representing the Lingam, standing in the shrine at the west end of the hall, is only of symbolical significance and has no artistic interest. In the chamber to the east of the Trimurti we have a gigantic figure, half male, half female, of the Hindu divinity known as *Arddha-narishwar*, an image which was not unnaturally mistaken by the early European travellers for an Amazon as fabled in Greek mythology. In the chamber to the west of the Trimurti are two huge figures of Shiva and Parvati, the former 16 ft. high, the latter 12 ft. 4 ins. The marriage of Shiva and Parvati is the subject-matter of a sculptured group situated at the south-west corner of the hall, and the fact that Uma or Parvati stands to the right of the god shows her to be his bride, for in Hindu practice the wife rarely occupies this position except on her wedding day. In another corner of the hall is a relief of *Bhairava* or *Kapalabhrit*, a sanguinary image with eight hands, its head adorned with skull and cobra, and a rosary of skulls round its neck. Among the remaining groups in this Temple we have Shiva performing the *Tandava* dance, Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, attempting to remove Kailas, the heavenly hill of Shiva, to his own kingdom; Shiva and Parvati seated side by side in Kailas; and, lastly, Shiva as *Mahayogi* or Dharma Raja.

Other sculpture groups in the Great Cave

The difference between the laboured description of the Cave-Temples at Elephanta, written in 1603 in his *Decadas* by the annalist Diogo de Couto, whom we see groping in the dark about the nature and significance of the huge and monstrous stone-images that he was describing, and the illuminating and comprehensive monograph on these temples, based on an expert knowledge of Hindu mythology. written by Dr. James Burgess in 1871, measures the extent and progress of the knowledge of Indian antiquities that has taken place during the last three hundred years among European and Indian scholars who are interested in the history, the religion and the culture of India.

CHAPTER XLI

THE PORTUGUESE ANTIQUITIES OF BASSEIN

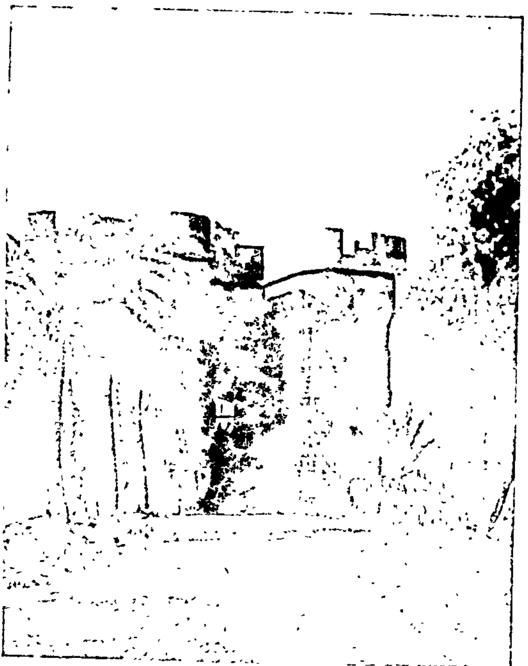
Causes of the decay of Portuguese Monuments at Bassein: Bishop Heber on the ruins of Bassein, 1825: Mrs. Postans' reference to the same, 1838: Da Cunha's great monograph on Bassein, 1876: The Land and Sea Gates of the Fort: The 'Citadel' of Bassein, built in 1536: The Bastion of Sam Sebastiao, 1554: The Palace of the 'General of the North': Ecclesiastical antiquities of Bassein—ruins of seven Churches and their attached convents: The *Matriz* or Church of St. Joseph: The Franciscan Church: The Church of the Jesuits and its College: Feast of St. Gonsalo Garcia of Bassein: Ruins of other Churches: Permanent memorial of Portuguese sway at Bassein.

General remarks on the subject

The remains of the Portuguese Fort and town of Bassein, situated in their picturesque natural setting north of Salsette island, are among the most interesting historical relics located within easy distance from the city of Bombay. The fortifications and ramparts are tolerably well preserved, but the secular and religious monuments which the Portuguese reared up during the second half of the sixteenth century are largely in a condition of decay and ruin, though the debris and rank vegetation in which they were buried fifty years ago have been removed by the labours of the Archæological Survey of India during the last few decades. Before we proceed with an account of these remains it would be interesting to enquire into the reasons for the deplorable condition in which we find the Bassein monuments when compared with the excellent preservation of so many Muslim buildings in Gujarat dating from an earlier period.

Causes of the decay of the monuments at Bassein

There is little doubt that the decay of the monuments was effected in the second half of the eighteenth century during the period of seventy years from 1739 to 1818 when Bassein was under Maratha sovereignty. It must not be supposed, however, that the Maratha rulers were intolerant in the matter of religious worship, or that they were bent on



The Sea-Gate to the Portuguese Fort of Bassein (p. 554)



Ruins of the *Matriz*, or the Mother Church of St. Joseph, in Bassein Fort (pp. 558-9)

the systematic destruction of churches or the forcible uprooting of the Christian faith from their new possession. The fact is that, after the fall of Portuguese power, Bassein began gradually to be deserted by its population, and its buildings, public and private, began to share the fate of all deserted towns. In the complete absence of all care and repairs, and exposed year after year to the full fury of the monsoon storms, the monuments were bound to suffer from natural decay. Fr. Hull points out that the frequency with which the Portuguese had to rebuild their churches at Goa, often at intervals of fifty years, shows how rapid the process of dilapidation must be when there is no attempt to conserve the monuments. Another factor which accounts for the decay, hardly less potent in the mischief which it wrought, was the human element. Once the process of decline had begun, Bassein became a rich mine for dressed stones, timber, pillars and other building material for people of the surrounding villages. By the year 1818, when the Fort passed into British hands, the town and its monuments had probably fallen very nearly into the condition in which we see them now with scarcely a house that was habitable. The lease of the area within the Fort for a sugar factory by the British after the middle of the last century must no doubt have helped forward the process of demolition and the rifling of old buildings to secure material for the factory and its appurtenances.[1]

Reasons for the unbuilt area within the Fort

An interesting topographical feature of the area within the Fort walls of Bassein deserves to be pointed out. While the portion of the old town adjoining the sea-wall is covered thick with the remains of numerous monuments, the area near the land fortifications is entirely bare of all signs of former occupation. Various reasons have been advanced for this feature, all of which appear to be plausible. The Italian traveller Gemelli-Careri noticed the fact on his visit to Bassein in 1695. He says that this space, which is about one-third of the city area, became depopulated and the dwellings in it disappeared in consequence of a plague which devastated the island of Bassein and the adjacent country

1. Fr. Hull, *Guide to Bassein,* 9-10.

towards the end of the seventeenth century.[1] Another argument is that the town being most exposed to attack from the land side of the fortifications, the site was left unoccupied as being the area where the shot from an enemy besieging the place would fall most thickly. A third explanation advanced is that the site to the north was kept deliberately open and unbuilt upon in order that in the event of a siege it could be converted into a rice-field to be utilised for producing food supplies, there being ample supply of water for irrigation purposes.[2]

Several interesting references to the ruins at Bassein are to be found in the works of the European travellers who visited them during the course of the nineteenth century. The earliest of these was Bishop Heber who was at Bassein a hundred and eleven years ago, in 1825, and gives his impressions in his scholarly *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–25*. On his visit he found a small guard stationed at one of the gates of the Fort under an English conductor of ordnance, the place being kept locked up and quite uninhabited. He refers to 'the melancholy display of ruined houses and churches', of which latter he saw no fewer than seven, 'some of considerable size, but all of mean architecture, though striking from the lofty proportions usual in Roman Catholic places of worship, and from the singularity of Christian and European ruins in India', and proceeds with his comments as follows:

Bishop Heber's impressions of the ruins of Bassein, 1825

> 'The Portuguese churches in this place and Salsette are all in a paltry style enough, of Grecian mixed with Gothic.[3] In Bassein they have towering steeples, without spires; in Salsette, the small arched pediment to hang the bell which is usual in Wales. Their roofs, where they remain, are very steep, and covered with tiles; and one of those in Bassein, which appears to have belonged to a house of Jesuits, has

1. Gemelli-Careri in Churchill's *Voyages*, III; Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 213.
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 213.
3. Father Hull, however, says, "The architectural inspiration throughout is radically 'Renaissance' with no touch of Gothic. The standard is second-best compared to Goa" (*Guide to Bassein*, 13).

the remains of a handsome coved ceiling of teak, carved and gilded. They are melancholy objects to look at, but they are monuments, nevertheless, of departed greatness, of a love of splendour far superior to the anxiety for amassing money by which other nations have been chiefly actuated, and of a zeal for God which, if not according to knowledge, was a zeal still, and a sincere one'.[1]

Mrs. Heber and Mrs. Postans on the Bassein monuments

Mrs. Heber, who accompanied the Bishop, did not think that the ruins repaid her for the trouble taken to see them. She also evidently did not think highly of the style of the churches, which were 'all in the style of conventual architecture common in the early part of the seventeenth century'. Thirteen years later, another fair visitor to Bassein, Mrs. Postans, thought that the churches were of great architectural beauty. In her *Western India in 1838* she thus gives her impressions of Bassein:

'The city of Bassein has been long forsaken; a few fishermen and shikaris alone occupy a spot once replete with luxury and power, and still containing magnificent evidences of taste in the application of great and national wealth. . . The city contains about eight churches, of considerable size and great architectural beauty; their square towers and ruined galleries surmount the dense masses of foliage which shade the lower portions of the buildings'.[2]

Da Cunha's great monograph on Bassein, 1876

But perhaps the most scholarly antiquarian who ever visited the ruins of Bassein was the late Dr. J. Gerson Da Cunha, the veteran historian and scientist, who no doubt made several excursions to the deserted Fort of Bassein before he published in 1876 his brilliant monograph on its history and antiquities which still remains the standard work on the subject.[3] Da Cunha thus refers to the desolate

1. R. Heber's *Indian Journal*, London, 1849, II, 130.
2. Mrs. Postans, *Western India in* 1838, London (1839), I, 179-81.
3. The Rev. Fr. Hull has, with his more intimate knowledge of mediæval ecclesiastical Orders and architecture, presented in his

aspect presented by the debris of fallen structures and the jungle growing up around them:

> 'Churches, convents, colleges, palaces and mansions are strewn about in fragments. . . . Silence and gloom reign supreme where once the air resounded with the clash of arms, the roar of cannon, and the tramp of gorgeous pomp and pageants; the traveller's step falls heavily on the ear where once the chant of the religious, who kept high festivals and held gaudy and solemn processions within this recess, rang throughout its now deserted naves and aisles. A busy stage of missionary activity, with many a site consecrated by the footsteps of the celebrated St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Porto, and Fr. Manuel Gomes. But these sites are now obliterated, their edifices roofless, the whole a sublime chaos of huge steeples and towers, or mere shapeless mounds of ancient ruins, amidst which are found the tombs of their founders—a pregnant theme for the contemplation of the philosopher and the moralist, a Montesquieu or a Gibbon'.[1]

Turning now to a detailed survey of the antiquities of Bassein we shall refer first to the Fort itself and to the few secular monuments within its area and then describe the ruins of the various churches and convents which are so prominent a feature of the remains. As stated in the preceding chapter, the Fort or the City-Walls of Portuguese Bassein were constructed in the latter half of the sixteenth century and cover a circuit of a mile and a half. Of the two double gateways of the Fort, one is to the south-east on the seaside, and called by the Portuguese the *Porta do Mar*. It is in fine preservation with its massive teakwood doors cased with iron bars and spikes. On this gate, in small characters partly covered by an iron bar, are the words 'The 20th November, 1720'. The sea gate is not so massive as that on the land side,

The Fort: its Land and Sea Gates

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excellent *Guide to Bassein* a valuable supplement to Da Cunha's pioneer work on the monuments of that place.

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 212-13.

no strong attack being expected in this quarter. Beyond this gate we arrive at the modern 'bandar', where a fine view may be obtained of the creek and of the country round. Within the gate, on the left, stands a small Hindu temple of Hanuman belonging to the Maratha period.[1] At the opposite extremity of the Fort, on the west side, is the Land Gate, called the *Porta da Terra,* which is also, like the other, a double gateway, with an angular passage between the inner and outer gates. There is an ornamental inner portal, with a teak door which had fallen down; and the outer gate is studded with spikes to prevent being rammed by elephants.[2] Besides these two double gateways of the Fort, there was originally a postern behind the cloisters of the Franciscan church which was thought unsafe and closed up by the bastion of Sam Sebastião.[3]

The modern road through the Fort

The walls of the Portuguese fort at Bassein are in a fair state of preservation except where they have been breached at two opposite ends, due west and east, to make room for the modern highroad running through the old city to the *Bandar* and dividing the area within the fort into two unequal parts. The breach in the wall at the west end is close by the Land Gate and the other breach is near the Sea Gate. It is the constant use of this modern road to carry goods from the port into the interior that prevents the old Portuguese city from appearing utterly desolate. The villa lately built within the fort enclosure by the Franciscan Missionary Brothers, with an Orphanage and Horti-agricultural school, have also helped to introduce some elements of life and human activity in the deserted Portuguese 'Capital of the North.'

The Citadel (1536) and its portal

The oldest and the most historic among the monuments of Bassein is the Portuguese Citadel or Castle constructed by Nuno da Cunha as early as 1536 probably on the site of the older Muslim stronghold. It is situated between the Jesuits' Church and St. Joseph's

1. This appears to be a sarcastic intimation to the unwitting stranger, left as a memento of their rule by the myrmidons of Baji Rao *ad futuram rei memoriam,* that 'in the teeth of the Christian churches and saints at Bassein, the monkey-god has kept his ascendancy over all the ruins there' (Da Cunha's *Bassein,* 214).
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein,* 208; Fr. Hull, *Guide to Bassein,* 18.
3. Da Cunha's *Bassein,* 207-08.

'Cathedral' adjacent to the south wall of the Fort. Dr. Fryer and others describe the Citadel as 'circular', but it is in fact a foursquare structure measuring inside 150 yards by 100 yards with high walls and three round bastions. Embedded in the wall of the round bastion to the south of the Citadel we find an inscription which must be considered to be the oldest epigraphic record in Bassein and is rendered thus: 'The first Captain who built this fortress was Garcia de Sa, by command of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, in the year 1536'.[2] At the south-east corner of the Citadel is an ornamental portal or gateway which was added in 1606 as the inscription declares. The only other objects of interest here are the three round bastions.[3]

The Bastion of Sam Sebastiao, built in 1554

Adjoining the Land Gate of the Fort of Bassein about a hundred yards away is a projecting bastion which is known under the name of 'Sam Sebastião'. There was formerly a postern in the walls close by which from its undefended condition was eventually closed up by the building of this stronghold. It was through this bastion that the Marathas forced their way into the fort in 1739 during the siege of Bassein. In 1876 Dr. Da Cunha found during his investigations a large inscription slab, originally built up into this bastion, lying in utter neglect near the land gateway, and the important historical record which it bore in Portuguese has been rendered by him as follows:

> 'During the reign of the most high and the most mighty King D. Joam of Portugal, the third of the name, when the Viceroy De Afonso de Noronha, son of the Marquis of Villa Real, was governing India, Francisco de Sa being Captain of this Fort and City of Bassein, this bastion, named Sam Sebastiam, was built, on the 22nd of the month of February of the year 1554'.[4]

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1. J. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, op. cit., I, 191.
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 216-17.
3. The sites of the various monuments described in this chapter may be located in the excellent plan of Bassein Fort prepared by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes who is the most expert authority on Bassein and its monuments at the present day.
4. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 244-45; Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, 42 and *n*.

The Great Square: palaces of the Captain and of the General of the North

Adjacent to the Citadel was the Great Square of Portuguese Bassein containing the public buildings and the mansions of the Fidalgos. Its central area is now occupied by an octagonal district bungalow, a Hindu temple of the Maratha period, and a long tank in the shape of the letter L which was dug out to supply water to the sugar factory. The mansions which graced the square in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are now heaps of ruins, but among these the remains of two deserve special notice. To the left or west of the tank mentioned above is the Palace of the Captain of Bassein,[1] with its front arcades complete and a coat-of-arms over the stairway inside. There are some plain walls near it. Opposite the Captain's palace, on the east side of the tank, there is another building which is believed to be the Palace of the 'General of the North', and of which only the handsome façade remains. At the north end of the tank is the base of a cross.[2]

The ecclesiastical antiquities of Bassein

It is, however, the ecclesiastical antiquities of Bassein—the imposing remains of the Catholic churches and convents—that have attracted most visitors to the place during the last 110 years from the time of Bishop Heber onward. This interest has been fruitful in results as it has stimulated the activities of the Archæological Survey of India and led it to adopt measures for the conservation of the monuments in order to prevent any further decay. The condition of the churches and attached buildings fifty years ago is thus described by the writer on Bassein in the *Bombay Gazetteer*: 'Of these some are perfect except that their roofs have gone, of others only the towers are left. The site of others is marked by broken pillars, porches and cornices, and some are shapeless mounds of ruin. All are overgrown with grass, wall trees, and thick hanging festoons of climbing plants.'[3]

1. The Captain of Bassein, who was the head of the settlement, enjoyed a salary of 600,000 *Reis* a year with a large establishment which was paid from the royal treasury. Next after him in dignity among the officials of the city was the Factor of Bassein with a pay of 200,000 *Reis* a year. (Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 221).

2. In the opinion of Mr. Braz Fernandes this base belongs to the cross which stood in front of the Dominican church.

3. Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, 38.

Seven churches and their attached houses

As stated in the last chapter, all the great Orders of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe were represented at Bassein under Portuguese rule, each having its own fine church and convent[1] within the confines of the fort. The period at which these Orders established themselves was broadly as follows: The Franciscans (c. 1537), the Jesuits (1549), the Dominicans (1583), the Augustinians (c. 1595), and the Hospitallers of St. John (1695). But, besides the conventual churches belonging to these five famous Orders, there were two other 'secular' ones, viz., the *Matriz* or 'Cathedral' of St. Joseph founded as early as 1546, and the church named Nossa Senora da Vida ('Our Lady of Life'). This latter, though small, is one of the oldest churches in Bassein, being constructed about the same time as the Castle, i.e., about 1536. It may be called the garrison church and it is in fact attached to the Citadel, so that its walls are actually the walls of that fortification. Thus we have a total of seven churches in all, five conventual and two 'secular,' amidst the ruins of Bassein, and on their identification Dr. Da Cunha, Father Hull and Mr. Braz Fernandes have devoted no small amount of labour and all their learning. These churches and the colleges and convents attached to several of them are all located in the comparatively small area between the Land and the Sea Gates of the Fort. The various religious orders were thus obliged to build them close to each other, but this has been done, says Da Cunha, 'not on a niggardly scale, for each of these buildings appears to be of dimensions large enough to accommodate all who resided within the Fort.'[2]

The *Matriz* of St. Joseph

The largest of the secular churches at Bassein, which is also one of the oldest, was called the *Matriz,* or the Mother-Church of St. Joseph, and in recent times it is known as the Cathedral, though mistakenly, for this name is given to the principal church of a diocese in which a Bishop has his Seat, and Bassein was merely an outlying part of the Archdiocese

1. The word Convent is used by the Portuguese in its original sense, viz., a house in which persons devoted to a religious life live together; and not, as now popularly used, to mean a nunnery.
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein,* 226.

of Goa.[1] The Matriz is situated in the south-east corner of the Fort near the Sea Gate. The present building probably stands on the site of the original church built about the year 1546 by Dom Joao de Castro, then Governor of Goa. In a long letter bearing on the conversion of the natives of India, King Dom Joao III of Portugal sent orders to this Governor that a parish church should be completed at Bassein and dedicated to St. Joseph, and that the expenses of its endowment were to be met from the revenues attached to certain mosques which had been destroyed by the Portuguese. The Matriz is a large building in the same architectural style as obtains in the other churches, and it is now roofless, though the front and side walls are in a fair state of preservation. The massive high tower is the best preserved and most ornamental in Bassein[2] and can be seen for miles round, especially from the railway train crossing the Bassein creek. Over the door of the church is an inscription cut in stone which has been rendered as under:

> 'This Matriz was rebuilt in the year 1601, the most illustrious Sr. Dom Frei Aleixo de Menezes being Archbishop-Primate, and the Rev. Pedro Galvao Pereira the Vicar'.

The vicar of the Matriz at the time of its rebuilding, mentioned in this inscription, evidently died at Goa and his remains were later brought to Bassein as we learn from an epitaph in Latin on a black tombstone situated in the chancel to the right of the main altar in this church:

> 'To this grave are transferred the bones of Pedro Galvao, servant of the Lord, who managed and enlarged this temple. He died at Goa on the 19th March of the year 1618'.[3]

The Franciscans were, as mentioned before, the oldest religious Order to be established in Bassein, and the remains of their extensive church dedicated to St. Antony, and of the convent attached to it, are situated near the Land Gate of

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1. Fr. Hull, *Guide to Bassein*, 12-13.
2. 'But do not attempt', Fr. Hull advises the unwary visitor, 'to climb up the winding staircase on the right. One explorer found the steps crumbling under his feet; and another venturesome person, who did go up, got on a rotten stone and fell and broke his neck' (Fr. Hull's *Guide to Bassein*, 22).
3. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 214-15; Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, 39 and *n.*

the Fort. This was the first convent or monastery in Bassein, and was founded, probably in 1537, by the great missionary Father Antonio do Porto, while the church was built later about 1557. Fr. Porto's activities belong to the period between 1530 and 1540 and it has been related of him that 'after a very successful missionary career through Bassein, Salsette, Karanja, Chaul, etc., where he is said to have built 11 churches, converted 10,150 heathen, and destroyed 200 pagodas, he returned to Bassein and worked there till his death at an advanced age.'[1] His labours as an evangelist in these parts are thus considered as second only to those of Francis Xavier. The Franciscan Church of the Invocation of St. Antony has a porch of three arches at the entrance and is fairly well preserved. Unlike most of the Bassein buildings, it is built of dressed stone, and has basalt in its staircases, arches, windows and door posts. The four chapels as also the central nave contain a number of tombs of notables, the earliest being dated 1558. This bears the epitaph, 'The tomb of . . . His Majesty's Councillor, who died on the 24th August 1558 and of his wife Donna Luiza da Silva, and his heirs'. There is a segmental arch inside the church wonderfully well built. We learn that the village of Mont-Pezier (Mount Poinsur) was also made over to the Franciscans for the endowment of this church during the governorship of Jorge Cabral. St. Francis Xavier was, as stated in the last chapter, thrice at Bassein, once in 1544 and twice in 1548, and each time he stayed as a guest in the Franciscan convent. We cannot, however, say whether he resided in the present buildings, for the date of their erection is not known. The convent was the largest and most important monastic building in Portuguese India after that attached to the Church of St. Francis Xavier at Goa, and connected with it was a college. In 1634 there were thirty Franciscans staying at Bassein.

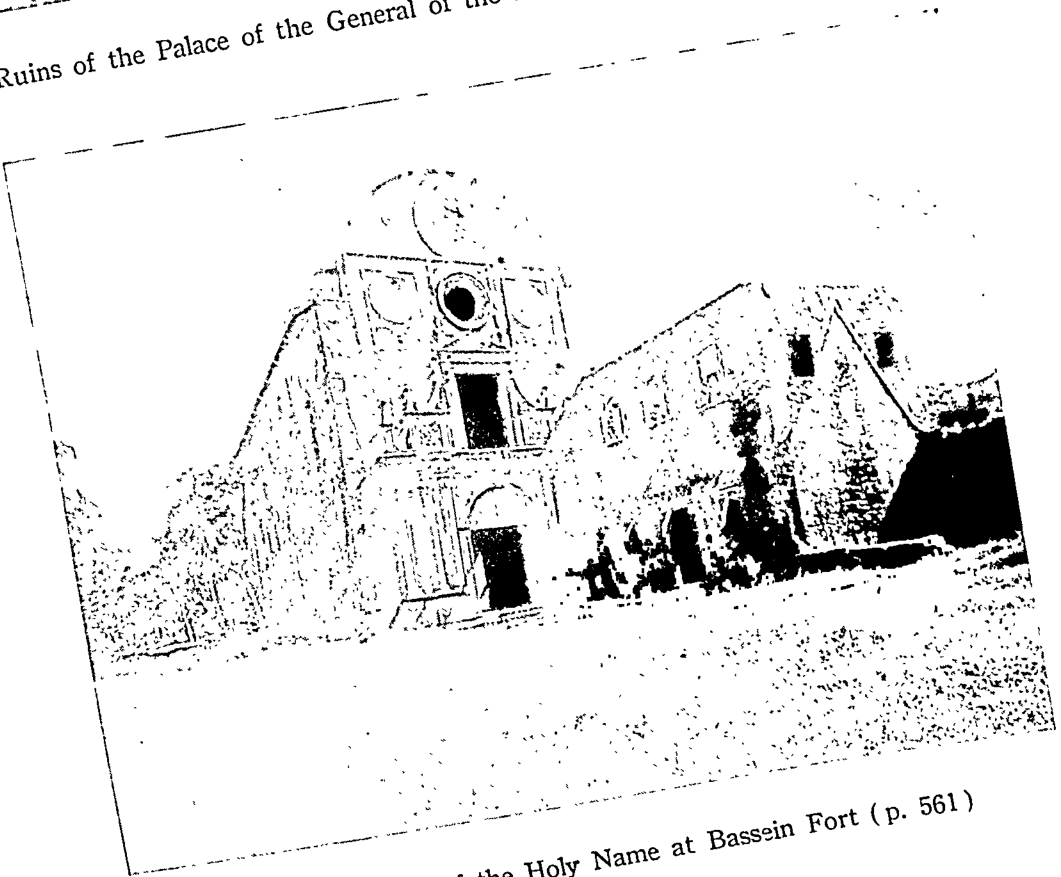
The Franciscan Church and Convent

Among the most famous of the monuments at Bassein are the Church and Convent of the Jesuits. Mrs. Postans, referring to this and the Franciscan Church, says (1838): 'The most perfect and handsome churches now remaining at

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 237.



Ruins of the Palace of the General of the North at Bassein Fort (p. 557)



The Jesuit Church of the Holy Name at Bassein Fort (p. 561)

The Church of the Jesuits at Bassein

Bassein are those of St. Paulo[1] and St. Francis.'[2] The church possesses the finest façade among the buildings of the city, with a noble arch, columns with fluted shafts and corinthian capitals, and the Jesuit monogram I. H. S. sculptured on the lintel and above the pillars.[3] In the sanctuary there are a couple of tomb-stones bearing inscriptions in Portuguese to the effect that they contain the remains of two pious ladies, 'noble helpers of this College', who died in 1591 and 1628 respectively. Attached to the church are the ruins of the College overgrown with climbing plants and wall trees but still in good condition. Pietro Della Valle, the Italian traveller, passed a night at Bassein with the Rector of the College, on 29th March 1623, on his arrival at Bassein from Daman with letters of introduction from the Jesuit college at the latter port. He also refers to a terrific hurricane from which Bassein suffered at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Dr. Fryer on the College of the Jesuits

Dr. John Fryer, who visited the Jesuit College at Bassein in 1674, says that it was called an 'Academy' and that it contained a library 'with classes of historians, moralists and expositors.' He states that the students who attended the College for instruction lived in the town. 'It is a College of polite structure', he adds, 'in the *portuco* is a copy of Angelo's, representing the Resurrection; above stairs, as well as below, are fine square cloisters, as all their collegiate churches have, on the sides whereof are their cells'.[4] In 1634 there were fifteen Jesuits attached to the church and the College, though some of them served in the churches of the neighbourhood, at Manikpur, Nirmol, etc.

The Church of the Jesuits at Bassein has in recent years been roofed over and partly repaired in connection with the

1. The Jesuits were generally known in India under the title of the 'Paulistines', partly because of their famous college of St. Paul's at Goa. (Della Valle, *Travels in India*, II, 404; Also Fryer's *East India and Persia*, ed. by W. Crooke, I, 183 *n.*)

2. Mrs. Postans, *Western India in* 1838, I, 180.

3. The device I.H.S. (also written J.H.S.) is a shortened form of the word Jesus, which, as written in Greek letters, was adopted as their symbol by the Jesuits, and which underwent several transformations. (For details see Braz A. Fernandes, *Bandra, its Religious and Secular History*, 108-9.)

4. Fryer, op. cit., I, 192.

pilgrimage and the feast in honour of St. Gonsalo Garcia of Bassein who attained the honour of martyrdom and subsequent canonisation. Born at Bassein of a Portuguese father and a 'Canarim' mother, Gonsalo Garcia joined the Franciscan convent as a lay brother, went to Japan with some friars of this Order, was murdered at Nagasaki in that country in 1597, and was later 'beatified' by a Papal Bull in 1627 and finally canonised by Pope Pius IX in 1862. 'The native Christians of Bassein and Salsette', says Dr. Da Cunha, 'who are mostly descendants of the once sturdy race of the Bhandaris and the industrious Kolis, have every reason to feel elated at such an event'.[1] The festival, by bringing the Jesuit church into use, has helped in preventing any further dilapidation of this monument.

Feast of St. Gonsalo Garcia, the Christian saint of Bassein

The survey of the remaining monuments at Bassein will not detain us long for they are mostly heaps of ruins. Those belonging to the Augustinian friars and to the Hospitallers of St. John of God have now been fairly definitely identified.[2] The Augustinians came to Bassein in 1595 at the end of the sixteenth century, and in the year 1634 there were eight members of the Order in residence, and the name of their church appears to have been 'N.S. da Annunciacao'. The Dominican Church and Convent built about 1583 have been also identified by Fr. Hull from the presence of the emblems of this famous Order over the side door of the church which is situated near the Great Square to the north of the Palace of the General of the North. Their heraldic crest and emblems consist of a cross with *fleur-de-lis* ends, two stars at the end of rods, and two dogs holding lighted torches in their mouths. Another structure, to which references have been made by some travellers, is the *Misericordia* at Bassein, situated

The churches of the Augustinians and the Dominicans

1. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 241-42.

2. Mr. Braz A. Fernandes supplies me with the following note on this subject: 'The Hospitallers had no church of their own; they had the Misericordia which was a hospital. They were dministered by the Dominicans.'

somewhere near the Citadel.[1] It was a home for widows, orphans and the sick managed by pious lay people—an institution for social service of a type similar to those bearing the same name in the cities of mediæval Europe.

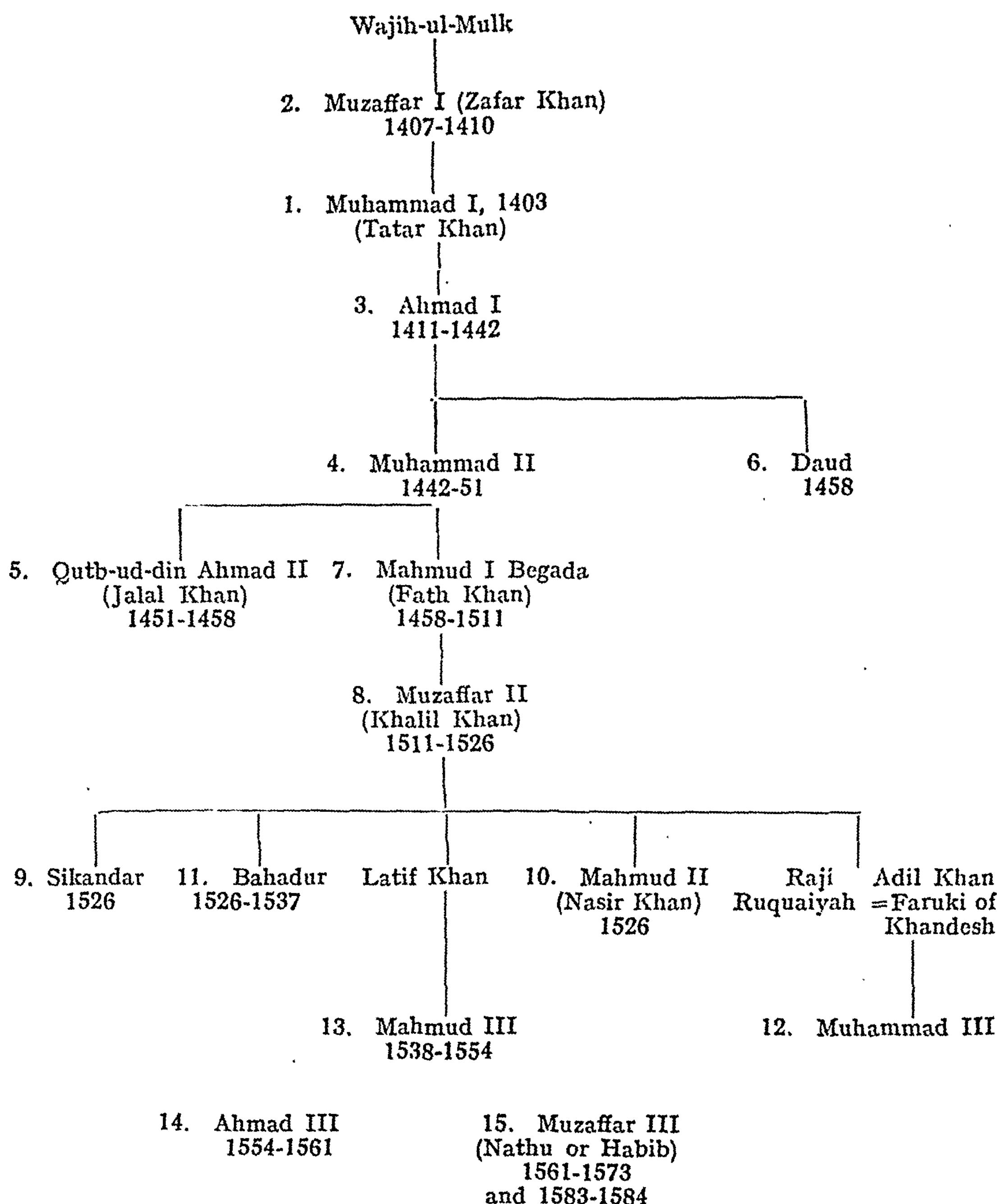
Permanent memorial of Portuguese sway at Bassein

We have now surveyed the principal secular and religious monuments whose remains remind us of Portuguese rule in these parts for two hundred years from the first acquisition of Bassein by Nuno da Cunha in 1535 from Sultan Bahadur to the loss of the city to the Marathas after a great siege in 1739. But, as Dr. J. Gerson Da Cunha has well observed, architectural remains are not the only monuments of the Portuguese sway at Bassein. Referring to the system of intermarriages with the natives, first introduced by the great Albuquerque, and the immense number of converts to Christianity made by the Jesuit and other missionaries, giving rise to the well-known Christian community on this side, he concludes,

> 'It (Bassein) was one of the centres from which radiated the influence of their policy, the effects of which are yet discernible in the religion and race they left behind, and when all that is made up of stone and mortar is entirely swept off the earth's surface, or washed away by the action of the annual deluge that attends every monsoon, there will yet remain in Bassein and its vicinity vestiges of a kind far more lasting than the materials that are liable to the changes and permutations decreed by Nature'.[2]

1. The Misericordia is attached to the Dominican Church and it is a part of the Dominican 'house'.
2. Da Cunha's *Bassein*, 247.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT



CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT

(Based on Dr. Geo. P. Taylor's paper on the *Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*).

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.[1]
1.	Muhammad I ..		H. 806 / A.D. 1403	2 mths.
2.	Muzaffar I ..	H. 743 / 1342	H. 810-813 / 1407-1410	3 yrs. 8 mths.
3.	Ahmad I ..	H. 793 / 1390	H. 813-846 / 1411-1442	32 yrs. 6 mths.
4.	Muhammad II ..		H. 846-855 / 1442-1451	8 yrs. 9 mths.
5.	Qutb-al-din Ahmad II ..	*c.* H. 835 / 1431	H. 855-863 / 1451-1458	8 yrs. 6 mths.
6.	Daud ..		H. 863 / 1458	7 dys.
7.	Mahmud I ..	H. 849 / 1445	H. 863-917 / 1458-1511	54 yrs. 1 mth.
8.	Muzaffar II ..	H. 880 / 1475	H. 917-932 / 1511-1526	14 yrs. 9 mths.
9.	Sikandar ..		H. 932 / 1526	1 mth. 16 dys.
10.	Mahmud II ..	*c.* H. 926 / 1519	H. 932 / 1526	4 mths.
11.	Bahadur ..	H. 912 / 1506	H. 932-943 / 1526-1537	11 yrs. 3 mths.
12.	Muhammad III ..		H. 943 / 1537	1 mth. 12 dys.
13.	Mahmud III ..	H. 932 / 1525	H. 943-961 / 1537-1554	18 yrs. 3 mths.
14.	Ahmad III ..	*c.* H. 949 / 1542	H. 961-968 / 1554-1561	7 yrs. 5 mths.
15.	Muzaffar III ..	*c.* H. 955 / 1548	H. 968-980 / 1561-1573	12 yrs. 2 mths.
			and H. 991-992 / 1583-1584	5 mths.

1. The length of the various reigns given by Dr. Taylor does not always agree with that given in the text of this history.

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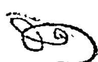
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INDEX

Index



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